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Ruby in the dust : poetry and history n Padm¯avat by the Southasian sufipoet Muhammad J¯ayas¯ı

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THOMAS DE BRUIJN

Ruby in the Dust

POETRY *and* HISTORY *in* Padmāvat
by the SOUTH ASIAN SUFI POET
Muḥammad Jāyasī

Ruby in the Dust presents an innovative reading of the Indian mystical romance Padmāvat (1540). It describes the semantic polyphony of Jāyasī's seminal work from the perspective of the poet's role in the literary field, as mediator between the interests of his spiritual and worldly patrons. The contextual outlook of De Bruijn's interpretation corrects the identification with modern, nationalist notions of Hindu and Muslim identity that have dominated readings of Padmāvat until now. De Bruijn's reading reveals the confluence of poetry and history that inspired the many retellings of the tale of Padmāvatī and Ratansen in Persian and other Indian languages.

Thomas de Bruijn is a specialist in early modern and contemporary South Asian literature. He obtained his PhD from Leiden University. He has been affiliated fellow of IIAS, Leiden and guest lecturer at INALCO, Paris.

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The present study is based on the PhD dissertation *The Ruby Hidden in the Dust: A study of the poetics of Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī's Padmāvat*, defended in 1996 at Leiden University. The research for this dissertation was funded by the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University. The present edition of the dissertation was made possible by a grant from the J. Gonda foundation of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. I thank the former CNWS and, subsequently, Leiden University Press for having accepted the book for publication and for their patience during the preparation of the final manuscript.

Many people have contributed to this book, either actively or by discussing the topic of Indian Sufi poetry at numerous conferences and private meetings over the past twenty years. My teachers and supervisors G.H. Schokker and J.C. Heesterman deserve special mention in this respect. The meetings with Aditya Behl, a gifted scholar of Indian Sufi poetry, were a great inspiration for finishing this book. Sadly, he did not live to see its completion. It has been a privilege to enjoy the support and feedback of numerous learned friends and fellow researchers, my colleagues at Leiden University and my family.

This book could not have been completed without the love and support of Petra Vlugter, to whom it is dedicated.

Words from different cultural and linguistic realms are transcribed in roman script in this book. Cited stanzas from *Padmāvat* or other Avadhi texts are presented in devanāgarī script in an appendix or in footnotes. Words from other languages than English are presented with diacritics. For words from the Indian cultural traditions, a difference is made between terms with an origin in Sanskrit, or those that have a background in Hindi or one of the early modern vernaculars. For Persian words, transliteration follows a standard scheme used in many English publications, whereby some choices had to be made to mark the difference between Indian and Persian words. Therefore, 'sh' is used in Persian words for the character *shīn* (ش), whereas Indian words use 'ś' for श: *shāh*, Śiva. Devanāgarī च is transcribed as 'c', instead of 'ch'.

For Persian words, the following transcription is used, based on the American Library Association/Library of Congress system:

آ – ā	و – v, u, ū, (aw)		ی – y, i, ī, (ay)	
ح – ḥ	ث – s̱	ج – j	چ – ch	خ – kh
خو – khv	ذ – ẕ	ش – sh	ص – ṣ	ض - ẕ
ط – ṭ	ظ - ẓ	ع – ‘	غ – gh	

Names of cities that are in current use have been given without diacritics. For contemporary Indian names of persons, diacritics have been used (Śukla, instead of Shukla) for consistency. In translated quotations, Hindi words that are literally taken over, are printed in italics, except for frequently recurring words.

In all Hindi or Avadhi words, the mute final short *a* has been dropped

(*prem*), except where it is used in pronunciation (*viraha*). In Sanskrit words, the final short *a* is maintained, such as in '*yoga*'. In a few cases this can be confusing, where it applies to names or words that are both used in a Sanskrit as in a vernacular context, such as: Rāma, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahirāvaṇa (Skt.) and Rāvan, Rām, Rāmāyan (Hi.). When names and concepts are mentioned in translations of the Avadhi text, the Hindi transliteration is adopted. For Indian words that have become part of the English language, such as: pundit or Brahmin, the English spelling is maintained. Dates are given with, if relevant, an indication of the corresponding Hijri year, without the indication 'H', or 'CE': 947/1540-41, except in appendix 1, which lists the manuscripts of *Padmāvat*.

God/Allah

In most cases, preference is given to the more general word 'God' to indicate the divine in descriptions of religious concepts or Sufi doctrine. In cases where there is a direct link with the Islamic tradition, the word 'Allah' is used. Behind this choice is the consideration that the text wants to avoid a monologic connotation of the concept of the divine. The poet does not often use the term 'Allah', but a range of Avadhi terms, such as '*alakh*', '*kartārū*'.

It is the year 947 and the poet speaks the words at the beginning of his story.
The Padminī is queen of Siṃhal Dvīp; Ratansen has brought her to the fortress of Citor.
'Alā' al-dīn is the sultan of Delhi and Rāghav Cetan sang her praise to him.
On hearing this the *shāh* went to lay siege to the fortress; there was a battle between the Hindu and the Turk.
[The poet] wrote the story, as it is from the beginning to the end, in *bhāṣā* [the vernacular] and tells it in *caupāīs* [couplets].
The poet and the bard are like a cup filled with *rasa*; near for him who is far away, far from him who is near.
Far from him who is near, like the thorn that sits next to the flower; near for him who is far away, like the syrup for the ant.

The bee comes from the forest to inhale the smell of the lotus.
The frogs sit next to it, but will never obtain it.

Padmāvat 24[1]

Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* tells the story of the love between the beautiful princess Padmāvatī of the southern island of Siṃhal and the Rajput king Ratansen from the North. The work was composed in the sixteenth century and written in early Avadhi. The story of Ratansen and Padmāvatī is loosely based on the historical event of the conquest of the Rajput fortress Citor by the sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khiljī in 1303. In Jāyasī's poem, the ruler becomes enamoured of the princess after hearing a description of Padmāvatī's extraordinary beauty, and decides to lay siege to the fortress in order to conquer the beautiful woman.

This semi-historical episode of *Padmāvat* is preceded by a part that describes how king Ratansen becomes a yogī for the love of Padmāvatī, relinquishing his throne and travelling to Siṃhal while heading an army of yogīs. His guide on the journey is the parrot Hīrāmani, Padmāvatī's former companion. The king can only reach Siṃhal and marry the princess if he is prepared to sacrifice his life for his beloved. The two parts of the poem together form a tale of mystical love that, in terms of Sufi symbolism, represents the voyage of the soul to God, the ideal state of union and the return to living in a transient world, full of conflict and deceit.

The juxtaposition of the ideal of the spiritual development of a worldly king and the difficulty to maintain moral integrity in the 'real' world marks the structure and the thematic message of *Padmāvat.* It emphasizes the Rajput king's *sevā* – his sacred dedication – to love, expressed in the idiom of Sufi mysticism, as a moral ideal and an example for the various religious and cultural sensibilities amongst the poet's audience.

Jāyasī was a Sufi poet from the region of Jais in North India, who was initiated in the Chishtī Sufi lineage of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. 840/1436-37). In his poems he claims affiliation to a local branch of this *silsila* (congregation) in Jais, as well as to other important religious figures of his days. Although there is no historical evidence of patronage by local elites, one of his poems seems to suggest such an affiliation. Patronage of Indian Sufi centres by worldly rulers in exchange for support from the charismatic *pīr*s (Sufi teachers) was a common practice. The choice for the story of the siege of Citor and the role of the Rajput queen Padmāvatī as the main theme of *Padmāvat* makes the poem particularly relevant to this context. It locates the poet in a literary field defined by the interests of both worldly and spiritual patrons. His role as a mediator between these worldly and spiritual parties provides a key to Jāyasī's transformation of the tale of love between Ratansen and Padmāvatī and that of 'Alā' al-dīn's campaign against Citor into a mystical romance.

Muḥammad Jāyasī follows in the footsteps of earlier Indian Sufi poets who used Indian folk stories as a base for their *premākhyāns* – their poems of mystical love. His *Padmāvat* stands out in this genre because of its complex polyphony of themes, images and poetical elements from a range of literary and oral sources from the hybrid North Indian cultural environment. It illustrates how the genre of the Sufi premākhyāns matured as part of an Indian Islamic literary culture that integrates Persian and Indian forms and content.

The genre refers to many other traditions, but not with the aim of emulating them; it developed its own aesthetics, representing the composite out-

look of its patrons and a wide audience in the context of local courts and Sufi centres. Within these conditions, Jāyasī was a poet of great skill and creative vision, which makes his *Padmāvat* a highlight of early modern Indian literature. His work confirmed the status of the Sufi romances in Avadhi and created a model for religious romances in other Indian vernaculars. The critical editions compiled by Rām Candra Śukla and Mātā Prasād Gupta consolidated the status of the text as a classic in Hindi literature and introduced it to many modern readers. The recognition of the literary and cultural value of the text placed *Padmāvat* prominently on academic curricula of Hindi literature in India and elsewhere.

The seamless polyphony of the idioms of Islamic mysticism and that of popular Indian ascetic traditions in *Padmāvat*, such as the *nāth yogīs*, gave rise to numerous conceptual and hermeneutic questions in readings of the text throughout its history. As the interpretations of the poem moved further away from its original context, its hybrid idiom and its religious ethics – in which the Indian Rajput and his loyal queen emerge as the moral victors over the assaults of the Muslim sultan – became increasingly difficult to read.

A major influence on the perception of the text was the acclaim it received in early twentieth-century historiographies of Hindi writing that were compiled from a perspective in which the spirit of Hindu nationalism was beginning to make itself felt, reflecting the political climate of the period. They were initiated by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Benares. Their representation of the early modern vernacular traditions was inspired by the notion that these texts were to be positioned as precursors of a modern 'national' Hindi literature. This effort encompassed also the production of a Hindi dictionary and editions of the works of major early modern poets such as Jāyasī, Kabīr and Tulsīdās. In this context, the otherness of the Islamic texts was emphasised, projecting contemporary, politicised notions of cultural identity on to the early modern traditions. The cultural hybridity and polyphony of the Sufi texts was categorised as an effort at bridging Hinduism and Islam at the level of mystical experience, which made the Islamic outlook of these works less foreign and thus acceptable within the framework of 'Indian' literature. This interpretation became institutionalised in the historiographical canon and influenced subsequent readings of Jāyasī's poetry.

This syncretist interpretation of early Sufi poetry in the vernaculars by Indian scholars was reinforced by a strong interest on the part of Western audiences for oriental writers that were seen as 'Prophets of Unity'. This interest came in the wake of popular translations such as Edward FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat*

of ʻUmar Khayyām (1859), or Rabindranath Tagore's translation of verses by Kabīr (1915) and reflected on readings of Jāyasī's poetry in India. On the one hand, this perception reduced the interaction between Hindu and Muslim communities to a binary opposition; on the other hand, it idealised exchange and circulation of early modern Indian culture as an idyllic syncretism.

These unsatisfactory and incomplete interpretations of the poem called for a reading of *Padmāvat* that unburdens the text from the imprint of later, ideological categorisations and brings back its hybrid idiom to Jāyasī's own social and cultural environment. Such a reading engages with interpretations of the poem made in the spirit of nationalism or of idealist syncretism as instances of an ongoing process of reception and transmission in new cultural spaces, not as keys to a fixed meaning of the poem. The contextual reading avoids defining the semantics of cultural signs and practices as immutable, or tying them to specific social or religious identities. It approaches the early modern traditions that shaped *Padmāvat* from the perspective of a circulation of culture, in which the meaning of these signs and practices shifted as they were transmitted and adopted in new contexts.

The reading that is presented here proposes a fresh idiom for describing Jāyasī's agency and his poem in relation to the powers and interests that shaped his context. It sees the environment of the Indian Chishtī Sufi centres as a literary field that was defined by the various roles of these places in early modern North Indian society. The centres provided spiritual teaching for the mystical pupils, were sites of worship for a composite audience of devotees of the pīr's tomb, and offered legitimation of the power of local elites in exchange for patronage. The convergence of these interests, especially the interaction between the discourses of spiritual and worldly power, created a space and a habitus for the mystical poet who wrote in the Indian vernaculars and mediated between the various planes of religious experience and political agency in this context.

The metaphor of the literary field is introduced here to emphasise that this reading of *Padmāvat* focuses on the role of the poet in a particular social and cultural space in which the meaning and value of art is defined, recognised and valued. This prevents the impulse to connect the findings of this reading, especially the notions of Hindu or Islamic identity that can be distinguished in and around *Padmāvat*, to later conditions in South Asian society. It pays homage to the important work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), who has summarised his approach effectively in the following motto:

> Le producteur de la valeur de l'oeuvre de l'art n'est pas l'artiste mais le champ de production en tant qu'univers de croyance qui produit la valeur de l'oeuvre d'art comme fétiche en produisant la croyance dans le pouvoir créateur de l'artiste. Étant donné que l'oeuvre d'art n'existe en tant qu'objet symbolique doté de valeur que si elle est connue et reconnue, c'est-à-dire socialement instituée comme oeuvre d'art des spectateurs dotés de la disposition et de la compétence esthétiques qui sont nécessaires pour la connaître comme telle, la science des oeuvres a pour objet non seulement la production matérielle de l'oeuvre mais aussi la production de la valeur de l'oeuvre ou, ce qui revient au même, de la croyance dans la valeur de l'oeuvre.
>
> Pierre Bourdieu: *Les règles de l'art: Génèse et structure du champ littéraire*, 1998: 375.

The necessary groundwork for this new approach to the analysis of Jāyasī's poetry is provided by the increasing knowledge gained in recent research on the various roles and interests that were concurring in and around the Sufi centres, their interactions with Indian devotional movements and the role of patronage by worldly elites. In this respect, the descriptions of the development of Indian Sufism and the embedding of the congregations in the Indian context by scholars such as Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Simon Digby, Richard Eaton, Carl Ernst and Bruce Lawrence were of primary importance. They provided an insight into the complex social roles of the Sufi centres, especially when these became host to the large-scale popular cult of the holy men's tombs, attracting a diverse audience of both Hindu and Muslim devotees. At the same time, the *dargāh*s (Sufi centres) remained pivotal in the teaching of Sufi doctrine to the mystical pupils according to the precepts of the founding pīr. The Chishtī lineages to which Jāyasī claims allegiance were formed when the congregation broke up into several local branches. The leaders of these smaller centres competed with Indian *bhakti* and nāth yogī congregations for influence and patronage with local elites.

The availability of historical data on the development of the Chishtī Sufi centres provides the background for an interpretation of the theme of the moral legitimation of worldly power in *Padmāvat* that connects the depiction in the poem to issues that were relevant to his social environment. The poem subtly underlines the worldly rulers' need for legitimation of their power and the role of the spiritual guide in providing this. For both, independence is crucial. The ruler will serve an overlord, but only if he retains his honour as a free political agent. The spiritual guide needs to maintain a semblance of independence

from worldly matters to maintain the moral high ground. Rulers and powerful Sufi *shaikhs* – leaders of the congregations – in Jāyasī's context were involved in the exchange of legitimation and support for land grants and other forms of patronage. The role of the Sufi poet in this context is that of the mediator between the two realms of power. In *Padmāvat*, Jāyasī puts forward the moral ideal of sevā for the conundrum of independence, as this is relevant for both the ruler and his spiritual guide. The poet uses the semantic polyphony of the idiom of mystical love to convey this ideal. The mediation characterises the habitus of the mystical poet and inspires the actions of many of the characters in the poem, who become like his alter egos.

This exchange between worldly elite and spiritual guide provides the thematic backbone for the representation of the tale of the love between Ratansen and Padmāvatī. In the first part, it is the Rajput king who, through the service and sacrifice for love reaches the moral ideal of the *insān-i kāmil* – the ideal man who has achieved spiritual liberation in this life. There are many references in *Padmāvat* to the example of Alexander the Great, who embodied this ideal. In the second part, the battle for Citor and the assault and treason by sultan 'Alā' al-dīn shows the dilemma of service to a dishonourable overlord. Also in this part, Ratansen's elevation through the sevā of love makes him the moral victor here. In this thematic set-up, the conflict between Ratansen and the sultan concerns different morals of political service, not the religious identity of the king and the sultan, as most modern interpretations of the poem suggest. The notion of sevā is a polyphonic concept in this respect, as it connects the idiom of mystical love with more general moral and pious ideals.

The insights into the world of the complex and hybrid environment of the Indian Chishtī centres in the research described above were crucial in understanding the polyphony of Jāyasī's poetry and bringing it back to its original literary field. An important element in this respect is the distinction between the various 'circles' connected with the Sufi centres – the 'serious' mystical pupils who follow the doctrines of the founding pīr, and the devotees from various communities who visit and worship the Sufi shrines. Eaton (1978) described these as the 'inner' and 'outer' circles of the Indian Sufi centre, which provided a model for the composite audience of Jāyasī poetry and account for the thematic polyphony that addresses various religious sensibilities.

Another crucial insight was the emphasis on the influence of popular Islamic piety expressed in the devotion to the figures of the Prophet and Fāṭima, put forward by Annemarie Schimmel in her studies of Sufism in India and elsewhere in the Islamic world. *Padmāvat* contains many elements that refer to

this layer of Islamic devotion. They are not primarily connected with the mystical meaning of the poem, but provide powerful images from orthodox Islamic beliefs, such as that of the Last Judgement. This is the topic of Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām*, but also inspires many of the images of service in *Padmāvat*.

Schimmel speculated on the idea that Jāyasī's poetry might be seen as an early example of the deep interleaving of Persian and Indian literary culture that is not exlusively tied to the sphere of Sufi mystical doctrines, which makes it a forerunner of what later became known as Urdu literature (1975: 159). An interesting development of this idea is proposed by Shantanu Phukan (2000), when he reviews the reception of Hindi poetry such as *Padmāvat* and *bārahmāsā*s by eighteenth-century Mughal elites.

During the last three decades, the study of early modern, vernacular literature developed at a rapid pace, emancipating itself from its moorings in the classical 'Indological' discourse, as well as from its preoccupation with Hindu bhakti sources. This led to new readings of the idiom of this poetry, especially of the hybrid vocabulary of Sufi, *sant*[2] and Sikh poets. The pioneering work of Charlotte Vaudeville, Winand Callewaert, Jack Hawley and Kenneth Bryant brought to light the circulation and fragmentation of early modern textual corpora and the role of sectarian movements, who adopted the persona of the poets and constructed canonical collections that added numerous new poems in the author's name.

This research highlighted the vivid dialogic exchange between religious communities and identities in the early modern context, which led to the realisation that the boundaries between religious and cultural communities in early modern North India were much more fluid than was presumed earlier, and that they did not coincide with those that divide contemporary South Asian society.

In the present analysis of Jāyasī's poetry, these new insights informed the notion that early modern Sufi poetry shared a great deal of its literary forms and creative processes with religious literature that used to be associated exclusively with 'Hindu' devotional religion (bhakti). The focus on the religious background of poets and genres in modern literary historiography obscured the thematic and stylistic polyphony of early modern, vernacular poetry. Reading *Padmāvat* from this perspective brings to light the dialogic nature of the Sufi premākhyāns, which prefigures certain characteristic elements of later iconic bhakti material, such as Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas*. Similarly, the functionality of the short *dohā* (two lined verse) in the Sufi romances can be compared very effectively with the rhetorical use of this form in poetry by nāth yogī and sant poets.

Research on the transmission of the corpora of Sūrdās and Kabīr pro-

vided insights that are presented in this study to shed light on the trajectory of *Padmāvat* manuscripts and adaptations through history. This demonstrated how the corpus of bhakti and Sufi poetry travelled along similar routes of transmission. The conceptual difficulties in representing the nature of the circulation of literary elements in the early modern traditions in modern historiographies of Indian literature are shared by both Sufi and bhakti poetry.

The proposed contextual reading of *Padmāvat* is prompted by a critique of the representation of Jāyasī's work in the critical editions and the early historiography of Hindi literature that developed under the influence of nationalist language politics. It also engages intensively with more recent studies on his poetry. An important contribution in this respect has been the PhD dissertation of John Millis (1984) that provided a wealth of data on Jāyasī's social and religious background, culled from a wide range of sources in Hindi. Millis' work is of great value for the extensive analysis of the critical studies on Jāyasī's poetry by Indian commentators. His translation of a large number of stanzas from the first part of *Padmāvat*, with many enlightening notes, is a valuable introduction to the rich imagery used by the poet.

Millis focuses in his reading of *Padmāvat* on the expression of concepts from monistic Sufi doctrine in images taken from nāth yogī mystical theories. His analysis of the yogic images in the poem is effective, but revolves around the notion that *Padmāvat* is primarily a mystical allegory. This interpretation is based on a *kuñjī* – an allegorical key – that has been shown in critical editions to be a later addition to the poem. Millis' analysis of the 'translation' of Sufi concepts in the Indian images falls short, as it does not take into account enough how Jāyasī constructs the Indian material in a polyphonic representation, juxtaposing it with images from other sources. The poet incorporates the material into his poem, but always moves it slightly away from its original semantics. The notion of a mystical allegory represents an interpretation of *Padmāvat* that evolved during its transmission and reception, but which does not reflect the full thematic complexity of the poem.

Since the defence in 1996 of the PhD dissertation on which this present study is based, the interest in early modern Indian Islam and Sufi poetry has grown considerably. The dissertation circulated among scholars and, judging on citations,[3] contributed to a new perspective on Jāyasī's work. One of the notions that has been developed in research since then is that the nexus between worldly and religious power was an important motif for Jāyasī's work. The most eloquent exposition of this is in Ramya Sreenivasan's study of the trajectory of the theme of the *padminī* (the 'lotus-woman')[4] queen and the attempts

by a Muslim sultan to capture her in early modern and colonial North Indian literature (2007). She extensively describes the various incarnations of this theme in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, epics from the context of Rajput courts by Jain poets and later reconstructions of Rajput tradition in British colonial history by James Tod. This study is by far the most complete analysis of the padminī theme in vernacular literature to this day.

Sreenivasan follows the theme mainly from the perspective of its functionality in constructing a historical memory of Rajput identity, distinguishing how different milieus emphasise either the heroic, the romantic or the mystical side of the story. She effectively locates the creation of *Padmāvat* in sixteenth-century politics in the Avadhi area, where the rising influence of Sher Shāh (1486 – 1545) led to great anxiety on the part of regional elites of Rajput origin. This made the story of the defence of Citor and the heroic role of the *padmini* queen a narrative of resistance to usurpation in a larger empirical structure. As these Avadhi elites were deeply involved in the patronage of Chishtī Sufis, it seems all the more justified to position Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* in this context.

The present analysis of *Padmāvat* also engages with the work of Aditya Behl who, due to his untimely demise in 2009, was not able to finish the publication that came out of his primary research project: a comprehensive study of the genre of the Avadhi Sufi romances and its poetics. Central to Behl's research was the notion that these works are part of an Indian Islamic literary culture based in Muslim courts starting from the days of the Delhi Sultanate (twelfth to fourteenth century) and continued in the many minor regional courts thereafter. The inspiration for this literature came from the models of Persian courtly poetry, but it developed its own unique aesthetic and conceptual idiom, in which Indian cultural and religious heritage was fully embedded. Behl sees at the core of this literature the desire to capture the divine, invisible dimension of God's creation in worldly terms with a local, Indian relevance. The strong role of Sufi lineages provided the religious tone and semantics for this poetry, but it had a wider impact than just courts or Sufi centres. The Avadhi romances distance themselves both from the classical Indian literary traditions, as well as from the Persian models. This double distancing creates their specific identity of '*hindavī*' poetry. It creates a location for the appearance of a 'heaven on earth' that conforms to Islamic beliefs on Indian soil, in which the Islamic identity of the poets and their audience can be fully expressed in local terms.[5] Behl's encyclopedic knowledge of the romances and their reception in the Chishtī Sufi milieu made his readings of the Sufi premākhyāns exceptionally valuable.

Behl's and Weightman's translation of Manjhan's *Madhumālatī* (2000) demonstrates how the poet created a literary universe using images from Indian tradition but with a rhetorical purpose that was mainly focused at an erudite audience of Indian Sufis. It remains to be seen whether this approach also applies to Jāyasī's work, which contains a mystical programme but also addresses the 'outer' circle of the Sufi dargāh and puts a strong emphasis on political morals. This is also where the present interpretation of Jāyasī's poetry differs from Behl's reading, which acknowledges the polyphony of the poems but locates them primarily in the mystical doctrines and practice of Indian Chishtī Sufis. This undervalues the strong subtext of Islamic piety and general moralism in the Avadhi romances and their functionality in wider society.

Aditya Behl's insightful and creative work on the genre of Avadhi premākhyāns will remain unfinished, but continues to provide a lasting inspiration to the field.

The contextual reading of *Padmāvat* envisaged in this study also informs the structure of the book. With some adaptations, this follows the layout of the original dissertation. Its first chapter comprises an analysis of the available data on the life of the poet as it can be reconstructed from hagiographical and historical sources. This provides the basis for a rich description of the social and cultural conditions in which the poet operated, leading to a reflection on the political aspects of the choice for the theme of the ransacking of Citor. This description also deals extensively with the spiritual teachers Jāyasī mentions in the prologues of his work. These parts of the poem give an insight into what the poet himself saw as important players in the literary field. Similarly, the references in the poem to connections with worldly powers are discussed. This description serves as a reflection on the connection between the thematic programme of *Padmāvat* and the interests of his spiritual and worldly patrons.

Chapter two adds to this an analysis of the textual history of *Padmāvat*, starting from a critique of the modern critical editions. This further underlines the necessity of a contextual reading, as it shows how the perception of the poem changed with its distribution in various directions in the centuries after its conception. The impact of this transmission on the shape of the text has been considerable, which undermines the notion that the manuscripts and other versions of the text, even those the editors considered primary sources, can yield a reliable insight into the text as it was produced by the poet. The variety in the nature and content of the earliest sources resists a philological reconstruction of the original shape of the poem and the extrapolation of an 'authentic' text from the earliest set of manuscripts. This analysis also encom-

passes the interference of textual and oral transmissions in the distribution of the poem and its spread in translations or adaptations of its theme in various literary traditions.

The third chapter is devoted to analysing the numerous references to oral and literary traditions in *Padmāvat*, positioning the poem in the cultural space of early modern vernacular texts and oral traditions. Just as locating the poet in his social context is crucial for a meaningful reading of the poem, it is equally important to understand how Jāyasī makes use of the vast cultural hinterland of Indian and Persian material. This chapter describes in detail how images and themes from neighbouring traditions, and also Jāyasī's own *Akharāvaṭ*, *Ākhirī Kalām* and *Kanhāvat*, are being drawn into the thematic structure of *Padmāvat*. Engaging with the arguments put forward by Aditya Behl on the position of the Sufi romances in the Indian cultural context, this analysis underlines the notion that *Padmāvat* and other premākhyāns should not be seen as derivative or emulations of either Persian poetry or any other literary example. The text are grounded in their own discourse and speak their own ideolect, based on the preferences and interests that prevail in the context of Indian Sufi congregations. The Indian images the poet draws into the poem, especially from the nāth yogī idiom, are always combined with other images, emphasizing that his version of Ratansen and Padmāvatī engages in a dialogue with other narratives. This exchange enriches the meaning of this version of the tale Ratansen and Padmāvatī in the poet's own environment. It does not make it a derivative of other literary genres.

This argument is further developed in the fourth chapter which deals with the way the poem is structured around the expression of its thematic message. This is analysed both from a formal perspective, as well as from the point of view of the aesthetic programme that is at work in producing the meaning of the poem. Again, the polyphony of Indian and Persian poetic traditions and their aesthetic programmes is the main focus of this analysis. Elements from both traditions are present in the poem, but are used to enhance the authentic expressiveness of the poem, not to bring it closer to either one of these backgrounds. This further underlines that, conceptually, Jāyasī created his poem independently from the traditions from which he derived his material. This can only be argued by freeing the text from the notions that it 'translates' other literary elements, and by seeing its semantic polyphony as a characteristic of its particular cultural context. Special attention is given to the function of the prologue of the poem in introducing the main themes of the poem. The prologue also serves to frame the tale in a 'sacred' space, a universe which obeys the logic of the poem's thematic programme. This concludes the first part of the

study, where the focus is mainly on the imprint of external conditions and influences on *Padmāvat*.

The second part of the study analyses how the themes that tie the poem to its context are expressed in the text. The sixth chapter takes the theme of love as a starting point for demonstrating how Jāyasī connects the morals that matter to his patrons through their association with the notions of service, sacrifice and truthfulness. These notions are meaningful both in a worldly and in a spiritual, religious context. The idiom of mystical love provides an ideal carrier wave to integrate the different sides of these notions in the example of the Rajput king and his devotion to his queen.

Chapter six highlights the poetical tool of the metaphorical scheme to impose a thematic coherence on the motifs and images the poet draws into his poem from various sides. The notion that Padmāvatī brought the *nūr muḥammadī* – the divine light – to the world and thereby occasioned the temporary presence of the divine, provides a metaphoric scheme in which a broad range of images connected with light can be infused with a thematic meaning. The poet skilfully connects poetic conventions with practices from popular religion, which revolve around 'seeing' the divine through worship. He also encompasses his own agency as a one-eyed, but visionary poet into this scheme, thus making the notion of light the thematic backbone of his poem.

The seventh chapter follows the many leads to the poet's own position by analysing the expression of service and moral integrity in the actions of many mediators and messengers portrayed in the poem. The moral of service is expounded in a very direct manner in the roles of these characters and in numerous asides in concluding verses (dohās) throughout the poem. This representation of the poet's agency provides an important key to the meaning of the poem in its literary field, as it demonstrates the crucial role of the spiritually inspired guide who mediates between the dilemmas of worldly power and the vision of the divine embodied in the silsila of the Sufi pīrs. The analysis of the representation of the role of the poet also adds an important contextual relevance to the use of the polyphonic idiom of Sufi monistic mysticism in *Padmāvat*, which underlines the need to step away from readings of the poem as purely a mystical textbook or allegory.

This study of *Padmāvat* is the result of a prolonged and sustained scholarly engagement with early modern Indian Sufi poetry, during which the topic developed from an odd niche to a more mainstream subject in South Asian studies. More scholars than ever before are aware of the enormous value of the corpus of Sufi poetry in the Indian vernacular for the understanding of the

dynamics of early modern Indian culture. New perspectives on the contribution of Islam to this environment changed the reading of other forms of literature from this period. New research perspectives opened up when the notion of a circulation of culture was accepted more widely, breaking down barriers between scholarly traditions and bringing to light the dialogic quality of South Asian culture. This book is therefore meant to inspire those students of Indian literature who want to travel further on that road.

Leiden, 2011

Notes

1. All translations in this book are by the author. See appendix 3 for the Hindi texts of the quoted and translated verses.
2. The sants were an influential early modern religious sect, who cultivated an abstract (nirguṇa) form of the divine.
3. The most notable were in Sreenivasan (2007) and Behl (2005).
4. The term *padminī* refers to a classification of the beauty of women (*strībhedavarṇana*) in the aesthetics of Sanskrit art poetry, in which system the woman who is 'like a lotus', the *padminī*, is regarded as the highest class. This classification is the background for Padmāvatī's characterisation. In the poem, the Brahmin Rāghav Cetan describes the categories to sultan 'Alā' al-dīn (463-467) when he praises the beauty of Padmāvatī. See also: Kapp (1975).
5. This rendering of Behl's views on the genre of the premākhyāns is primarily based on the unpublished text of a series of three lectures he gave in Paris at the EHESS in the spring of 2005.

Part 1

The poet *and the* literary field

It has been outlined in the introduction that this book aims to present a contextual reading of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* and other works that reflects the logic of the literary field in which the poet operated, as opposed to ideologies that have been projected at the work in later reception. Muḥammad Jāyasī's agency as a Sufi poet was framed by the multiple social and religious roles of the local Chishtī Sufi dargāh to which he claimed affiliation. These encompassed the management of the worship of the tomb of the holy men by devotees from various communities, the teaching of mystical pupils in the doctrines of the founding pīr and the sensitive exchange of legitimation for patronage by worldly patrons, on whom the dargāhs relied for part of their income. On all these fronts, the interests of the Sufi centres coincided with those of bhakti sects and influential nāth yogī congregations, who also vied for religious charisma, political influence and economic resources.

The three social roles of the Sufi centres and their related interests can be seen as '*enjeux*' – stakes – that drive the agents in the literary field.[1] In this chapter, these interests provide the themes that structure the description of the poet's biography and his environment. The doctrinal discourse in which Jāyasī was initiated as a Chishtī Sufi is represented in the references to his religious background in the *stutikhaṇḍ*s – the prologues – to *Padmāvat* and his other works, in which he mentions his spiritual preceptors and other important persons in his environment.[2] The popular devotion in which the presence of the Sufi congregations in the Indian social and cultural environment was deeply embedded is represented in the analysis of references to the poet in *taẕkira*s (biographical works) and in related hagiographical stories that describe the poet as a religious hero, based on the overviews compiled by earlier scholars (Millis 1984: 9-40; Phāṭak 1964: 37-68). The political agency of the Sufi centres and their interaction with worldly powers is represented in this description by an analysis of the role of patronage by secular patrons in Jāyasī's life and works.

The same three themes will also be addressed in a short overview of his *Akharāvaṭ*, *Ākhirī Kalām* and *Kanhāvat*.

The description of Jāyasī's biography and his agency in the literary field is primarily aimed at defining the contextual conditions that informed his role as a poet and the creation of his poetry. The picture that emerges from this description highlights the role of each of the agents involved in the specific historical situation in which *Padmāvat* was composed. It eschews normative categorisations of the religious identities involved, or the social or cultural interest these represent. An important distinction in defining Jāyasī's role in the context of the Chishtī dargāhs is the concept of the 'inner' and 'outer' circle, which Richard Eaton defined in his description of the social roles of Indian Sufis in Bijapur (1978). He distinguishes two orientations in the centres, one directed at the diachronic passing on of the mystical teaching in the tradition of the founders of the lineage, the other oriented towards the synchronic role of the Sufi pīr as the centre of popular devotion, both by Hindus and Muslims. The two religious discourses were not separate compartments but interacted, which gave the Sufi centres a complex role in society.

In the exchange between the inner and outer world, the idiom of Sufi doctrine was 'translated' to a discourse of devotional religion fully embedded in the Indian context. This translation involved more than language or idiom, it included the transfer of moral concepts expressed in religious terms. In this exchange the existing lexicon circulated in new contexts, and cultural signs and practices developed new meaning.

The biography depicted here is restricted to Jāyasī's agency in a specific social setting. It does not pretend to describe the man in full psychological detail or dwell on his personal motives. Describing the poet's agency in terms of a habitus that is informed and defined by the interests in the literary field, which Jāyasī filled with great skill and creativity, introduces a form of methodological rigor that serves the purpose of containing the present reading of *Padmāvat* within a specific moment in history. The temptation to project modern, romantic notions of literary agency on the poet that have little to do with the motives that apply to agents in the early modern Indian context thus has been avoided.

1.1 Jāyasī as a 'religious hero' in hagiographical sources

Jāyasī's agency as a Sufi and as a poet did not pass unnoticed by contemporary and later authors of the taẕkiras that record the lives and deeds of famous shaikhs and pīrs of Indian Sufi lineages. These texts mention anecdotes and legends affixed to the saints that demonstrate their spiritual status. Although

they contain a mix of fiction and historical facts, the prominent taẕkiras are considered as accounts that intend to truthfully record the development of the Indian Islamic tradition (Lawrence 1987: 363-364).

Jāyasī is mentioned in the *Maʿārij al-Vilāyat,* a seventeenth-century biographical description of Indian saints, by Shaikh ʻAbdullah Khveshgi Qaṣūrī A source of a more recent date is the nineteenth-century *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'* (1863-1865) by Muḥammad Ghulām Sarwār, which contains the biographies of saints from major Indian Sufi orders including the Chishtīs.[3] The taẕkiras also mention the titles of works ascribed to the poet. The *Maʿārij al-Vilāyat* refers to Jāyasī's expertise of Indian religious traditions, which led to the epithet '*muḥaqqiq-i hindī'*, 'expert in Indian truth' (Rizvi 1978, vol. 1: 370). Jāyasī is compared in this text to Kabīr.[4]

There is also a tradition of taẕkiras of Indian Sufis that do not have a historiographic intent, but serve to demonstrate the saint's miraculous powers – his *baraka* – and were instrumental to the competition between the Sufi centres and other North Indian religious movements, by establishing the saint's reputation.[5] With the growing interest in the origins of Hindi literature at the beginning of the twentieth century, Indian scholars started to collect data on the life of the poet of *Padmāvat*, often in connection with the compilation of editions of his work.[6] These descriptions refer to local hagiographical legends that have all the hallmarks of hagiographical taẕkiras and can often not be traced back to reliable sources. The preface of the edition by Grierson and Dvivedī (1911) contains a description of the poet's life that is mainly based on these local legends recorded by the editors in the vicinity of his tomb.

In some cases, the descendants of the poet were involved in writing the poet's 'biography', such as Candrabali Pandey and ʻAlī Muḥammad Mehar Jāyasī, author of various articles in *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, which mostly fail to provide references to the sources for this material.[7] A possible historiographical source for the authors may have been a description of the town of Jais, the *Tārīkh-i Jā'is* by Saiyid ʻĀbid Husayn, which is based on a nineteenth-century work called *Maẓhar al ʻajā'ib* by Saiyid Husayn ʻAlī.[8]

The various stories record how the figure of Jāyasī was noticed both in the more established sources on Indian Sufi lineages, as well as in the context of local 'wonder-tales'.

From this mixed array of sources, the following impression of the biography of the poet emerges. The name of the poet – Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī – gives a clue to his family background. The title 'malik' points to a background of landowners of Iranian origin who migrated to India in the thirteenth century

to serve 'Alā' al-dīn Khiljī (Jāyasī 1940: 48-50).[9] Pāṭhak mentions the name of Jāyasī's father, Shaikh Mamrej, also called Malik Rāje Ashraf (1976: 37).

The name Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī can be dissected as follows: 'Malik' indicated the standing and background of the family, as is also the case in his father's name. Muḥammad was probably the poet's personal name, although he also uses it in his poems as a *takhallus*, a pen name that is not always the same as the real name of the poet. 'Jāyasī' is a *nisba*, indicating the place of origin of a person. The French scholar Garcin de Tassy (1794-1878) mentions the name 'Jāyasī-dās' in his catalogue of of Indian Islamic literature (1870 vol. 2: 67), but this is not attested anywhere else, neither is there any known affiliation of the poet with a bhakti sect, which this name does imply.

His family seems to have settled in the town of Jais, in the area called Kaṅcan Muhallā. By Jāyasī's days the town had developed into a major centre in the Jaunpur-based sultanate of the Sharqī dynasty (1394 to 1479). There is some discussion about the poet's place of birth, on the basis of some lines in his works that may suggest that he was born outside Jais, and only went there to receive his religious education and mystical training. The relevant passages are in *Padmāvat* 23, but also in *Ākhirī Kalām* 10, verses 1 and 2:

> Jais is my town; the reputation of this place is very honourable.
> I came there as a guest for ten days; I became an ascetic and found great happiness.[10]
>
> *Ākhirī Kalām* 10.1-2

The stories on the youth of the poet tell of a grim start in life, as he lost his father in his early years and his mother later on in his childhood. Smallpox is believed to have distorted his face and make him lose the sight in one eye. Because his family had been taken away from him early in life, he was taken care of by groups of wandering ascetics. A fitting embellishment of this story is that his mother saved the child from dying of the disease by visiting the tomb of Shāh Madār in Makanpur (Millis 1984: 27, quoting Jāyasī 1940: 43).

Some of the legends, as well as an eighteenth-century taẕkira, the *Ramūz al-'ārifīn* by Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, mention the poet's encounter with a worldly ruler. Local tradition describes how Jāyasī went to the court of Sher Shāh to perform his poetry, where the emperor laughed at him because of his disfigured face. The poet replied cleverly: 'Is it me you are laughing at or my Creator?', thereby silencing the emperor.[11] Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī also mentions the story, but situates it at the court of Akbar. There is an obvious connection to

stanza 23 of *Padmāvat*, where Jāyasī describes himself as a one-eyed poet and mentions in the concluding dohā that 'Whenever people see his face they laugh at him; when they hear him, they weep.'[12]

His being inspired by religious men did not detain him from marrying and settling as a peasant. He was blessed with seven sons and lived a simple and pious life, always sharing his meals with others, even with lepers (Śukla 1935 [1924]: 7). Another tragic accident befell the poet when the roof of his house collapsed, killing all his sons. Some stories blame this on a curse by one of the poet's pīrs, for the poet had mocked the holy man's addiction to opium in a work called *Postīnāma*.[13] This loss was supposed to make Jāyasī devote himself completely to a religious life. Without any means of verifying them, stories such as these must be classified under the ubiquitous 'wonder-tales' of Indian holy men.

He lived for a while in Jais but later in life moved to Amethi, a short distance to the east. One tradition ascribes this move to a directive from Jāyasī's pīr.[14] Another story records that the poet was invited to the town by the local king Rāmsingh, who had heard some begging ascetic recite the bārahmāsā from *Padmāvat* and was anxious to know who the author of these verses was. A story quoted by Pandey (1933) relates how Jāyasī was once near the royal palace of Amethi, when a *pūjā* – a Hindu ritual of worship – was being performed. Being a Muslim, he was refused attendance. Nevertheless, he noticed a mistake in the proceedings of the ceremony and sent a soldier to inform the king. The king was embarrassed at having refused the poet entrance and begged his forgiveness. Jāyasī is said to have composed his *Akharāvaṭ* on this occasion, although this is not referred to in the text as it is known today.[15] Another legend claims that Jāyasī's blessing helped the king to have two sons.

The introduction to the critical edition of *Padmāvat* by Grierson and Dvivedī mentions that Jāyasī attended the court of Jagat Deva, an ally of Sher Shāh. According to the editors, two of the friends mentioned by the poet in the prologue of the poem were also active in this court. These are interesting accounts, but they are not backed up by references to verifiable sources.[16]

According to the biographical traditions, Jāyasī spent the last years of his life in meditation in the forests near Amethi.[17] His death is reported to have come about when he transformed himself into a tiger and was accidentally shot by hunters in the king's service. The ruler ordained that the poet's memory should be kept alive by burning a lamp at his tomb and by recitations of the Qur'an. Pandey mentions that a small *melā* – ceremonial gathering – was held on the grave every Thursday. Close to the grave of Jāyasī is that of Dhūdādhārī Shāh, who is said to have served the poet during his last days (1933: 417).

It is surprising that the sources cited here do not mention people Jāyasī explicitly refers to in his work, such as his spiritual mentors. On the other hand, characters from the legendary stories, such as Rājā Rāmsingh of Amethi or Jagat Dev, are not mentioned in his poems. This underlines the hagiographical nature of the traditions that have gathered around the poet, which are comparable to those that have developed around other early modern poets.[18]

The only tangible link with the legends is the list of four friends and possible patrons of the poet in stanza 22 of *Padmāvat*, of whom it is said that they were attendants at the court of Jagat Dev.[19] The image of his blindness in one eye and his distorted face seem to have the function of awarding the poet special visionary powers. This detail in the legends may have been invented on the basis of the passages in the text.

What does show very clearly from the description of Jāyasī's life in local legends and hagiographies is how the poet had become a 'religious hero' on whom the standard topoi of saintly biographies were projected. These accounts tell more of the religious function of his tomb than of his historical life. The devotion to Sufi saints is a prominent element in the images of his poetry, and is one of the themes that will be followed throughout the reading of *Padmāvat* presented in this book. The hagiographical sources provide an interesting complement to the spread of Jāyasī's work in manuscripts and adaptations after his death, as they suggest an interaction between his fame as a local religious hero and the popularity and transmission of his work.[20]

1.2 The dates of the poet

Information on the dates of Jāyasī's life can be found in some of the more authoritative taẕkiras, as well as in his own works. The interpretation of these references is the subject of a debate among scholars which is represented in detail by Pāṭhak (1976) and Millis (1984: 20-23). Weighing the various arguments put forward, it seems safe to assume a date that puts his birth in the 1580s or 1590s, the last ten or twenty years of the ninth century of the Hijra age. His death must have taken place after the composition of the last works known from his hand, which means after 949/1540-41. Śukla reports a document received by a relative of the poet from the Nawāb of Oudh, which mentions 4 Rajab 949 (1542) as the date of Jāyasī's death, but this cannot be verified (1935: 8). Millis assesses the main arguments in the debate on the dates of the poet and reaches a similar conclusion (1984: 23). The *Ma'ārij al-Vilāyat* mentions that Jāyasī lived till the reign of Akbar, for which there is no other evidence (Millis 1984: 23 quoting Rizvi 1978 vol. 1: 371).

The most reliable points of reference for determining Jāyasī's dates can

be found in the verses in his work that mention the year of composition. For *Padmāvat* this is most probably 947/1540-41, for *Ākhirī Kalām* 936/1529-30 and for *Kanhāvat* 947/1540-41. There is some doubt in the case of *Akharāvaṭ*, for which the date of 911/1505-6 can be defended.[21] The poet's statements on his own age are less self-evident and need interpretation. The references in the prologue and the concluding stanzas of his poems cannot be taken as literal indications of the poet's real age. The opening and closing parts have the rhetorical function of framing the poem and introducing the themes of the poem. In that context, the dates given are not meant as a literal indication.[22]

In the last stanzas of *Padmāvat* the poet describes how old age emaciated his body and made his hair turn white (653), which indicates that he was old or at least middle-aged when he finished this work. The image of the poet turning gray and posing as an old man is a common topos in Hindi and Persian poetry. The poet speaks in this stanza through the persona of an old man who summons others not to let their chance at love slip away. The topos of the ageing poet is not present in *Kanhāvat*, which was written in the same year as *Padmāvat*. Without further evidence it is difficult to ascertain the age of the poet on the basis of lines from these two texts.

Ākhirī Kalām provides another reference to the poet's age at the time of writing:

> My birth was in the year nine hundred; thirty years later this poem is told.
> I came into a great town called Udhatacāra;[23] there was an earthquake that upset the whole world.
>
> *Ākhirī Kalām* 4.1-2

The verse offers an indication to Jāyasī's dates, but not without ambivalence. There are various possibilities to interpret 'nine hundred' (*nau sadī*) in the first line. Millis argues that Jāyasī uses *sadī* only in the sense of 'century' and not of 'hundred', for which the poet uses '*sai*' or '*sau*' (1984: 21). This would mean that '*nau sadī*' should be read as 'the ninth century'. One could also argue that '*sadī*' is a variation of '*sai*', to make it rhyme with '*badī*' at the end of the second half-verse. In this reading, which the editor Śukla and the translator Shirreff have accepted as the correct reading and meaning, the poet indicates that the poet was born in the year 900H, and not in the 'ninth century'.

Similar to the reference to old age in *Padmāvat*, the thematic context of this remark also plays a role here, which gives a double meaning to this line,

which would make both readings, 'nine hundred' and 'ninth century', meaningful. It is characteristic of the poet's style to explore all thematic possibilities of poetic conventions, such as the insertion of the date of his birth. His audience must have know his real age, so the literal meaning of this reference is less significant than its thematic connotation. The Hindi word *nau* means both 'new' and 'nine'. By using '*nau sadī*' (new century/ninth century) the poet indicates that he is a man of the *new* century – the tenth – even when he was born around the end of the ninth, which was the last century of the first millennium of the Hijra age. It was a widespread belief in the poet's days that the Day of Judgement would come at the end of the tenth century.

This belief was also present in the direct environment of Jāyasī. One of his pīrs, Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (1443-1505), led a revivalist movement and claimed to be the *mahdī*, a figure believed to come to restore true Islam in the advent of the Last Day.[24] Jāyasī mentions Saiyid Muḥammad as one of his pīrs in *Padmāvat* and in *Ākhirī Kalām*, which is a description of the events of the Last Day. Taking into account the intended polyphony of Jāyasī's style, one could argue that the expression '*nau sadī*' seems to suggest that, though born in or near the year 900H, he is, in religious terms, a man of the presumed last century of the Hijra era, with all that this entails.

The mentioning of an earthquake in *Ākhirī Kalām* 4.2 has made many scholars search for a historical occurrence in Jāyasī's time. The description of this earthquake in stanza 4 suggests that this image is used to introduce the trembling of the world on the Last Day, which is traditionally believed to be announced by earthquakes and floods.[25]

The 'thirty years' mentioned in *Ākhirī Kalām* 4.1 provide an indication for the relative age of the poet, but again, this does not have to be understood as a literal reference to the actual age of the poet at the time of the composition of the poem. If the date of the *Ākhirī Kalām* mentioned in 13.1 (936/1529-30) is accepted, and if the beginning of the ninth century can be taken as the time of Jāyasī's birth, the statement that he is '*tīs barikh ūpar*' (past the age of thirty) may mean that the poet describes himself as a middle-aged man. It fits his poetic craftsmanship to state this in an encrypted manner.

Compared to the more reliable dates of his compositions, Jāyasī's statements on his own age leave a considerable margin for a reliable estimation of his lifespan. External sources are of little assistance here: the dates mentioned in *Ma'ārij al-Vilāyat* described above, or stories on meetings with rulers, are part of the topoi of saintly biographies and do not provide hard evidence.[26] Stories of encounters with rulers are not attested in other sources. Such tales also have a thematic purpose, emphasising the poet's distance from worldly

power, which is part of the habitus of the mystic, especially in the Chishtī lineages. It makes them unreliable for dating the poet. The story in which the sultan mocks his disfigured face conforms to the emphasis on the outward humility of the mystic, which contrasts with his spiritual status. As will be explained extensively in the analysis of the role of the poet as a mediator between secular and spiritual powers below, in chapter 7.3, this trope is present in many forms in *Padmāvat*, such as in the image of old age discussed above, and that of the poet who should not be judged on his ragged appearance but by the 'jewels' of his words.[27] The latter image is a prelude to important images in the poem, such as the ascetic dress which the king Ratansen puts on to cloak his worldly status when he goes to Siṃhal as a *yogī* (*Padmāvat* 273). A presumed encounter or a professional affiliation of Jāyasī with the court of Sher Shāh has not been recorded elsewhere.[28]

Although the accounts of encounters with worldly powers are of limited use in dating Jāyasī's life because they cannot be confirmed in reliable sources, they have a pronounced thematic significance that is relevant for the present analysis of *Padmāvat*. The exchange with worldly rulers defined to a large extent the environment in which the Sufi poet worked. It is therefore no surprise that stories of interaction with rulers form part of the imagined biography of the poet.

The analysis of Jāyasī's birth and death dates leads to the conclusion that, most probably, he was born at the end of the fifteenth century and lived at least until some time after the finishing of his *Padmāvat* and *Kanhāvat*, a retelling of the Kṛṣṇa story from a Sufi perspective, in 1540-41. However large the margins, this does not contradict any of the dates of his works and other information on his life. This dating makes the poet of *Padmāvat* a witness to religious and political events that took place in the first half of the sixteenth century and shaped the field in which he wrote his poetry, as will be outlined below.

1.3 The poet's religious inspiration

For an analysis of the religious background of Muḥammad Jāyasī stanzas 18-20 of the prologue of *Padmāvat* provide the most extensive information on his spiritual guides and the network in which he operated. *Akharāvaṭ* (stanza 26) and *Ākhirī Kalām* (stanza 9) contain a more concise version of the same silsila.[29]

> Saiyid Ashraf is my beloved teacher [*pīr*]; he showed me the bright path.
> He lit the lamp of love in my heart; a light glowed and my heart became spotless.
> The road was dark and invisible; a light shone and I understood everything.

My sins had cast me in the salty ocean; he made me his pupil and put me in the boat of faith [*dharma*].
As a helmsman he firmly took my hand; I reached the landing on the shore.
He who has him for a helmsman will go swiftly and reach the shore.
He is a helper and companion for the distressed; where [the water] is deep he gives you his hand.
He is Jahāngīr and he is a Chishtī, he is spotless as the moon.
He is the master of the world, I am a servant in his house.

Padmāvat 18

In his house there is one shining gem; it is Hājī Shaikh who is full of good fortune.
In his house there are two bright lights; God has created them to show the path.
Shaikh Mubārak, who is like the full moon; Shaikh Kamāl who is spotless in the world.
These two are stable like the Pole Star; in this they even surpass the mountains Meru and Kiṣkindhā.
God gave them brilliance and beauty; he made them columns of the world.
As two columns they prop up the whole earth; with their weight they stabilise the world.
When someone has a vision [*darśan*][30] of them or touches their feet, his sins are taken away and his body becomes spotless.

Muḥammad [says], he who has a teacher and a pīr will have no sorrow on his way.
He whose boat has both a helmsman and an oarsman will swiftly reach the shore.

Padmāvat 19

The description in *Padmāvat* mentions two lines of spiritual tutors and their predecessors. A central place is given to the praise, in stanza 18 and 19, for Mīr Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. 840/1436-37), a Sufi in the Chishtī lineage who settled in Kichaucha after having lived in many places in North India. He was a pupil in the *khānqāh* (congregation) of Ḥusām al-dīn in Manikpur (d. 1477). Ashraf Jahāngīr was well known for his writings on mystical topics and was considered influential in his time. He had contacts with many of the im-

portant mystics of his days and was initiated in all the major Sufi *ṭarīqa*s (lineages).[31]

Ashraf Jahāngīr had, by Jāyasī's days, most likely already become a legendary figure, whose grave in Kichaucha attracted many devotees, and whose spiritual prestige inspired a local lineage of Chishtī Sufis. The dargāh in Kichaucha was managed by the descendants of the pīr and had branched out to Rasulpur, Jais and Basorhi. Each of these branches was led by its own spiritual leader, who represented the authority of the original founder of the lineage and was referred to as *sajjāda-nishīn*, or *gaddi-nishīn*, or *dīvān*.

Local traditions around the Sufi centre of Jahāngīr's lineage in Jais mention a silsila of sajjāda-nishīns in which the names of Shāh Saiyid Ḥājjī, Shāh Saiyid Kamāl and Shāh Mubārak Bodle appear as inheritors of the baraka – the magical powers attributed to a saint by devotees – of Ashraf Jahāngīr (Millis 1984: 36). These persons are also mentioned in *Padmāvat*, stanza 19.1-4. Although little is known about these persons, or their relationship to the poet, there is some information on Shāh Saiyid Kamāl. Shirreff, the translator of *Padmāvat*, mentions that his tomb is on the outskirts of Jais (1944: vi). In a fifteenth-century taẕkira – *Laṭā'if-i Ashrafī* by Niẓām Yamanī – Kamāl is mentioned as a wandering yogī who is converted and initiated by Ashraf Jahāngīr.[32]

The description in *Padmāvat* 18 suggests that Jāyasī 'served' at the Jais branch of the dargāh of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr, which probably indicates that he lived and worked inside the centre. The praise for the founder of the silsila Ashraf Jahāngīr, and for the local leaders of the dargāh in Jais indicate the two sources of religious authority that mattered to the poet. Ashraf Jahāngīr was a more distant, legendary figure to whose spiritual legacy the poet connects himself. With the praise for the four leaders of the dargāhs in the lineage of Ashraf Jahāngīr, the poet shows his allegiance to powerful people in his direct environment, who were most probably also his patrons in a religious sense.

The references in *Padmāvat* to both the founder of the lineage and his contemporary 'caretakers' reflect the state of the Chishtī Sufi lineage in North India in the times of the poet, which was characterised by growing fragmentation and the establishment of a large number of local lineages.[33] From the time of its founding by Mu'īn ud-dīn Chishtī of Ajmer (1141-1230), the Chishtī order had been centred around the personal charisma and teaching of a *shaikh* or *quṭb*, the religious leader of the ṭarīqa. The shaikh was authoritative in matters of mystical doctrine and controlled the training of *murīd*s (pupils) who lived and worked in the khānqāh. He himself usually chose his successor – his *khalīfa* – from amongst his favourite pupils. This transfer of power was confirmed by

the bestowal of the *khirqa* (robe) on the successor and by giving him his own prayer mat, which the shaikh had received in a similar manner from his own predecessor. During the Delhi Sultanate period, the congregation had strong, charismatic leaders, such as Niẓām al-dīn Auliyā' (1238-1325), who were conscious of the political position of the Sufi order. They publicly displayed disdain for worldly power, while at the same time building relationships with worldly rulers. The centralisation of the order, with the shaikh as holder of the religious authority, was essential to this strategy.

After Niẓām al-dīn Auliyā's death in 1456, the Chishtī lineage began to split into local branches, each with its own leader. These local khānqāhs grew in importance with the fast development of regional towns and cities in North India during the period. The claim to religious authority was no longer centralised: charismatic shaikhs in local Chishtī centres could carve out their own seat of power and set up relations with local elites. This development started in the middle of the fifteenth century and was enhanced by the growing practice of devotion to the pīr's tomb. In Jāyasī's days, the Chishtī centres had become strong actors in the realm of popular religion. The khānqāhs participated in pilgrimage circuits, drawing in large numbers of devotees and the income that came with them, and competing with other sites connected to popular Hindu and nāth yogī saints. The anchor point for the social position of the centres shifted from the spiritual teaching of the shaikh to the magical power, the baraka, ascribed to the pīr. This was believed to remain present in the tomb of the holy man after his death and became the object of popular devotion. Hagiographies and miracle stories began to evolve around the figure of the pīr, often instigated by the descendants of the holy man who managed the centres. By the end of the fifteenth century, the khānqāh had become a powerful institution that was open to devotees from all social strata and played a prominent role in society, instead of the inward oriented religious centre that was its origin. It had to integrate its role as devotional centre with providing spiritual training to murīds, according to the doctrinal insights laid down by the founder of the silsila. The leadership of the khānqāh was no longer awarded to pupils of the shaikh but often became a hereditary right of his family, who took over the management of the dargāh and claimed the inheritance of his baraka. This change was not always without strife or conflict between the 'inner circle' of murīds, who lived in the khānqāh for mystical and religious training, and those who dealt with the shrine's management and political strategy.

The praise, in *Padmāvat* 18 and 19, for both Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr, who provided the source of the dargāh's spiritual prestige, and its contemporary 'caretakers', reflects the decentralised structure of the Chishtī during the mid-

dle of the sixteenth century. The Jais branch of the dargāh of Ashraf Jahāngīr was no exception to this general development. Besides the activities as a religious centre, it derived its income from land grants from worldly patrons, a practice that is documented to have existed at least until the reign of Shāh Jahān (1592-1666) (Bilgrami 1975: 298-335).

With his reference to both Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr, and those who were in charge of his legacy, Jāyasī marks his position at the intersection of the various roles of the Sufi centre. The reference to the local sajjāda-nishīn is only present in *Padmāvat* and not in other works, which only contain the praise for Ashraf Jahāngīr. The attention to the two sources of authority in the Sufi centre the poet claims affiliation to provides a significant indication for the meaning and the rhetorical intent of the hybrid symbolism and imagery in his poems. The idiom of Sufi mystical symbolism in Jāyasī's poetry refers to a hybrid context, in which the path of doctrinal mysticism was an important element, albeit one that had become embedded in devotional practices that had a broad appeal and crossed the boundaries of religious communities. The praise for the more 'transcendent' authority of the founding pīr, as well as for the local Chishtī environment locates Jāyasī's 'translation' of the concepts of Sufi theory into an idiom that refers to both Indian and Islamic literary sources in a specific literary field. The context of the Sufi centre also remained an important locus for the reception of his work, as can be deduced from indications in some of the manuscripts of his poems, which were transmitted in Sufi khānqāhs.[34] It will be shown further on how the complexity of the religious environment of the poet is reflected in the thematic programme of *Padmāvat*.

With the decentralisation of the Indian Sufi orders, it was not uncommon for mystics to be affiliated to more than one lineage.[35] This diffraction of spiritual authority could have been behind Jāyasī's praise for another lineage in his stutikhaṇḍs – that of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (1447-1505) and his follower Shaikh Burhān of Kalpi.

> Guru Mahdi is the oarsman, I am his servant; his oar moves swiftly.
> My guide was Shaikh Burhān; he put me on the path and gave me insight.
> The blessed Allāhdād was his guru; he was an honourable man who brightened up faith and the world.
> He was a pupil of Saiyid Muḥammad; in his presence even accomplished men rejoiced.
> Daniyāl was his guru, who showed him the way; he was guided by Khvāja Khiẓr.

> Lord Khvāja was very pleased with him; he brought him to Saiyid Rāje.
> From him I received my talent; he loosened my tongue and I started to write poems of love.
> He [Burhān] is the guru and I am his pupil; as a servant I will always honour him.
> Through him I got to see a darśan of God.
>
> *Padmāvat* 20

Jāyasī also describes this connection extensively in *Akharāvaṭ* and *Kanhāvat*, and alludes to it in *Ākhirī Kalām*.[36] He praises Shaikh Burhān al-dīn Anṣārī as his teacher in mystical affairs and in the writing of Hindi poetry. Several manuscripts with fragments of works by the pīr of Kalpi have been found (Askari 1953). There are several unrelated references to Shaikh Burhān's liking for Hindi poetry.

Al Badā'ūnī claims that Shaikh Burhān died in 970/1562-63 in his simple cell in Kalpi where he had lived up to a very advanced age. Besides his poetic talents, which he transferred to Jāyasī, as is mentioned in line 7 of stanza 20, Burhān was known for his simple and ascetic life and his self-taught learning. Without any formal training in religious matters he had a reputation as a learned exegete of the Qur'an.[37]

By referring to this pīr as a Mahdavī (*Padmāvat* 20.1), Jāyasī indicates that Burhān was a follower of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur (1447-1505), who proclaimed himself mahdī in 1495.[38] He is also mentioned in *Padmāvat* 20.4, *Akharāvaṭ* 27.4[39] and *Kanhāvat* 6.4. Saiyid Muḥammad's claim to being mahdī is inspired by the belief in the arrival of the Last Day at the close of the tenth millennium of the Hijra age.

In Islamic tradition, the mahdī was believed to come and warn the believers of the coming of the Day of Judgement, to restore the pure faith, so that all believers would enter paradise.[40] This claim held a political challenge for Islamic orthodoxy, as well as for worldly rulers, who were responsible for upholding the faith. Saiyid Muḥammad was a charismatic religious personality in his days who had good relations with the Sharqī sultans of the prosperous kingdom of Jaunpur. He travelled a lot and spent a long time in Gujarat. On one of his journeys to Mecca he is believed to have made his claim to being mahdī. Thereafter, he was openly opposed by religious leaders and banished from many Indian centres (Rizvi 1965: 68-134).

Despite opposition from other religious movements, his following increased, and influential Mahdavīs established their own centres. One of these

dairas, as the Mahdavī convents were called, was in Kalpi and was Burhān's base. The rise of the dairas can be seen in the same light as that of the spread of local Sufi khānqāhs described above. The growing importance and prosperity of regional towns created opportunities for local Sufis and other religious leaders with enough charisma to form alliances with local rulers and carve out a position for themselves, outside the realm of the more established religious networks.

There is an interesting legend about Saiyid Muḥammad that relates how he led a regiment of ascetics – *bairāgīs* – in the campaign of Sultan Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī against Rāi Dalpat of Gaur. True to his reputation as a fighting ascetic, he withstood the Rāi, killing the royal elephant with one arrow and cutting the king in two with his sword (Rizvi 1965: 79-80). Such legends are typical of the reputation of Sufis or other religious heroes in the local imagination and can be seen as an element that inspired Jāyasī's respect for Saiyid Muḥammad. The story also connects spiritual power and military might, which is a recurrent theme in *Padmāvat*.

Jāyasī states that he was connected to the mahdī of Jaunpur through Allāhdād, whom he describes in *Akharāvaṭ* 27.4 as a young spiritual master, a *siddha*.[41] This could refer to a pupil of Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh (d. 1495), the successor and son of Husām al-dīn of Manikpur, who lived at least until 1533 (Lawrence 1982: 14 ff). Another source reports a Sufi called Allāhdād of Jaunpur as the pupil of Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh's son, Saiyid Nūr al-dīn Rāje (d. 1514).[42] It is not clear to which Allāhdād the poet refers.

Dāniyāl, the pīr of Saiyid Muḥammad, is mentioned in some taẕkiras as the pupil of Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh.[43] He was called Khiẓrī, because he claimed that he was inspired by an encounter with Khvāja Khiẓr, the legendary saint who guided Alexander the Great to the Land of Darkness. By claiming an initiation by Khiẓr, a Sufi could bypass the tutelage of a human pīr. This kind of initiation was considered even more valuable than that by a regular pīr.[44] The taẕkiras mention Dāniyāl as a Sufi who was active in Jaunpur in the days of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī (r. 1458–1479). In Jāyasī's view it was Khiẓr who brought the pīr to Saiyid Rāje, which should be interpreted as a reference to Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh. The mentioning of Khiẓr in this *stuti* (praising verse) refers to legends about Dāniyāl but also fits in with references to Alexander's journey to the source of the water of life in *Padmāvat*.[45]

Although Burhān and Allāhdād were known as Mahdavīs and are referred to in this way by Jāyasī, it is not clear how this association influenced their religious views. The Mahdavī movement had started as a religious reformist movement that wanted to restore a pure form of Islam. Burhān was

also a poet of verse in North Indian vernaculars and an eclectic ascetic who lived in Kalpi, a centre of popular devotion where many Indian mystics also had their basis.

In Jāyasī's times, the Mahdavī reformist movement may have developed into a regular network of Indian Sufis who competed for patronage and access to worldly powers with other, similar congregations. As an indication for the polyphony of religious perspectives in this context it may be noted that Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī once vigorously opposed a claim to mahdī-hood by a Sufi before Saiyid Muḥammad made his claim, and had warned against other false claimants with the argument that the true mahdī would be easily recognisable by the exact description given in the scriptures (Rizvi 1978: 270). This warning did not prevent his followers, such as Jāyasī, to combine allegiance to Saiyid Muḥammad with devotion to the dargāh of Ashraf Jahāngīr.

It is not known to what extent Jāyasī personally knew the religious men he praises. There is a tradition which claims that Jāyasī was born in Manikpur and later went to Jais. His mother was said to originate from there, being a daughter of Shaikh Allāhdād.[46] If this is true, it would shed more light on Jāyasī's relationships with the pīrs he mentions. The role of family relationships in the Sufi environment and in the 'professional' practice of poetry was important. It would suit a 'local' man such as Jāyasī to have a network of relatives on which he could depend for his training and career. The reverence with which he describes Burhān testifies to a great affection for this Sufi who put him on the track of writing poetry.

Concluding this description of the various circuits and movements referred to by the poet in his poems, one can safely say that Jāyasī was affiliated to two major and influential lineages in his environment. The milieu of Burhān and Allāhdād seems to have formed the background of his spiritual and literary training. The reference to these popular pīrs may have served to validate the mystical intent of his works. The reference to the dargāh of Ashraf Jahāngīr reflects the complex tasks and roles of the centre, consisting of doctrinal teaching, the popular cult of the tomb of the pīr and the involvement with local religious and worldly leaders. In this context, mediating between the different milieus was important. The stanzas in the prologue in which the poet positions himself in the local religious context are a good introduction to his role in this respect, which is alluded to in the many mediators among the characters of his story, which are described in more detail in chapter 7 of this study.

Millis' observation that *Padmāvat* was written by a Sufi saint, is perhaps an overstatement regarding Jāyasī's position (1984: 83). His name does not

appear in the most authoritative taẕkira of Indian Sufis, the sixteenth-century *Akhbār al-akhyār* by ʻAbd al-Haqq Dehlavī (1551-1642). This omission may suggest that he was more famous as the poet of a number or remarkable works than as as a Sufi pīr.

1.4 Royal patronage and contemporary politics

Several traditions on the life of Jāyasī mention contacts with local rulers, although these are never backed up by other sources. Most of these stories must have been postulated after his death, which is also evidently the case for a tale in which the poet's grave is located near the fort of the kings of Amethi. The royal fortress Jāyasī might have known in his days was located at a considerable distance from this place. A new fortress was later erected much closer to the poet's tomb (Śukla 1935 [1924]: 6 ff). The growing fame of the deceased poet as a pīr may have instigated the formation of such legends.

Another indication for an association of the poet with worldly patrons comes from *Padmāvat* 22, which mentions four 'friends' of the poet. P.L. Gupta, the editor of *Kanhāvat*, refers to a source that identifies Yusūf Malik, Salār Khādim, Miyān Salone and Shaikh Bare mentioned in the stanza, with some uncertainty, as influential and wealthy people in Jais. Salār Khadīm was known as a rich landowner (1981: 28, quoting Jāyasī 1940: 56-59).

The description of the religious milieu in which Jāyasī positions himself in his prologues shows the involvement of North Indian Sufi centres in the local political scene and their exchanges with worldly rulers. This background shines through in Jāyasī's poems in various ways. Direct references to the sultan of Delhi are found in the stutikhaṇḍs of all his poems except *Akharāvaṭ*. Jāyasī was quick to respond to changes in the Delhi central court. The two works written in 1540 are dedicated to different rulers – *Kanhāvat* to Humāyūn and *Padmāvat* to Sher Shāh, who regained the throne that year. Except for a legend about an encounter with Akbar, there is no mention in any source of contacts of the poet with the court in Delhi. The praise to the ruler in Delhi should therefore be seen as a poetical topos. The images with which he praises the monarch in Delhi have a strong thematic link with those used in the poem to describe ideal kingship and therefore have more than just a conventional meaning.

Patronage of mystical poets by worldly patrons was an established practice in Persian poetry and prologues to *maṯnavīs* (narrative poems) or other forms of poetry usually include praise for the poet's benefactor. Patronage of art and poetry by nobility and high-ranking *'ulamā*' was an important source of income for Persian poets and continued to be so in the courts of North India from the days of the Delhi Sultanate onwards. The practice of writing Sufi po-

etry in Indian languages started mainly in khānqāhs, but it developed under the patronage of local Muslim courts and thus took over this aspect of Persian poetry. In some Sufi premākhyāns, a reference to a worldly patron is contained in the praise of the ruler of the day. Of Jāyasī's works, only *Kanhāvat* contains a verse that can be interpreted as praise for a local ruler as direct patron of the poet. The possibility of an affiliation of the poet with a small court in Jais is not documented in studies of his works.[47]

The stutikhaṇḍ of *Kanhāvat* contains an elaborate description of Jais, its fortress, gardens, temples, *ghāt*s and other conventional highlights. *Kanhāvat* is exceptional in the fact that Jāyasī uses this topos to describe his own agency, embedded in a description of life at the local court (*Kanhāvat* 12, in the edition by P.L. Gupta):[48]

> On top of [the castle] are guards on all four sides; such is the incomparable abode of the sultan.
> He is Naradami [?] the first among men, he descends from 'Umar [ibn al] Khaṭṭāb.
> White-washed verandas provide shade; there the splendid noblemen sit.
> There is a minister present and learned pundits; there are also knights on horseback.
> Some sit and read the scriptures [*purāṇas*]; someone reads aloud a story from a book.
> All bow their heads in the service of God; they bring their head to the ground seven times.[49]
> Sweet-voiced singing enchants the heart; all the princes who sit there radiate.
> There the poet Malik Muḥammad resides, nobody knows his secret;
> He is worth tons [*lākhs*] of millions, if he finds [the right] buyer.
>
> *Kanhāvat* 12

In both critical editions that contain this verse, the reading of the manuscripts is unclear. The second line seems to mention the name of the ruler of whom it can be assumed that he was based in the town Jais, which is the topic of the description. His name is hard to decipher in the manuscripts, but he must be a Muslim ruler, because he is referred to as a descendant of the family of the caliph 'Umar. The remark in the dohā on the hidden value of the poet's work clearly suggests a bid for patronage.

The introduction of the *Kanhāvat* continues to praise the sultan Humāyūn of Delhi. The local ruler referred to here may well have been a vas-

sal of the Mughal ruler. The conventional praise to Humāyūn emphasises his generosity and his dominance over all regions of the world, having made 'the whole world Turkāna'.[50]

The reference to a local court, even if it remains uncertain to whom it refers, complements the poet's connection with local Sufi lineages who were themselves involved with worldly patrons. This places the poet in a mediating role, serving interests of both his worldly and his spiritual patrons. His craft and inspired vision give him something both parties value highly, if he can convince them to remunerate him for his poem. Even without the reference in *Kanhāvat*, patronage of Sufi poets by worldly rulers should be seen as a structural element of the literary field in which poets such as Jāyasī operated.

The double affiliation and the mediating role of the poet constitute a background in the real world to prominent themes in his poems, especially in *Padmāvat.* The second part of this study will analyse how the poet builds his poem around the juxtaposition of both the religious and worldly connotations of service and sacrifice, as aspects of the overarching theme of mystical love. He also includes his own agency as a Sufi poet working for patrons on both sides in this thematic paradigm.[51]

Jāyasī's praise, in the prologues of his works, for influential Sufis and other spiritual leaders, as well as the hints at patronage from worldly patrons, are also significant in relation to the topic of *Padmāvat*, which revolves around the inherent opposition between spiritual and worldly power. In Jāyasī's days, the story of the siege of Citor by 'Alā' al-dīn in 1303 was a popular legend that featured in a larger corpus of stories on the Muslim conquests in Rajasthan. Literary versions of these tales were made in the heroic genres of Rajasthani court poetry, the *vārtās* and *rāsaus*.[52] The historian Aziz Ahmad characterised the stories of the defence of the fortresses of Ranthambor, Deogir and Citor against the Muslim armies as 'counter-epics', counterparts of the 'glorious' descriptions of these campaigns by the Persian court poets of the conquering Muslim rulers.[53] Ahmad recognises that Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* does not fit into these categories, as the poem, written by a Muslim poet, revolves around other themes than a 'Hindu-Muslim' conflict and has a more didactic slant (1963: 470-476).

More recent studies have taken a different perspective on the historicity of Jāyasī's tale. Two levels can be distinguished in his representation of the siege of Citor. The first is that of the historical accounts that attached the legend of the queen Padminī[54] to the siege of the Rajput fortress by 'Alā' al-dīn of 1303, which places the events in a distant past far removed from the time in which the poet tells his story. At another level, Jāyasī brings the historical

events at Citor closer to his contemporary reality. He probably modelled Ratansen on the Rajput ruler who ruled the city from 1527 to 1532, and not on the king who was the historical opponent of 'Alā' al-dīn, the besieger of Citor.[55]

The ruse of hiding soldiers in palanquins is reported in Badā'ūnī's account of Sher Shāh's siege of a Rohtas fortress near Cahārkhaṇḍ in 1537. Badā'ūnī describes a conflict between Sher Shāh and Humāyūn during which the former is forced to take cover in the Rohtas stronghold. He arrives with a large amount of palanquins filled with Afghan soldiers to the Rajput king of the place, pretending to seek a safe place for his family members. Once inside the fortress, the soldiers jump out of the palanquins and capture the place.

Citor's fame as the most prestigious Rajput stronghold will certainly have been revived in the days of the poet when the fortress was besieged by Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat in 1531 (Ahmad 1963: 452). This may well have inspired the poet to reuse the Padminī story from the past and bring it closer to his and his audience's historical reality. The conflict between the Rajput king and sultan 'Alā' al-dīn over Padmāvatī is primarily that between a loyal servant and his dishonourable overlord. The sultan commits a moral mistake by demanding the queen as a sign of the subordinate king's submission. In the cultural context of Rajput clans, the queens represent the network of alliances by marriage with other clans that provides the basis for a king's power and status in his community.[56]

By demanding Ratansen's queen as a token of subservience, 'Alā' al-dīn challenges the king's honour and truthfulness – his *sat.* Ratansen defies the challenge and hold true to Rajput values, which makes him the moral victor at the end of the poem. His moral superiority is obtained by following the path of mystical love in his quest for Padmāvatī.

The themes of the alliances through marriage and the threat that a strong central ruler poses to the political freedom of the Rajput warrior must have appealed to an audience in Jāyasī's time.[57] In her description of the role of the Padmini legend in shaping the historical memory of Rajput elites, Ramya Sreenivasan proposes a similar argument, adding to its support the notion that Sher Shah had a power base in the region in which Jāyasi worked, and that local Rajput elites who were affected by his rise to power in Delhi could well have been among the poet's or his pīrs' patrons (2007: 46-50). Sreenivasan's interpretation of the meaning of the Sufi versions of the tale of the padminī queen shows how scholarship on Jāyasī's poetry converges in suggesting an engagement with contemporary politics on a different basis than the 'counter-epic' interpretation proposed by Ahmad.

Although the composition of *Padmāvat* preceded the centralisation of

the Mughal imperial structure, later in the sixteenth century, it certainly refers to the anxiety of losing free agency on the part of local elites, whose power base was a network of alliances. In *Padmāvat*, the Sufi poet presents an alternative source of moral authority for this worldly elite. Instead of uncertain alliances, obtaining moral superiority through spiritual service (sevā) and self-sacrifice provides a more stable source of power, especially when this is legitimised by the authority of a pīr whose spiritual charisma is recognized in the local environment. The example of the yogī-king Ratansen, whose soul was saved by his sacrifice for the love of Padmāvatī, offers the worldly ruler an example of an alternative form of independence. It is the role of the Sufi poet to show his patron this example and thus be like a guide on the mystical journey.

Sreenivasan is correct in pointing out the presence of the theme of the heroic defence of the Rajput queens in literary representations of sultan 'Alā' al-dīn's conquests of Ranthambor and Deogir. Jāyasī projected the Sufi theme of the mystical quest on these tales of heroism (2007: 50). The historical tales of the siege of Citor contained the prominent role of the padminī queen, which gave Jāyasī a possibility to combine 'vintage' material with elements that had relevance to his own world and to the patrons he may have served.[58]

1.5 The other works by Jāyasī

Although the present study primarily deals with Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, the context of his other works is an important element in the reading presented here. There is some discussion on the number of works produced by Jāyasī. Most scholars present a list of fourteen titles of works in Avadhi, but this list probably contains some doubles in the form of poems that are known under different names.[59] There is also mention of Persian works attributed to the poet which have so far not been found.

The following works in Avadhi are available in editions or have been found in manuscripts: *Padmāvat*, *Akharāvaṭ*, *Ākhirī Kalām*, *Maharī Bāīsī* (or *Kahārnāmā* or *Kaharānāmā*), *Maslānāmā*, *Kanhāvat* and *Citrarekhā*.[60] The dates of these works cover a period from 1506 to 1540. The available works do not refer to other texts by the same poet, so there is little evidence of a larger oeuvre than the extant poems. The biographical data presented above do not contradict the notion that Jāyasī maintained a steady production of works. If the dates given in the poems can be relied upon, he finished both *Kanhāvat* and *Padmāvat* within one year.

There is no direct indication that Jāyasī wrote in Persian, as no texts in that language by him are known. His affiliation with Sufi centres makes it likely that he knew Persian and the literature on Sufi theory that was taught there.

Ākhirī Kalām, which describes the events of the Day of Judgement, shows that he was well acquainted with the Islamic tradition. The format and style of *Padmāvat* and other works show influences from Persian poetry, but these models were already present in earlier Avadhi poetry by Sufi poets. His mastery of Avadhi suggests that this medium was closest to him.

Normally, caution is called for with respect to the attribution of works of which no manuscripts exist to a well-known author. It is conceivable that Jāyasī created a substantial oeuvre as a professional poet. Seeing him as a poet first and then as a mystic could make it easier to accept this hypothesis. As has been argued above, there is no evidence that suggests that he had a position as court poet, which involved making genealogies and other epic biographies, but it is possible that he delivered mystical poetry to worldly patrons, as may have been indicated in *Kanhāvat*. The fact that not all the works attributed to him are still available is not conclusive, considering the nature of the textual tradition and the damage done to manuscript collections over time. Even if what is extant of Jāyasī's oeuvre is not a complete record of his poetic activity, it forms an impressive body of text that allows an insight into the various stages of his creative life.

1.5.1 Akharāvaṭ[61]

The accepted chronology of Jāyasī's poems makes *Akharāvaṭ* (1506) the poet's first known work.[62] It consists of fifty-three units of seven lines in the caupāī metre, concluded by a dohā and a *soraṭhā*, a two lined verse form. Although *Akharāvaṭ* uses the same poetic style and imagery as Jāyasī's later works, it has the characteristics of a work by a young mystic involved in religious training.

The main part of *Akharāvaṭ*, comprising the first forty-three caupāī-dohā-soraṭhā units, is an acrostic on the characters of the *kaithī* script. All manuscripts of the work are in Persian script, which disagrees with the alphabet used for the acrostic. Some have argued that the acrostic shows that the poet was familiar with the kaithī script, which was in use by officials in the service of local courts, rather than with the *devanāgarī* script.[63]

The format of the acrostic is used in other religious poetry in Indian languages as well. A well-known example is the *Cauṁtīsī Ramainī* attributed to Kabīr.[64] In this work, the consecutive characters and the keywords these indicate serve to explain religious tenets from the devotion to an abstract, attributeless God (*nirguṇ bhakti*). The didactic use of the acrostic must have been the model for Jāyasī, as he also enumerates various images from Sufi theories and Islamic piety and explains them in the verses. The last ten stanzas of the work have the form of questions and answers on various mystical topics by a

pupil and his teacher, which suggest the practice of mystical training as the most likely background of the poem.

In *Akharāvaṭ* Jāyasī discusses religious themes connected with words that start with characters of the kaithī alphabet: *nā* for *namāj* (prayer), *ṭa* for *ṭhākur* (Lord), etc. The topics in this list are not picked at random but together form a rhetorical argument. The first six verses describe the creation of man and mind as a temple within the body. This inner sanctum can be reached through the tenth door, but God placed Nārad – the equivalent of the devil – to watch over this entrance.[65] Nārad slips through the door and takes control of the soul from there. This tragic flaw causes the first humans Adam and Eve to be thrown out of paradise (*kailāś*) and end up in the dark pit (*andhakūp*) that is this world. There, they become separated, and from their separate offspring Turks and Hindus develop as distinct tribes, each with their own religion.

Having presented this view of creation, the poet continues to describe how the body was moulded on the model of the universe and represents a microcosm inside each human being. Taking his cue from the keywords prompted by the letters of the alphabet, he argues that the true believer should become aware of the divine and macrocosmic dimension of the mortal body. A striking image is that of the bodies of Hindus and Turks as two branches of the same tree. Their mother gave them blood, their father semen and from these the two races (*prakār*) developed. For both it is important to purify the body, kill the thieves that are the senses and see the divine light in the mirror of the heart (*Akharāvaṭ* 14).

Jāyasī then continues to describe God's presence in this barren and transitory world. God is present in all elements, like ghee in the milk or the pearl in the ocean (*Akharāvaṭ* 16-17), and the believer has to find Him in the city that is his own body.[66] By praising God and the creation in which he manifests himself, the poet arrives at the essence of the message of this poem: the believer should become aware that the time to find God in this world is finite. He should hurry and turn away from worldly attachments to devote himself to the search for God.[67] In this context, the poet stresses the importance of following the path indicated by the guru as the only way to find God.

After this, the poet describes serving (sevā) the guru as the only way to obtain knowledge of the divine element within oneself. Only through the grace of the guru, can one follow the mystical path and reach its destination (*Akharāvaṭ* 24). These images introduce what seems an essential part of the work: the praise for the gurus Ashraf Jahāngīr and Burhān in verse 26-27.

Nā stands for *namāz* – prayer that is a pillar of the faith; he who says his prayers is a virtuous man indeed.
The Chishtī pīr expounds the law [*sharī'a*]; he is Jahāngīr and a noble Ashraf.
I ran to climb aboard his boat; [now] I can look at the water of the ocean without fear in my heart.
He who has such a good oarsman[68] sets off and goes without fear.
One cannot fail the road to divine truth if one plunges into mystical knowledge.
When one then finds rubies and pearls, one is totally absorbed in their light.
He will take those he has taken on board his ship by the hand and row them to the shore.

The true path is that of the law [*sharī'a*]; he who is not an unbeliever[69] will set foot on that path and effortlessly climb the ladder [of mystical knowledge].
He who has met his sweet guru will advance on the path to happiness;
Muḥammad [says]: happiness and bliss will be there to see if one has such a firm companion.

Akharāvaṭ 26

Pā stands for *pāeuṁ:* I found the sweet Mohadi as my teacher; I saw the path when I had a vision of him.
The name of Shaikh Burhān is dear to me; the town of Kalpi is the place of this guru.
Through him I had a vision of God; his guru was Allāhdād who showed him the way.
Allāhdād is an accomplished young teacher; he is the pupil of Saiyid Muḥammad.
Saiyid Muḥammad is true in his faith; Dāniyāl has taught him with fine words.
In every age there is the immortal Ḥaẓrat Khvāja; he is a prophet and favourite of Muḥammad.
Ḥaẓrat Khvāja Khiẓr appeared before Dāniyāl and showed him the path.

He gave him a sword the sight of which makes Iblīs fear;
hearing his name [Iblīs] flees, beating and covering his head.
He who sees the oyster in the ocean will not get it without going under;
Muḥammad [says], become like a firefly which flies into the lamp and dive deep for it.

Akharāvaṭ 27

The praise is embedded in the exhortation to an active religious attitude as outlined in the previous stanzas, and linked to the worship and service to the guru. The structure of the work, with the praise for the pīr in the centre of the poem, illustrates the poetical sevā performed by the poet for his spiritual teacher in the form of composing the *Akharāvaṭ*.

The stanzas that follow describe how the road to the divine within is found and travelled. Jāyasī uses keywords starting with the letters of the acrostic to describe the awareness of the divine essence in the devoted believer. The symbols and metaphors are very close to the idiom of nāth and sant poetry, which reflect the extent to which Indian Sufis had adopted this vocabulary to express their religious ideas. The doctrinal base of this imagery remained the Sufi doctrines as they were practiced in Chishtī centres. The following example shows how the vision of a nightly meeting with the beloved – a familiar topos of the mystical union of the soul with God in Persian Sufi poetry – is wrapped in Indian images.

> *Rā* stands for *rātahu* – in the middle of this night I am attracted to Him; let me meet my Beloved soon.
> It is as if there were two hearts, below and above; like a light which shines both hidden and visible.
> The visible one is illusion which brings false fame; the hidden one gives a darśan of the Self.
> One cannot enter this portal; Nārad lies in wait behind the door with his army.
> For this there is one true mantra; he who pronounces it can enter that door.
> When a pundit recites this and honours His name, Nārad will leave that place.
> He who has obtained this key can open that door and get to the treasure.
>
> If the eyes of the heart are opened there will be a vision in the night;
> One will behold the world in all its fourteen parts and will understand everything.
> When one beholds the Beloved face to face,
> Muḥammad [says]: then the two lower conditions will vanish and He will make them [the lovers] forever one.
>
> *Akharāvaṭ* 33

The images express the concept of *prem*, mystical love, which brings the believer closer to God. This is an essential element in Jāyasī's symbolism and a major theme in *Padmāvat*. The 'two conditions' refer to the gradual path to mystical in-

sight, which is a concept from Islamic mystical theory. Besides the allusion to the topos of the *khyāl*– the meeting with an imaginary beloved in a dream – in Persian poetry this stanza also refers to the image of the nightly meeting of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, a well-known element in *vaiṣṇava bhakti* poetry, which evokes the devotion to the incarnations of Viṣṇu, especially Kṛṣṇa. There is also resonance with the theme of *viraha* – the pain experienced by a woman who is separated from her husband. This image from folk poetry is frequently used in the religious poetry of the sants and appears also prominently in *Padmāvat.*[70]

Stanza 43 of *Akharāvaṭ* is often believed to contain a reference to the poet Kabīr, as it describes the process of weaving in mystical terms and mentions a weaver (*julāhā*) who has beaten Nārad, the devil.[71] A similar presentation of mystical concepts through images of the activities of craftsmen can be found in Jāyasī's *Kahārnāmā*, or *Maharī Bāīsī*. There, the rowing of the *kahār*s (the caste of rowers) is used as a metaphor for the process of acquiring mystical awareness. *Akharāvaṭ* 44 describes the churning of milk as a metaphor for becoming aware of God within man.

The images of weaving and churning introduce the last part of the text, which consists of a dialogue between *celā* and guru – pupil and teacher. It is not clear whether the poet states his own opinion on mystical and theological issues, or uses the topos of a religious discussion to present doctrines current in his khānqāh. The guru replies to the questions by explaining doctrinal tenets about the immanent nature of God.

The central point in the dialogue seems to be the mystery of God's presence in the world, while He is by nature invisible. The verses emphasise the central role of the guru in the process of becoming aware of the nature of this mystery. Only through the teaching of the guru will the pupil learn to recognise the signs of His presence. Full awareness of God's nature will be achieved by following the path of spiritual growth pointed out by the guru.[72] The closing verse of *Akharāvaṭ* clearly repeats the message of the text and indicates the context of the relationship between pupil and teacher as the background for this work.

> When he understands, the pupil will sing the praises of the guru; when he questions him with an open mind he will gain the supreme rasa.
> The guru pondered over the things the pupil found out; he gave him answers and removed his errors.
> Then he [the pupil] sees His glimmering light; its rays penetrate the three worlds.

For him caste or family no longer count; he does not know moon or sun, day or night.
He has no story, He remains indescribable; how can anyone understand Him without reasoning?
He who has mastered *so'ham so'ham*[73] and he who has understood will remain steadfast.
He [the poet] recounts the story that tells of love; he who understands it is a wise and perfect man.

The body is like a pot of clay that contains the nine parts [of the world];
He who plays the fearsome game of love will have armour for his clay [body].

The foolish writer will waste away and become clay;
When no one erases it, what is written will stay for many a day.[74]

Akharāvaṭ 33

Akharāvaṭ contains images that also appear in Jāyasī's later work and seem to serve here mainly to praise the poet's pīr and his dargāh. The poetic skill and fluid use of Avadhi indicate that Jāyasī's literary talents were fully developed at this stage. The use of images from nāth yogī and sant poetry to express concepts from the poet's own spiritual tradition forms the foundation for the idiom used in Jāyasī's later works.

The use of nāth yogī concepts and images to describe elements from the Sufi paradigm should not be seen as an attempt at a synthesis of Hindu and Islamic mysticism. *Akharāvaṭ* shows how this idiom was totally embedded in the discourse of monistic Sufi doctrine based on Ibn 'Arabī's theories of *waḥdat al-wujūd.*[75] The use of the Indian imagery for expressing Sufi mystical concepts connected the world of mystical murīds of the Sufi centre with that of the outer circle of visitors and devotees of the dargāh, who were familiar with the religious idiom of bhakti and sant poetry.

At the heart of the poetics of *Akharāvaṭ* is the aim to fully open the discourse of Indian Sufism to a wider audience, an address which becomes more prominent in his later works. In the images of the Day of Judgement in *Ākhirī Kalām*, the viraha and sevā in *Padmāvat*, as well as in the depiction of the love for Kṛṣṇa in *Kanhāvat*, mystical concepts from Sufi discourse acquire a wider meaning and connect with practices of popular Islam and the religious experience of devotion to the charismatic Sufi pīrs. A similar decontextualisation of religious concepts into a mainstream register of popular devotion can be found

in the poetry of Kabīr and other sant poets. Jāyasī's *Akharāvaṭ* shows the poetic idiom of Indian Sufism more or less in its original location of the Sufi khānqāh. In Jāyasī's later works, the Sufi centre remains a primary locus for his poetry, but the semantics of the mystical idiom is extended to a wider audience that had a stake in the khānqāh's religious and social agency.

1.5.2 Ākhirī Kalām

Ākhirī Kalām (Discourse on the Last Day) is a relatively small work (sixty stanzas) in the caupāī-dohā format, dated by the poet at 936 H (1530 CE).[76] The stanzas have seven caupāīs and a concluding dohā, like in *Padmāvat.* Due to the poor quality of the manuscripts, the text is sometimes difficult to follow. Nevertheless, it is an engaging piece of literature that presents many of the images that define Jāyasī's poetry.

The work starts with a prologue in the format known from the poet's other works, praising Allah, his creation, the Prophet Muḥammad, the ruler of the day, sultan Bābur, and the poet's pīr. The theme of the work is introduced by a description of the evil deeds done by the *dajjāl* – a satanic character associated with the Last Day – and his subsequent demise. The date of the poem is embedded in a warning for the unavoidable coming of the end of time.

The poet describes previous signs of the coming of the Day of Judgement: a strong earthquake that hit the world in the year 900 H, the sun coming up in the west, division and strife spreading among the people as a prelude to the destruction of the world. God orders the four archangels Gabriel, Michael, Israfil and Azrael to cause earthquakes and torrential rains that leave no one alive. Then Gabriel comes to wake the dead and take them before Muḥammad, who has returned to the world. The Prophet guides the believers to the *pul-i ṣirāṭ*, the narrow bridge over the pools of Hell, that is 'a thousand *kośas* wide but so narrow that only an ant can cross it' (27.4). The crossing is the first test of strength for the believers. Each will have to find his own way of getting to the other side.

Allah will summon the survivors to judge them severely. The sun will rise for six months and scorch the believers. Even the prophets will have no shade. As Allah will only grant access to paradise to those who are free of sins, Muḥammad will ask the whole community of believers to be pardoned. He turns to the prophets Adam, Moses, Abraham and Jesus to ask them to intercede with Allah on behalf of his people. They all turn down the request declaring themselves incapable and scorned by Allah's anger in the past. Muḥammad cannot change Allah's mind and takes the burden of his people's sins upon himself. At that moment, Fāṭima is summoned before Allah, and she

crosses the narrow bridge. She is furious and demands justice for the death of her sons Ḥassan and Ḥusain and admittance to heaven for her followers. As she threatens to burn the world with the fire of her rage, Allah accepts the requests. Yazīd, the murderer of ʻAlī, is brought forward and killed.

After the judgement, the sins of the believers are washed away in the river Kauṣar. A banquet is offered to the redeemed believers and they are taken to paradise in a wedding procession led by Muḥammad on horseback. The Prophet asks for a darśan of Allah before entering paradise. This request is granted, and Allah shows himself in the form of a bright light. The believers take up residence in the heavenly palaces and marry the *hūrīs* (women of paradise) who surpass padminīs in beauty (58.7).

In the last stanzas, the palace of Kailāś is entered where the queen sits on her throne, her body radiant like a pearl. The beholder becomes absorbed in her beauty and finally reaches the mystical union through eternal love.[77]

> There is no death, sleep, suffering or disease in the body;
> Muḥammad says, there is always joy and everyone is drunk with happiness.
>
> *Ākhirī Kalām* 60.89

Jāyasī's version of the events on the Day of Judgement deals with an important topic in Islamic piety. Many aspects of the Muslim lifestyle are directly related to the apocalyptic speculations. The burial of the dead and the expectation of afterlife in paradise are basic tenets of Islam and differ considerably from the Indian practices of cremation and the belief in rebirth.[78]

Jāyasī could have taken his inspiration from the rise of millenarian speculations that were popular in his days. His pronounced allegiance to Saiyid Muḥammad, the self-proclaimed mahdī of Jaunpur, in the introduction of his *Padmāvat*, and the reference to the dajjāl in that work indicate that the coming of the end of time was an important theme for the poet. Warnings for the Last Judgement had the function of an appeal to the believers to return to the true faith, which is what Jāyasī seems to intend with his *Akhirī Kalām*.

The poet describes the faith that he wants believers to go back to in terms of the mystic's search for enlightenment and devotion to the pīr. In the praise for his pīr Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr in the prologue, he emphasises the bright light of guidance the pīr brought into the world, as well as his capacity as saviour of the fallen. The poet also describes how he himself was saved by the pīr's blessing.[79]

I have been given a shining ruby; it is Saiyid Ashraf, my beloved teacher.
Jahāngīr is a spotless Chishtī; God has made him a guiding light for the whole world.
He is [like] a naked ascetic in the water of the stream; he grabs the arm of the drowning man and pulls him out.
When he steers the boat that is adrift in the ocean, it will sail right ahead and get across.
In this house I am a pupil and he is the pīr; I was without virtues, only by thinking of him I reached the shore.
He took my hand and showed me the path of the faith; when I got lost he brought me back on track.
When one concentrates on such a man, one's wishes will be fulfilled and one's trust will be rewarded.

He who serves for forty days,[80] or sweeps his porch,
Muḥammad [says], when he has a darśan all his sins will be washed away.

Ākhirī Kalām 9

The themes of light, guidance and redemption from sins also appear in the predictions of the Last Judgement. Muḥammad and, especially, Fāṭima are represented as saviours of the fallen who mediate with God to give them entrance to paradise. In the scene of the darśan of God requested by Muḥammad before he enters paradise, Jāyasī depicts a common and popular act of worship, which he locates at a crucial moment in Islamic religious experience, the redemption of sins and the entrance into paradise at the Last Judgement. Claiming the possibility of a direct vision of God is a bold step for an orthodox Muslim, but conceivable in the Indian context, where the darśan of the divine is at the heart of many devotional practices, including that of the worship of a Sufi pīr.

In the image of the union with the queen of paradise, the final scene of *Ākhirī Kalām* reflects the paradigm of mystical liberation through love. The queen is the divine light personified, an image that also appears prominently in *Padmāvat* to describe Padmāvatī.[81] The paradise described in *Ākhirī Kalām* is therefore both the heavenly place where all the trials and tribulations of existence are replaced by eternal happiness, as well as a metaphor for the goal of the mystic's quest. While the 'common' pious Muslim will find redemption and release in heaven after a life of piety, the mystic sees the end of time, resurrection, judgement and the entrance into paradise as the final stage in the quest of his soul for its divine origin within the short span of existence in this world.[82]

In terms that clearly reflect the background of Indian Islam and popular devotion, Jāyasī's depiction bridges two attitudes towards the speculations on the end of time, showing the various outlooks present in the dargāh that was the background for his activity as a poet.

1.5.3 Kanhāvat

Kanhāvat is a remarkable poem, in which Jāyasī tells the story of Kṛṣṇa with images of mystical love and devotional piety that have a definite Islamic outlook. The text uses the caupāī-dohā format that can also be found in Jāyasī's other works. It starts with a prologue that praises the central figures and concepts of Islam. A special feature of this stutikhaṇḍ is that it is the only prologue where Jāyasī possibly praises a worldly ruler as his patron, besides the usual praise for the sultan of Delhi, in this case Humāyūn. On the basis of the date of the work and irregularities in the language, there is some dispute about the ascription of the poem to Jāyasī.[83] The work is composed in the same year as the *Padmāvat* (1540) and the images and thematic content clearly bear Jāyasī's imprint.

The text appears together with the *Citrarekhā* of Jāyasī in a modern Indian manuscript of 1958. The other Indian copy is probably from the sixteenth century, while a third copy is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, in the collection brought to Germay by the Austrian scholar Alois Sprenger (1813-1893). It is dated 1067 H (1656 CE), and also contains the *Kahārnāmā* by Jāyasī (otherwise known and edited from other sources as *Maharī Bāīsī* [Gupta 1952]). The Berlin manuscript is also used by P.L. Gupta, the second editor of *Kanhāvat*, whose edition seems more reliable than the first by Pāṭhak, but is still far from conclusive. The fact that only incomplete manuscripts are extant has caused severe problems in editing the text reliably.[84]

Despite these textual problems, *Kanhāvat* offers an early view on the Kṛṣṇa legends as they circulated in the North Indian Sufi environment. In the introduction the poet refers to his source, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, as the unending story of the deeds of Hari (Viṣṇu) and as a story of mystical love of which there is no equal in Turkish, Persian or Arabic. His description of the life of the young Kṛṣṇa, who grows up among the cowherds of the village Gokul, generally follows the outline of the Puranic account. Kṛṣṇa displays his miraculous powers by fending off all the attempts by king Kaṃsa to kill the infant. In a visionary dream, the evil king is warned that his nephew will eventually cause his downfall. As with all predictions in stories, there is no escape, so Kṛṣṇa kills Kaṃsa and brings back justice to the region of Braj.

In many scenes featuring the adolescent Kṛṣṇa and the local cowherdesses

– the *gopīs* – Jāyasī illustrates the special nature of this incarnation. By displaying his divine form, Kṛṣṇa makes the girls realise that the cowherd boy they love is an incarnated god. He thereby enacts the Sufi concept that the believer can recognise the Creator in this world through mystical love. By focusing on the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa and by immersing herself in love for him, the loving cowherdess, who stands for the devotee, can become aware of God's presence and love. With vivid images and feeling for the devotional attitudes connected with Kṛṣṇa bhakti, Jāyasī depicts the love of the gopīs for the incarnated god, his marriage with Rukmiṇī and Candrāvalī, the spring festivals which the girls attend, and many other elements from popular vaiṣṇava devotion.

The Sufi aspect of this version of the Kṛṣṇa story is most evident in the way Jāyasī changed familiar scenes. The Kāliya episode in which Kṛṣṇa subdues the snake by showing his miraculous power, for instance, is transformed into a journey to the underworld. Besides being a reference to the *Hanumāncālīs* episode in the *rām-kathā*, the tales on the life of king Rām, this part also resembles tales of miracles performed by the legendary Sufi pīrs in popular tradition and in taẕkiras. Other elements in *Kanhāvat* also suggest the background of the Sufi biographies, such as the hero's struggle with a worldly ruler (Kṛṣṇa's fight with Kaṃsa, *Kanhāvat* 271-299) and the contest with other religious heroes represented in a contest of magical power with Matsyendranāth (*Kanhāvat* 342-350), the famous guru in the tradition of the nāth yogīs.

The underlying theme of the depictions of such conflicts in pīr biographies is the foundation of a *vilāyat*, a 'province' or 'constituency', which often involves a showdown with other religious movements and a challenge to local worldly powers. Although Sufi centres were well established by Jāyasī's times, this confrontation remained an important element in the imagination of devotion to Sufi saints. In *Kanhāvat*, this trope structures the narrative of a Sufi version of the story of Kṛṣṇa, in which he becomes the religious hero who came in the world to make his devotees see God's might and experience His love.

The motif of the divine command to conquer a province is part of the lore of biographies of pīrs.[85] In Kanhāvat, this topos is combined with the Indian concept of the *avatāra*, the incarnation, when Parameśvar persuades Viṣṇu to incarnate in order to establish his reign:

> When Kaṃsa succumbed to vanity, Parameśvar became infuriated.
> He quickly created Viṣṇu; he ordered him to become king in Mathura.
> On hearing this, Viṣṇu created an illusory appearance; seeing [Parameśvar's] compassion, he requested thus:
> 'If it is your wish I am ready to die; Oh Lord, do whatever needs to be done.'

'I have suffered in my incarnation as Rām; now I will incarnate in the world [again].'
I have spent my whole life in penance; [because] I knew a woman called Sītā.'
'Then Rāvan took her with him; oh, let there not be such trouble on earth.'

'What can I do when your name is no longer respected in the world?'
'Why must I return to the place where I will find death and suffering?'

Kanhāvaṭ 42

[Parameśvar] spoke: 'I do as I please, there will be no blame on you from my actions.'
'I know in advance what will be done; you will not be harmed by my actions.'
'In that existence [as Rām] you endured penance; this turn I will give you happiness and kingship.'
'When does anyone get to see the bliss of paradise, and divine maidens who cover their faces?'
'I will create sixteen thousand cowherdesses [*gopīs*] and adorn them for you.'
'I will make a house that suits you; in this incarnation you will enjoy rasa.'
'You will not have to worry about enemies; everything you want will be there immediately.'

'If you see a beautiful woman, she will fall for your charms.'
'The suffering in the past will be forgotten; go and incarnate into the world.'

Kanhāvaṭ 42

With *Kanhāvat*, Jāyasī seems to continue the line that was visible in his earlier work, that of bringing the idiom of Islamic mystical enlightenment to a wider context of popular devotion in early modern North India. Even when Jāyasī depicts Kṛṣṇa as the representative of Allah's might in this world, a synthesis of vaiṣṇava bhakti and Sufism was not his goal. For his composite audience, the divine could be expressed both in the message of Muḥammad as in the endearing and awe-inspiring deeds of the child-god Kṛṣṇa.

Conclusion

The image of Jāyasī that emerges from references in his own works and the context of hagiographical legends and other sources locates him in the composite context of a local branch of the Chishtī lineage of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr

and the Maḥdavī mileu, to which his pīr Burhān belonged. The description of this context underlines the fluidity of the religious identities in this context. The image of this context conforms to descriptions of the Chishtī milieu in this period gathered by Simon Digby, which illustrate the interaction between the world of doctrinal Sufism, the popular reverence for the magical force – the baraka – of the Sufi pīrs, and orthodox Islamic piety. Jāyasī's works demonstrate the broadening of the semantic range of the mystical idiom and the images from Islamic tradition to a more general moralism, which particularly deals with the legitimation of worldly power. The latter indicates the poet's growing involvement with the forces that governed the field in which he worked.

Although hard evidence of patronage of the poet from worldly patrons cannot be found, the theme of the confrontation between the ruler's material power and the saint's moral and spiritual authority is ubiquitous. It is present in an indirect manner in the fragmentation of the Chishtī lineage and the rise of local centres, in the Maḥdavī's call for religious purity, in the references to Jāyasī's possible involvement in local courts and, most eloquently, in the choice of the Rajput king Ratansen as protagonist of his *Padmāvat*. This aspect of the poet's background defines to a large extent the habitus of the mystical poet, which Jāyasī fulfils with great skill and creativity.

Compared to the information that is available from other early modern bhakti or sant poets, the description of Jāyasī's life and background is relatively more detailed and solid. It must be assumed that the boundaries between the various early modern traditions and communities was fluid, and that Jāyasī's agency must have interacted with that of other religious environments. His proximity to the theories and practices of the nāth yogīs is evident in his poetry. In the present description, the contours of the literary field have been drawn rather closely around the Sufi centres and their different social roles, but it should be assumed that it included the wider context of vernacular traditions as well. The analysis of the poet's biography also outlines the location of the genre of the Sufi premākhyāns in the Indian vernaculars. It is evident that this genre developed in a discourse of its own, reflecting the outlook of an audience of local Muslim elites and that of the Sufi dargāhs.

There is also enough evidence in Jāyasī's biography that suggests the diffusion of his work in a wider radius. The localisation of *Padmāvat* in the early modern Indian context is also a major theme in the next chapter, which deals with the history of the textual sources of the poem.

Notes

1. A term used by Pierre Bourdieu to denote the 'stakes' or rewards in the form of gain in economic, social or symbolic capital that appear as the primary driving forces in a given field of cultural production. This notion is developed prominently in his *Le Sens Pratique* (1980).
2. See for an analysis of the literary background of the prologues: chapter 3.5.
3. See Storey (1953, vol. 1: 1011, 1043) on *Ma'ārij al-Vilāyat* and *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*, Pāṭhak (1976: 53) and Rizvi who has consulted manuscripts of *Ma'ārij al-Vilāyat* in Indian libraries (1978 vol. 1: 28, 371, 413). For an overview of the taẕkira literature of the Indian Chishtī saints see B. Lawrence (1978: Chapter IV, 108 ff).
4. '*Muḥaqqiq-i hindī* [Jāyasī] imitated the style of Kabīr, but he chose the medium of soraṭha and dohās through which to express his thoughts.' (Rizvi 1978, vol. 1: 413).
5. Simon Digby collected stories of this kind in his volume of 'wonder-tales' (Digby 2000).
6. The critical editions are described in detail below, in chapter 2.1.
7. See 'Alī Muḥammad Mehar Jāyasī (1940: 43-59), the work by Saiyid Kalbe Musṭafā Jāyasī, *Malik Muhammad Jaisi* (1941) and the reference by Garcin de Tassy to Saiyid 'Abdullāh, professor of Hindustani in London, 'le descendant direct' of the poet (1870 vol. 2: 67). See also: C. Pandey (NPP [1]: 383).
8. See: Storey 1953, vol. 1: 713.
9. The Archaeological Survey of India, vol. II, NW Provinces and Oudh, New Imperial Series XII, p.12 refers to Jais as a town taken by the Muslims under Maḥmud of Ghazna, by Saiyid Imām al-dīn Khiljī, whose tomb is still located outside the town. The Archaeological Survey mentions that the former name of Jais was Ujalikānagar.
10. In a figurative way, the expression 'ten days' indicates that he lived his worldly life in Jais. This does not necessarily mean he was born there, as it could also be a hagiographical construct to associate the poet with a famous religious centre, which Jais obviously had become.
11. '*moṃhiṃ kā haṃsati ki koharahiṃ?*' (Pāṭhak 1976: 40-41). Pandey has a variant: '*maṭiyahi*' for '*moṃhiṃ*' ('Do you laugh at the clay or the Potter?'). He places the story at the local court of Amethi (1933: 398). The story mentioned by Mīr Ḥasan is similar but more elaborate. Jāyasī is said to have replied that, although he was of a different appearance than the king, he was made from the same clay by the power of the same hand (of the Creator) (Pāṭhak *ibidem).*
12. See the translation of stanza 23 below, chapter 4.6.6.
13. Millis (1984: 29) quoting Jāyasī (1941: 57) and Pandey (1933: 401).
14. Millis (1984: 30) quoting Jāyasī (1940: 47-48, 1941:38), Pandey (1933: 412-413) and Pāṭhak (1976: 39-40).
15. Millis also quotes this story (1984: 31, note 1).

16. Pāṭhak (1976) quotes the article by A.A.M. Jāyasī (1940), which describes the friends as noblemen based in Jais, without verifying the link with the court of Sher Shāh. It is also possible that Jāyasī's own works have created this legend.
17. Millis (1984: 30) quoting Jāyasī (1941: 38), Pāṭhak (1976: 39-40), Pandey (1933: 412-413) and A.A.M. Jāyasī (1940: 47-48).
18. An analysis of the relation between the hagiographical stories, their rhetorical power and the historical situation of a poet, can be found in David Lorenzen's *Kabir-legends and Anantadasa's'Kabir Parachai* (1991).
19. See below: chapter 1.4. Grierson and Dvivedī mention this affiliation but do not indicate a source (1911, stanza 20). The description of the four is modeled after the usual praise of the four caliphs that assisted the Prophet Muḥammad, which are mentioned in *Padmāvat* 12.
20. See below, chapters 2.2 and 2.4 on the spread of the manuscripts of Jāyasī's works.
21. This dating rests on the finding of an early manuscript of *Akharāvaṭ* that mentions 911 H in the colophon as the date of the original from which the manuscript was copied (Askari 1953; Millis 1984: 19).
22. See below, chapter 4.6, on the thematic function of the prologue.
23. This name refers to Jais.
24. See below for more on the influence of the Mahdavī movement in Jāyasī's background.
25. The eschatological speculation is a vast subject in Islamic tradition, for an overview of essential literature see: EI, s.v. *Qiyāma*, *al-ḥisāb* and *ma'ād*.
26. Millis (1984: 23) quoting Jāyasī (1940: 58-59) (Tivari 1973: 17-18) and John Subhan (1938: 344) with suggestions for the dates 1591, 1639 and 1658 for the death of the poet, which seem very unlikely and are not supported by other evidence.
27. See the commentary on *Padmāvat* 23 in chapter 4.6.8.
28. See also Millis (1984: 27, note 3) where he quotes a claim by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī (1929-30: 130-132) that Jāyasī was a court poet of Sher Shāh. Al-Ghanī does not provide references to sources that back up this claim.
29. See appendix 3 for the Avadhi text and translation of Akharāvaṭ 26, and below, chapter 1.5.2, for the translation of Ākhirī Kalām 9.
30. Literally, darśan means ' sighting, view'. It refers to a form of worship in which a devotee sees a saintly figure or a statue of a god, or a mystical vision, and thereby experiences a direct and intimate encounter with the divine. It is a central element of devotional Hinduism, but is equally important in the devotion to the tombs of Sufi saints. In this verse, the poet refers to darśan of his pīr as a moment of inspiration and ablution. See also below, chapter 6.5.
31. On Ashraf Jahāngīr, see also: Rizvi (1978 vol. 1: 266 -270) and Lawrence (1978: 53 ff).

32. This is also described extensively by Aditya Behl in the third of the lectures he presented in Paris (2005, no. 3: p. 4), citing from the only manuscript of the *Laṭā'if-i Ashrafī*, in the private collection of Simon Digby. The story of the conversion of Kamāl is also mentioned by Digby in his collection of 'wonder-tales' on early modern Indian saints (2000: 228).
33. The description of the development of the dargāhs into centres of popular religion is based on a number of studies on Indian Sufism, among which: Richard Eaton, *The Sufis of Bijapur* (1978); Carl Ernst, *Eternal Gardens* (1992); articles in Martin (1982) by Richard Martin, Annemarie Schimmel, Richard Eaton, Bruce Lawrence, as well as Simon Digby (1986a) and Marc Gaborieau (1989). On the succession within the Chishtī silsila, see: Digby (1986b).
34. See chapters 2.2 and 2.4 below on the transmission of the text of *Padmāvat*.
35. Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr was initiated in various lineages. Another example of a mystic with multiple affiliations was 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī (1453-1537) (Digby 1975).
36. See below: ch. 1.5.1 and 1.5.2 for the stanzas from Akharāvaṭ and Ākhirī Kalām, and appendix 3 for the verses in Kanhāvat.
37. See Rizvi (1965: 130) for a description of the life of Burhān. Both Al-Badā'ūnī in his *Muntakhab at-tawārīkh* (1884-1922 vol. 3: 10-12) and Abū'l Faẓl in *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (1877 vol. 1: 539) mention Burhān. Al-Badā'ūnī mentions a visit to the shaikh in 1559, when he heard him recite his poetry. There is also a reference to a visit by the father of the famous Islamic reformer Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, Shaikh 'Abdul 'Ahad, to a Shaikh Allāhdād and a Shaikh Burhān in Bengal who recited Hindi poetry around 1537 (Rizvi 1965: 203).
38. Many editors of Jāyasī's works have interpreted this line as referring to Mu'īn ud-Dīn Chishtī, the founder of the Chishtī order (Askari 1953; Agravāl 1961: 52-53).
39. See chapter 1.5.1 below.
40. See: De Bruijn (1999) and EI, s.v. *mahdī*.
41. See below chapter 1.5.1 for a translation of this verse.
42. *Padmāvat* 20.6 mentions Saiyid Rāje as Dāniyāl's pīr. This is probably the father, Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh, whom the *Gulzār-i abrār* and other taẕkiras mention as Dāniyāl's teacher (Askari 1953: 34). Rizvi mentions how Ḥasan Tahīr, a murīd of Rāji Ḥamīd Shāh, brought Allāhdād to the presence of his pīr (1978 vol. 1: 266). This is probably the Allāhdād who died in 944 H.
43. See Askari (1953: 33) quoting *Ma'ārij al-Vilāyat* and the *Khazīnat ul aṣfiya'*.
44. See EI, s.v. Khiḍr, and Annemarie Schimmel (1985b: 157-158) on the *uwaisī*-initiation which was seen as the highest source of mystical inspiration.
45. The references to Alexander in *Padmāvat* are analysed below, in chapters 3.5 and 3.6.

46. Millis (1984: 25) quoting Jaydev (1966: 36).
47. Behl argues convincingly for the patronage of Sufi poets by local courts, referring to the praise for Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur by Quṭban in the prologue to his Mṛgāvatī (2005, no. 1: 34-36).
48. Because of the better readings this stanza is quoted from the edition of P.L. Gupta.
49. It is not clear to what practice Jayasī refers. There are only five obligatory salāt prayers during the day. It is possible he refers to the number of procrastinations (*rak'a*) in a *ṣalāt.*
50. *Kanhāvat* 4.3-4: 'कइ तुरकान सकल दुनियाई (...)'.
51. See chapter 5 on the representation of love (prem) and service (sevā), and chapter 7 on the role of messengers in the poem.
52. See also below, chapters 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.
53. The sieges of Ranthambor and Deogir are the subject of resp. *Hamīr-kāvya* by Nayacandra-Sūri and *Hammir-rāsau.* There are two works known under the latter title; one is a probably early poem attributed to the poet Sāṛṅgadhara, the other is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century text, which is edited by M.P. Bhārgava. A third *Hammīrarāso* by Jodharāja is edited by Śyām Sundar Dās (1949). *Chitāīvārtā* by Nārāyaṇdāsa is edited by M.P. Gupta (1958).
54. *Padminī* means literally: the lotus woman, which refers to a traditional classification of the beauty of women, in which the *padminī* is the highest category. In several tales this has become the name of the queen. Jāyasī refers to her 'class' in the choice of the name Padmāvatī, but also plays with the mystical connotation of the image of the lotus. See below, chapter 6.3.
55. See Ahmad (1963: 475) quoting K.S. Lāl (1946). See also Lāl (1967: 102-110).
56. See on the system of alliances in Rajput clans: Kolff (1990: 99, 101ff) and Sreenivasan, who underlines the importance of the alliances by marriage for the position of the worldly elites of the poet's days, also outside the Rajput context (2007: 50-51).
57. See Kolff (1990: 96), where he describes the dilemma of the Rajput's identity as 'exuberant and conspicuously living warriors (...)' who had to adapt to being in the service of the hierarchical and undisputed overlordship of the sultan.
58. See also below, chapter 3.2, for a discussion of the relationship between *Padmāvat* and tales of Rajput queens.
59. Millis (1984: 10 ff) and Agravāl (1961: 47) mention *Padmāvat, Akharāvat, Sakharāvat, Campāvat, Itarāvat, Maṭakāvat, Citrāvat, Khurvānāmā, Morāināmā, Mukaharānāmā, Postīnāmā, Holīnāmā, Ākhirī Kalām.* In addition, Askari (1953: 20) mentions *Lahatāwat, Sukhtāvat, Khārnāmā, Maharināmā.* Śhukla (1935) adds a work called *Naināvat* to the previous titles. Millis (ibid.: 12) quotes Subhan (1938 [1960]:

344) who mentions three Persian works: *Zādu's sālikīn*, *Maqṣūd uṭ-ṭālibīn* and *Rashīdiyya*, without specifying his source.

60. The first five are published in the critical edition by Gupta. *Citrarekhā* is edited by Amarbahādur Siṃha (Amareś) (1962). Garcin de Tassy (1870 vol. 2: 68-69) mentions two works called *Soraṭhā* and *Paramārtha Japji*, which are only available in manuscripts, according to Garcin de Tassy in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

61. The following survey covers texts that are included in the edition by M.P. Gupta (1952) and the separate edition of *Kanhāvat*.

62. It is available in the editions of Rām Candra Śukla and M.P. Gupta. The number of manuscripts is limited. S.H. Askari has found a copy of *Akharāvaṭ* in a collection of manuscripts in Bihār Sharīf Library in Patna among other works by Jāyasī and Burhān (1953). Gupta reprinted the text of Śukla's edition and added critical notes from a collation with a manuscript from the private collection of Gopal Candra Singh. See Gupta (1952: 677 ff).

63. See Pandey (1931: 491).

64. For this text by Kabīr, see: Callewaert and Op de Beeck (1991 vol. 1: 341). Schimmel (1985a: 619) mentions the use of this form in Sindhi and Punjabi poetry for poems that describe the bride of Muḥammad. She also points at an Arabic genre of acrostics. See also: Schimmel (1974: 8) quoting Baloch (1968).

65. Jāyasī also uses the character of Nārad for the devil in *Ākhirī Kalām* and *Kanhāvat*.

66. In verse 16-17 of *Akharāvaṭ*, Jāyasī uses the topos of the description of the city, which is also present in his other works, like in *Padmāvat* 215.

67. See *Akharāvaṭ* 20 which describes the *sevak*, who is still asleep in this world and has lost the opportunity to find God and will therefore not obtain grace in the end. 20.4 reads: जेइ अवतरि उन्ह कहँ नहिं चीन्हा । तेइ जनम अंबिरथा कीन्हा ॥ (He who has been born and has not found Him has wasted his life.) In the dohā of this stanza Jāyasī uses the image of the woman who waits in the night for her beloved. When dawn comes, she knows the waiting was in vain, an image that is also present in the bārahmāsā in *Padmāvat* (341-359).

68. *Khevak* is a better reading for *sevak*.

69. *Bisavās* = 'treason'. See Plukker (1981: stelling 4), where he rejects the etymologies of this word suggested by Turner and Mathur (from Skt. *(a)viśvāsa*), Vaudeville (from Skt. *piśāca*) and Surya Kānta (from Hindi: *missa*).

70. Jāyasī uses the spelling *biraha* in most cases. The v/b change is common in early modern Indian vernaculars. See also chapter 3.4 and 5.6.

71. The link between Jāyasī and Kabīr is subject of various commentaries, e.g. Triguṇāyat (1971).

72. *Akharāvaṭ* 52.10-11: देखु गुरू मन चीन्ह कहाँ जाइ खोजत रहै । जामि परै परबीन मुहमद तेहि सुधि पाइए ॥
73. The formula '*so'ham so'ham*' mentioned here should be taken in a positive sense, referring to a state in which the pupil realises that God is within himself and corresponds with the monistic Sufi credo '*anā'l ḥaqq*' (I am God myself). The mystical union (*tauḥīd*) is expressed here with the yogic mantra '*so'ham so'ham*'. It is also used in this manner by sant poets, cf. Kabīr, *Granthāvali*, *pad* 130.12; Sundardās, *sākhī* 1.48; 1.51; 1.53; 29;35, and *pad* 23.4; 38.4 106.1-2; 133.4; 143.2, in the edition of Callewaert en Op de Beeck (1991).
74. This expression is also found in stanzas on the cover of manuscripts. See the notes on the manuscripts of *Padmāvat* mentioned in chapter 2.4.
75. See also Digby (1970: 301-313) on the origin of the Sufi concepts expressed in Indian terms by Indian Sufis.
76. The date is mentioned in *Akhirī Kalām* 13.1: नौ सै बरस छतीस जो भए । तब एहि कविता आखर कहे ॥ Note the pun on *ākhar/ākhir*. See for a more extensive interpretation of *Akhirī Kalām*: De Bruijn (1999).
77. *Ākhirī Kalām* 60.8-9: तहाँ न मीचु न नींद दुख रह न देह माँ रोग । सदा अनंद मुहम्मद सब सुख माते भोग ॥
78. That this difference was felt as a dividing line between Muslims and Hindus can be seen in legends like that of the death of Kabīr. The Muslims want to bury him; the Hindus want to cremate the poet. In the end, the corpse disappears, leaving only some flowers on his deathbed (see: Lorenzen 1991: 40-42).
79. The stanzas quoted from *Ākhirī Kalām* in this study are taken from the critical edition by M.P. Gupta.
80. This refers to the *cilla*, the forty-day period of prayer and meditation of the Sufi. Notice how Jāyasī involves both the serious murīd and the humble sweeper in the grace of the pīr's darśan.
81. See below: chapter 6.
82. The association of the entrance into heaven with the self-destructive quest of the mystic is also used by Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār in his *Muṣībat-nāma*, where he uses elements from the predictions of the Last Judgement such as the *sha'āfat*, Muḥammad's plea for mediation with the Prophets to illustrate the soul's journey to the divine origin. At the end of the voyage through heaven and hell, the traveller learns that the divine light it is looking for can be found by diving into the sea of his own soul. See: Ritter (1955: 21 ff).
83. See Pandey (1995: 190) and the introduction to the text editions. The matter is complicated; the praise for Humāyūn suggests that *Kanhāvat* could even have preceded *Padmāvat*, in which Sher Shāh is mentioned as the ruler of Delhi. The different references probably coincide with the interregnum in which Jāyasī wrote these two works.

84. See Pāṭhak (1981: 2).

85. See: Digby (1986a: 57-77, 123-124) where he mentions how *Siyar al-Aqṭāb*, a taẕkira on several Chishtī saints by Illāhdiyā Chishtī, describes how Muʿīn ud-Dīn Chishtī, on a visit to the tomb of Muḥammad at Medina, was summoned by a voice to go to Ajmer and make India his *vilāyat*. See also Behl (2005 no. 1) on the notion of the assimilation and conquest as a motif in the Sufi romances.

Text, transmission *and* reception

The previous chapter introduced the historical context of *Padmāvat* and its author. It highlighted how the interests of religious and worldly power meet in the environment of a local Sufi centre and create the specific conditions that give meaning to Jāyasī's poems. It also introduced the composite audience the poet addressed, using a polyphonic idiom based on the expression of concepts from Sufi mysticism in terms that also resonated with an audience steeped in Indian devotional traditions. The analysis of the historical context also introduced the environment in which Jāyasī's poems were received and valorised.

The circulation of Jāyasī's texts has been an ongoing process that shaped the representation of his works, even up to the critical editions that are the primary means of access to his poetry for a contemporary reader. Although a philological analysis is not an ambition of the present study, considerable attention is given to the history of the transmission of *Padmāvat* and the interventions by the various milieus in which it circulated. The present chapter analyses the multiform nature of the textual sources used for the editions and the process of circulation of the text over time, critiquing the claim that is implicit in the modern critical editions, that they can represent *Padmāvat* as it was composed by its author.

2.1 Critical editions

The critical editions by Rām Candra Śukla, Mātā Prasād Gupta or V.S. Agravāl, mark a high point in the scholarship on early modern North Indian vernacular literature. The inspiration to investigate and present early modern vernacular literature came with the early twentieth-century movement that promoted a sanskritised form of Hindi, in devanāgarī characters, as the national language for a future independent India. Manuscripts and lithograph prints of well-known early modern works were collected, and scholars started to compile critical editions based on philological methods imported from the historiogra-

phy of Western literature. One of the aims of this was to found a literary historiography for modern Hindi on the early modern vernacular genres. Despite the high level of skill and scholarly integrity that went into the editions, the nationalist context influenced the conceptions and preferences that were at the basis of the selection of sources and of the positioning of the Sufi poems in the history of Indian writing, especially in the first 'generation' of editions, by Rām Candra Śukla.

The editions of Jāyasī's works that have become the most authoritative representation of these texts are Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl's *Padmāvat, mūl aur saṁjīvanī vyākhyā* (Padmāvat, the original text and enlightening commentary) published in 1961, which is primarily based on the critical edition by Mātā Prasād Gupta, the *Jāyasī Granthāvalī* (Jāyasī Anthology) published in 1952. Gupta's critical edition presents the texts of *Padmāvat, Akharāvaṭ, Ākhirī Kalām* and *Maharī Bāīsī* (also known as *Kahārnāmā*). Agravāl based his edition on Gupta's text of *Padmāvat*, corrected some of its readings and added a gloss in modern Hindi and extensive explanations of the images and expressions used in Jāyasī's text. He collated the existing text with two manuscripts which were not at Gupta's disposal – an early copy from Rampur, dated 1675, and a manuscript in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in Benares, dated 1842.[1] In 1973, Gupta published a second edition of his own *Padmāvat* text in which he acknowledged many of Agravāl's corrections, but also amended some of his earlier readings. He added an introduction to the text and a Hindi gloss, which complement the information in Agravāl's comments.

Gupta's edition was an important improvement on the work done by Rām Candra Śukla, who compiled the first edition of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* in his *Jāyasī Granthāvalī* of 1924. It superseded the partial editions by George Abraham Grierson and Sudhākar Dvivedī (1911), and by Lakśmī Dhar (1949). Both Agravāl and Gupta characterised Śukla's text as a choice for a *lectio facilior* which makes many obscure passages understandable by opting for variants found in later manuscripts which they considered less reliable (Agravāl 1964: 19).

The critical editions are based on manuscripts from Indian and European collections.[2] For the present study, some of the manuscripts used for Gupta's edition, from the India Office Collections and libraries in Cambridge, Oxford and Leiden, have been examined. The aim of this was not to correct Gupta's readings, but rather to relate the representation of the text in these sources to the methods applied in the compilation of the critical editions. One thing that became evident from this limited survey of the manuscripts, was the great variety in format, script and appearance of the sources, which reflects the difference

in functionality of the documents in the context in which they were produced. This finding underlines the complexity of the task of editing *Padmāvat.* Due to the amount and variety of the manuscript material there is a lack of clear reference points regarding the precise spelling and morphology of Jāyasī's language, which make a critical edition a formidable task in any respect.

The critical editions of *Padmāvat* testify to the high level of scholarship on early modern North Indian literature on the part of the editors. The present reading of *Padmāvat*, which is primarily aimed at showing how the text produced meaning in its particular historical and cultural context, needs to distinguish sharply between what can be regarded as part of Jāyasī's work from the time of its composition, and the additions made in later reception and transmission. Given the complexity of the transmission of the text, it is necessary to review the methods and presumptions applied in the compilation of the critical editions.

Both Agravāl and Gupta were inspired by the notion that their 'scientific', philological approach could produce a faithful reconstruction of the *mūl* (root), the text as it could have been composed by Jāyasī. Agravāl refers to Gupta's editorial work as 'taking away the rust that had gathered on the original text of the *Padmāvat*'. He was convinced that philological research on the basis of methods from Western scholarship could restore Jāyasī's original creation.[3] Until now, this assumption has not been reviewed critically. John Millis, in his study of the allegory and religious symbolism in *Padmāvat* states that the text presented in Gupta's and Agravāl's edition is '(...) quite proximate to the text actually written by Jāyasī (...)' (1984: 40). He compares Jāyasī's apparent 'literacy' to the undefined notion of authorship in the poetry of other early modern poets, such as Sūrdās and Kabīr. Millis assumes that, because Jāyasī must have been able to write down his own works, the textual tradition of his works represents the state of the texts as written down by the poet (1984: 42 ff). It is evident that Jāyasī's work is more wholesome than most collections of strophic bhakti poems, but this is due to the epic format of the Sufi poems rather than to Jāyasī's own agency as a 'writer' or scribe of manuscripts, for which there is no direct evidence.[4]

The first obstacle for having access to the poet's own creation is the relative age of the manuscripts. Even the earliest manuscript dates from 135 years after the creation of the poem. A gap in the transmission of this duration is not necessarily a problem if the text presented in the early manuscripts were largely the same, with only a few variant readings and differences in the occurrence of verses. Such differences can be accommodated if they can be reduced to clearly distinguishable traditions that converge in one or more copies

of the poem produced by the author himself or by a scribe in his close vicinity. The earliest textual sources of *Padmāvat* tell a different story, though.

Gupta followed the philological method of constructing a *stemma* of manuscripts for his critical edition. He catalogued the common scribal errors and variants (*pratilipi-saṁbandh*) found in his sources. Then, he compared the relations between the manuscripts based on common errors to an inventory of verses that seem to have been added or interpolated in the text in later copies (*prakśep-saṁbandh*). On the basis of these two lists he constructed a stemma of *Padmāvat* manuscripts that groups the sources in four 'layers', the first of which contains five manuscripts that Gupta regards as the most reliable base for reconstructing the earliest stage in the transmission of the text.[5] These five manuscripts contain the 653 caupāī-dohā stanzas represented in the edition, which make up the mūl of *Padmāvat*, in Gupta's view.

Faced with the evidence of the great disparity of the early manuscripts, Gupta acknowledges that the comparison of common interpolations produces a highly complex set of relationships between the sources, a phenomenon which he considers unique for *Padmāvat*.[6] He also became aware that it is very difficult to relate the five 'best' manuscripts to a single earlier model on the basis of common variants or shared interpolated verses. The set of five does not originate from one single source, but represents independent lines of transmission of *Padmāvat*. A similar pattern emerges from the complex relations between later manuscripts, which appear to be loosely related currents that can each be regarded as separate instances of the transmission of the text, rather than as branches of a single line of textual transmission.

The merit of Gupta's attempt at making a stemma is that it demonstrates how the text had already spread out into several versions, each with its own characteristics, in the period from its creation to its recording in the early manuscripts. It also becomes evident that not all of the readings from the first layer of sources produce a satisfactory text. In a limited number of cases, Gupta was forced to prefer readings from other manuscripts than the five of the first layer to construct his mūl.

In his introduction, Gupta defends his choice of sources and explains the relative priority he awarded to the manuscripts he used (Gupta 1952: 87 ff, 102-103). This method produced a readable and coherent text that improved on previous editions. Yet, it represents a reconstruction of the *Padmāvat* based on the best of the early sources, and is definitely not a text that can be regarded as the root of the textual tradition, or as a proximate copy of the author's own creation.

The transmission of the text is not conform to the model of a stemma of

sources that is the basis of the traditional philological method of compiling critical editions. The manuscripts are instances in various lines of transmission that are not intrinsically connected. They represent the reception of the text in different environments at a moment in time when the original text had already become obscured. Therefore, it is hard to get access to Jāyasī's creation through the earliest sources, as these already demonstrate the changes made to the text in its reception and transmission from the moment of its composition to the making of the earliest manuscripts.

2.2 Diversity: Script, circulation, context

The main reason that the traditional model of the stemma is not applicable to the transmission of *Padmāvat* lies in the fact that the manuscripts represent different forms of reception and appreciation of the text in its circulation. They were not meant to transmit the text as precisely as possible, but testify to its adaptation in the environments in which it was received and transmitted. These adaptations include transcription into different scripts, the addition of verses and stanzas and interventions in the thematic intentions of the poem, which can all be found in the different branches of the *Padmāvat* manuscripts.

The diversity of the sources is an indication of the circulation of the text along different avenues of reception. It would require more research of the background of the various copies to be able to characterise the milieu of each copy and the reasons why it was made, which falls outside the scope of the present study. Some characteristics of these environments can be deduced from the script of the manuscripts and the data in the colophons. The script and the outward appearance of the manuscripts are also indications of their background.[7]

The multiformity of the script of the manuscripts is present from the earliest stage of the textual tradition, which contains documents in Persian (*nasta'līq*), devanāgarī and kaithī script, onwards. Texts in the same script display significant differences in format and appearance, which suggest a large variety in the purpose and functionality of the manuscripts.

The nasta'līq manuscripts form the bulk of the oldest layer of the textual history of *Padmāvat*. These are in most cases small, plain textbooks that contain a more or less carefully written text without illustrations. The words are usually not vocalised, which means that short vowels are not indicated, making it hard to define the exact reading of the Avadhi words. Some copies contain corrections or comments in the margin or between the lines of the text. A special case among these early documents is the late seventeenth-century Rampur manuscript. Agravāl compared this source with his own edition and suggests a number of emendations of his own text on the basis of readings from

the manuscript (1964: 935-943). It is written in a clear hand and fully vocalised, and features a Persian translation inserted under the Hindi words. The careful hand and the vocalisation testify to a great concern on the part of the copyist for the correct reading and reproduction of the Avadhi words.[8] On the other side of the spectrum, there are a number of lusciously illustrated copies of *Padmāvat* with numerous full-page or smaller miniatures, such as the manuscript in Persian script *pra.* 1.[9]

The manuscripts in Persian script seem to derive from two different environments, which can also be distinguished in the historical background of the poem in the time it was composed, that of the Sufi centres, and that of worldly patrons, be it local rulers or noblemen with an interest in Indian Islamic literature. The latter context is the most likely location for the production of illustrated manuscripts with a significant value. The smaller textbooks with precisely written texts and comments in the margins most likely originate from Sufi centres where the text may have had a function in recitation or other forms of mystical practice.

The reception of *Padmāvat* in a worldly milieu is not only attested by the richly illustrated manuscripts. There is a reference to the reading and citing of *Madhumālatī* and *Mṛgāvatī*, in the seventeenth-century *Ardhakathānak* by the Jain merchant Banārsīdās (Lāṭh 1981: 49, line 335-6):

> Then he would stay at home and not go to the market;
> *Madhumālatī* and *Mṛgāvatī*, these two noble poems,
> in the evening he would read these; some ten or twenty would visit,
> they would sing [them] and converse, and would leave while giving blessings.[10]

A special case in this respect is the Rampur manuscript of 1674, which was an important reference for the edition compiled by Agravāl. It is fully vocalised, adds a full-text translation in Persian, and has many *ghazals* (lyrical poems) by the poet Ḥāfiẓ copied in the margins. It is possible that, although the text was popular, the knowledge of Avadhi had waned, which prompted the scribe, the Sufi Muḥammad Shākir Amrohavī, to add vowel signs. The inclusion of quotes from Persian poetry suggests a tight connection between the reception of the Indian Sufi romances with that of Persian classical literature in the late seventeenth century Mughal mileu where the Rampur copy was made (Phukan 2001: 36). As will be shown below, in chapter 2.4, the reception of *Padmāvat* in the form of manuscript copies in local courts such as Rampur coincided with the production of Persian and Urdu adaptations of the story in the eighteenth

century. Characteristic for this avenue of reception is that the heroic and romantic aspect of the poem comes to the fore, at the cost of the Sufi symbolism and moralist appeal of the story.

Another fully illustrated manuscript, which is currently in the India Office in London, is written in devanāgarī script with a highly sanskritised spelling of the Avadhi words, and is dated by Gupta as eighteenth century. The scribe describes himself as a *kāyasth*[11] from Mirzapur. This fact and the absence of many of what Gupta considers to be interpolated verses, led the editor to include this manuscript in his selection of the five primary sources of the text. Behind this selection was also his conviction that the original copy of *Padmāvat* must have been written in devanāgarī script. The evidence he gives for this hypothesis is not convincing (1952: 19-29*)*. Gupta also argues for a devanāgarī original in the case of other Sufi poems, but this has been challenged by subsequent editors.[12] Grierson used a manuscript in this script from Udaipur for his edition, which Gupta was not able to trace (1952: 106). A very well written devanāgarī manuscript of *Padmāvat*, that is not used for the editions, is at display in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in Jaipur.

It is most likely that the transmission in devanāgarī script was located in a worldly context. The illustrated manuscript Gupta selected among his five primary sources is clearly a document with an ostentatious purpose. It has been observed above, in chapter 1.4 how the combination of heroic and mystical love in *Padmāvat* may well have triggered the interest of ruling elites in Northern India in the poet's days.

The kaithī script, a variety of devanāgarī that was in use in large parts of North India for administrative documents, is usually associated with the kāyasth scribes in the Mughal administration. The kaithī manuscripts of *Padmāvat* are numerous but are mostly incomplete and written in a careless hand.[13] The peculiarities of the script cause ambiguities in determining the exact shape of the words. Some manuscripts seem to have been copied from nasta'līq originals, taking over the orthography of the Avadhi words in that script, which makes it more complicated to determine the spelling of the words. The kaithī manuscripts usually contain large numbers of interpolated verses. The ubiquity of this kind of manuscripts and the somewhat imprecise way of rendering the text suggest a production on a large scale, without the attention for detail that characterises the best copies in nasta'līq and devanāgarī.

It is possible that the kaithī manuscripts were produced at local North Indian courts, besides the more ornate illustrated copies in devanāgarī or nasta'līq. The large number of added verses and the imprecise nature of the copies suggest that these manuscripts had a different functionality. They may have circulated

along with other material in the Indian vernaculars in performance traditions, like the widespread oral story traditions, the *kathā*s. Given the lack of specific data on this transmission, it is hard to locate them more precisely. The kaithī manuscripts were prolific and are present in the earliest layer of manuscripts. They may have played an important role in the transmission of the work.

The variety in script and appearance of the manuscripts seems unrelated to their age or distance from the original text. The five primary sources selected by Gupta all date from the end of the seventeenth century. The devanāgarī copy is probably of a later date than the other four, but appears to be a fairly reliable manuscript. Other manuscripts from the seventeenth century are definitely not of the same quality, showing much more interpolated material and lots of variants. The kaithī manuscript Acad. 251 at Leiden is dated 1685, which makes it only ten years younger than the earliest available source for the *Padmāvat*, the Rampur manuscript. It presents a totally different image of the text, with large insertions of new material and many dubious variants. On the other hand, a Persian manuscript in the collection of the *Bhārat Kalā Bhavan* in Benares dated 1258 H (1842 CE), contains only five stanzas more than the text in Gupta's edition and offers a very carefully preserved text.[14]

2.3 Context and performance

The difference in the shape and appearance of the *Padmāvat* manuscripts reflect the circulation of the text in various milieus, which each attributed its own specific function and meaning to the poem. The contextual nature of the manuscripts makes it hard to compare variants and insertions in one manuscript with those in sources from a totally different background, as has been done by the compilers of the critical editions. The *Padmāvat* manuscripts contain an abundance of interpolations and variants that can be considered as the imprint of the circulation of the work, rather than as corruption of the original text. The divergence in the first stages of the textual transmission, preceding the period in which the earliest available manuscripts were produced, indicates the success and lively reception of *Padmāvat*.

It can be assumed that the practical use of texts in performance or recitation must have been an important element in the transmission of the Sufi premākhyāns. It is known from other early modern Indian poetic genres that the oral performance of poetry was a common and esteemed practice. Attending such a presentation was a way of enjoying or 'reading' a text, especially for an illiterate audience that had no access to manuscripts.[15]

In a cultural context where performance plays an important role, the transmission of texts is basically different from the concept of a textual tradition that is presumed in the compilation of the critical editions of *Padmāvat*. It is not just a less reliable form of written reproduction that adds variants or 'mistakes' to the text, but it inserts elements of interpretation, reception and other contextual influences into the textual corpus. To make matters more confusing, oral transmission can exist alongside and interfere with a written manuscript tradition.[16]

In the case of the Sufi romances, recitation of poetry may have been part of the mystical practice in North Indian Chishtī khānqāhs. The practice of listening to music (*samāʿ*) and sung Persian poetry was a distinctive feature of the Chishtī doctrine. The experience of hearing music and poetry had a function in the spiritual development of the mystic. Many of the manuals of famous Sufi shaikhs elaborate on the value of this practice and defend it against criticism by Muslim orthodoxy. Sufi poetry in Indian languages was also used for this practice. Aditya Behl argues that the elaborate representation of the mystic's trajectory through the various states and stages, as portrayed in *Padmāvat*, was aimed at this usage of the poem (2005: no. 2 37). The emphasis that is given to the description of the mystical voyage in the Sufi romances supports the notion that Indian Sufi poetry was associated with esoteric practices in the Chishtī centres, and thereby juxtaposed to Persian poetry, from which it took so many elements. It can also provide a background to the reproduction of the text in khānqāhs as evidenced in the numerous manuscripts in the form of precisely written textbooks.

The liturgical use of Jāyasī's poetry accounts for an element of performance and orality that was built into the aesthetic and rhetoric programme of these texts. The manuscripts of *Padmāvat* also contain traces of other forms of performance, which further complicate the picture of the transmission of this text. The section with *pariśiṣṭ* (interpolated) verses in Gupta's edition contains 200 caupāī-dohā stanzas which the editor removed from the mūl because he regarded them as later interpolations that did not belong to the core of the text. The distribution of this material among the various manuscripts shows an interesting pattern. The manuscripts *paṁ.*1, *ca.*1, and the Rampur and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan copies mentioned in Agravāl's edition contain less than ten stanzas from this list. The other three manuscripts in Gupta's selection of five most reliable copies have more than twenty interpolations. Other manuscripts from the same period, such as *pra.*1 and Acad. 252, contain over 150 added stanzas.

In all manuscripts, most of the extra material is to be found towards the end of the story, while the first 100 stanzas are almost free from interpola-

tions. The exact distribution is as follows: for stanzas 1-500 in Gupta's edition there are 113 *prakśipt chand*' (spurious stanzas); in the last 154 stanzas, Gupta counted 114 added caupāī-dohā units (1952: 556 ff).

Some interpolations have a specific rhetorical purpose and occur at turning points in the story, or in the sections which have a meta-narrative function. An example of such an insertion in the form of the allegorical kuñjī stanza is discussed below. The insertion of material in other parts of the story is much harder to detect. In most cases, the added stanzas are composed in the same style as the rest of the poem and do not give the impression that the maker or performer who put them there wished to make his imprint noticeable.

These 'silent' additions had the purpose of extending part of the story with stanzas that mimic the style of the poet and could pass as genuine parts of the poem. This raises the question whether this kind of extension is comparable to the way the collections of early modern sant and bhakti poets developed in the course of their transmission. The Avadhi epics of the Sufi poets are of a different nature than the independent (*muktak*) verses of bhakti poets such as Kabīr or Sūrdās. The shorter form of the latter dohā's and *pad*s makes it easier to invent new poems under the pen name of the famous poet, add lines or change the sequence of verses. In Kabīr's poetry the form of the pads, or *sabad*s, as they are called in the *Bījak* collection, offers many opportunities for such changes or additions. The short *sākhī* verses in the dohā metre cannot be expanded, but poems can be added to collections using the pen name of the famous poet.[17]

The longer works of the Sufi poets have more inner coherence and an extensive storyline, which limits the scope for deviation from the original design of the work. The relative size of the extensions in the manuscripts of the Sufi works is less than in the collections of sant poetry, in which the number of poems is sometimes doubled, especially when collections in the name of the famous poet were being made in a sectarian context, as in the case of the *Sūrsāgar*. Nevertheless, the edition of the *Padmāvat* by Gupta mentions over 200 interpolated stanzas, found in a variety of early and later manuscripts, comprising about a third of the original text. Editions of other Sufi texts also show a considerable amount of added material.[18]

It is not so much the amount of added material that is important here, but rather the principle that also the longer, narrative texts can act as a vehicle for additions by its readers or performers. The Sufi works may be more coherent as a result of their continuous storyline, but the caupāī-dohā style, the basic metrical scheme of the Sufi premākhyāns, is flexible enough to allow insertions of new material. The stanzas consist of five to seven lines in the caupāī

meter and a concluding dohā. The stanzas are not linked in a formal or metrical way to the preceding or following caupāī-dohā units. Therefore, interpolations often have the form of completely new units, which fit the thematic and narrative structure of the part in which they are inserted. Popular scenes in *Padmāvat*, such as the extensive description of the battle between Gorā and the soldiers of 'Alā' al-dīn, were favourite spots for adding new caupāī-dohā stanzas with even more vivid details than Jāyasī had already provided. These stanzas are likely to have been added in a courtly milieu where the heroic aspects of the poem were appreciated.[19]

The insertion of additional descriptions to well-known and popular motives in a text, as it appears in the manuscripts of *Padmāvat*, is a typical technique of storytelling or other kinds of performance.[20] The performer stretches favourite scenes in his stories by adding images and extending descriptive passages that appeal to his audience. The additions are linked to specific motives in the text and do not disrupt the framework of scenes that structures the narrative. Within this framework, the scribes or performers could add stanzas that suggest that they are the words of the original poet.

The manuscripts also show a considerable degree of change in the sequence of verses within the caupāī-dohā unit. This feature can also be linked to the relative autonomy of the caupāī-dohā as a metrical and narrative unit. Without disturbing the storyline, the performer could bring lines to the front or change their sequence otherwise and thus manipulate the impression the stanza made on his audience.[21] It is unlikely that a purely written transmission would produce similar changes in the text.

As indicated above, the verses added in performance were not primarily intended to leave an ideological imprint on the text, they are an artefact of oral transmission or performance. Other interventions that are visible in the manuscripts of *Padmāvat* are evidence of the adaptation of the meaning of the text in a specific milieu. The most telling example is the allegorical key (*kuñjī*), which is inserted at points in the poem that suggest a direct address by the poet to his audience. The interpolation led many interpreters to regard *Padmāvat* as a mystical allegory. Grierson, Rām Candra Śukla and Shirreff accepted this stanza as an authentic part of their editions and based their reading of the mystical symbolism of the poem on these lines. The stanza is numbered 133a in Gupta's pariśiṣṭ section and is found in the manuscripts *pra.* 1, *dvi* 4.5, and in a slightly different form in *ṭṛ*.1.

> I asked the pundits the meaning of this; they said: 'To us nothing else is clear except this:
> The fourteen worlds which are above and below; they are all inside the human body.
> Citor is the body, the mind is its king; Siṃhal is the heart, Padminī should be seen as wisdom.
> The parrot is the guru who shows the way; without a guru, how can one attain God, who is without attributes in this world?
> Nāgmatī represents the concerns of this world; the mind that is bound by such sorrows is not free.
> Rāghava, the messenger, is the devil; Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn is illusion.
> Think of the story of love in this way; take heed of it if you can.'
> Turkish, Arabic, Hindavi, all the languages there are,
> they all praise that in which can be found the way of love.
>
> *Padmāvat* 133a

Gupta comments that this stanza occurs in a later addition to ms. *ṭr.* 1 and in ms. *pra.* 1, after verse 133. In ms. *dvi.* 4, it occurs two times, after stanzas 274 and 651. After stanza 274 the text differs a little: the first two lines are lacking and, instead, lines 5 and 6 read as follows:

> With this knowledge I have written it thus; only he who has recognised himself will understand it.
> With his own tongue and his own words, a fool's speech is just ridiculous.

This manuscript (*dvi.* 4) also has a variant reading of line 7:

> Thus I wrote the tale [*kathā*] of love, fools only sing stories [*kahānī*].

Rām Candra Śukla relied on the allegorical scheme for his analysis of the meaning and symbolism of Jāyasī's text. The translation of *Padmāvat* by A.G. Shirreff is based on Śukla's edition and therefore also includes the allegorical stanza (1944: 371). John Millis follows the allegorical interpretation, although he acknowledges that the stanza is most probably not authentic, and connects it with the fame the poet later obtained as a mystical hero, (1984: 118, 123). Leaving aside the question of authenticity, the allegorical interpretation foregrounds the mystical element in the poem, at the cost of the obvious political subtext in the work.[22] Millis connects the concepts mentioned in the kuñjī (*tana*, *mana*,

hiya and *budhi*) with the terms *nafs*, *rūḥ*, *qalb* and *'aql* (both meaning: body, soul, heart, and mind) of classical Sufi doctrine (1984: 153 ff). This overlooks the possibility that the idiom of Sufi theory and mystical love could also represent themes with both a broader religious, political and moral connotation.

The insertion of the kuñjī verse demonstrates that, in certain milieus, the allegorical mystical interpretation of the work prevailed. The stanza is only present in manuscripts in Persian script. It may have originated in a 'strict' reading, which tried to redress the many Indian references in Jāyasī's poem and bring them back to a more orthodox Sufi idiom. As little is known of the context that added this allegorical reading, this remains a guess.

The 'key' stanza is located in both occurrences in the manuscripts at turning points in the narrative of *Padmāvat*. In manuscript *pra.*1, stanza 133 describes Ratansen's departure for Siṃhal Dvīp as a yogī of love, which leaves Citor in darkness. In the other manuscripts, the interpolated stanza is also situated at crucial points in the story. Stanza 274 describes the marriage between Ratansen and Padmāvatī and concludes the first part of the narrative, in which the quest for Padmāvatī and the yoga of love are dominant themes. Its most conspicuous occurrence is at the end of the poem, where the stanza forms a bridge between the narrative and the epilogue.[23]

The kuñjī is inserted at places that allow direct communication and exegesis of his story by the poet/performer. The variants in the allegorical stanza found in various manuscripts show a similar form of meta-narration, especially in the image of the singing of tales, as can be found in a variant of the kuñjī stanza quoted above. Similar remarks can be found in the colophons of manuscripts, which suggests a link between oral and written forms of transmission. It must be assumed that copyists of manuscripts used the suggestion of a performance to add their own interpretation, or may have recorded the explanations by the one who recited the work before them. The interpretative remarks may also have found their way into the manuscripts through readings before an audience or in private circles, such as described in *Ardhakathānak*.

The example of the allegorical kuñjī supports the notion that performance and exegesis went together in the circulation of *Padmāvat*, and that the manuscripts in the earliest layer of transmission represent multiple readings of the text rather than a better or less exact rendition. This observation may be supported by evidence from neighbouring traditions, such as the practice of recitation and commenting of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, which comprised an ongoing reorientation of the text according to the context of performance.[24]

The *Padmāvat* manuscripts are witness to an active and dialogic circulation of the text, in which not only the poet's own words were transmitted, but also the interventions by those who received and transmitted them. The format of the Avadhi epics is much more coherent than other genres of early modern poetry in the Indian vernaculars, but just as well allowed addition and variation. The polyphony that characterises the circulation of *Padmāvat* cannot be regarded merely as the degradation of an 'authentic' original, but rather as the continued repositioning of a work of verbal art in history. The stemma created by the compilers of the critical editions conformed to contemporary notions of 'scientific' philological research and reflects their wish to provide modern Hindi with a solid historical foundation. Their precision provided much insight into the pluriformity of the transmission of *Padmāvat*. The editions are invaluable for determining the contours of Jāyasī's work, but they do not solve all the editorial problems related to *Padmāvat*. Given the diversity of the manuscripts and the influence of reception and performance on the text, the editorial method applied cannot provide a direct view on the author's original creation.

Although this is beyond the scope of the present study, a new edition should explore new ways of showing the richness of the textual material. It could be based on important sources, such as the Rampur and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan copies, but should break new ground by demonstrating the interaction between the reception and transmission of the work. Instead of constructing a text based on an array of manuscripts from different periods and milieus, it should consistently use one of the early manuscripts, such as the Rampur copy, as a basis and suggest solutions for obscure readings through comparison with sources from neighbouring historical and cultural locations, without inserting them into the text. This process would come closer to giving an impression of a text that once functioned as a representation of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, than the philological reconstruction in the present critical editions.

Another element that should be added is the pictorial history of the text as recorded in illustrated *Padmāvat* manuscripts. Too little attention has been given to this aspect of the reception and representation of the text. It is obvious that digital media lend themselves better than paper to represent the combination of text and image.

2.4 Translations and adaptations

Along with the spread of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* in various types of manuscripts, the theme of the poem inspired a great number of adaptations and translations. These works began to be produced soon after the poet's death, and demonstrate the popularity of *Padmāvat* during the 135 years preceding the earliest

manuscripts. They document the changes in the interpretation of the theme of *Padmāvat* in history.

Most of them are poetic works based on the theme of the love between the Rajput king Ratansen of Citor and the princess from Siṃhal. In a few cases there is evidence of a direct link with Jāyasī's work, but other sources have also left their traces in these works. The core of the Rajput legend of 'Alā' al-dīn's siege of Citor and the role therein of the padminī queen were attractive enough to produce adaptations in many genres.

Ramya Sreenivasan's insightful study of the spread of stories on the padminī queen and the changes in its meaning through history distinguishes various stages and contexts for the transmission of the theme, which each reflect specific conditions and agendas. From the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century, many versions were made in Rajasthan in courtly genres that looked back at the history of Rajput culture and emphasise the relation between kings and chiefs, which was an important theme in their political context. The tales focus on the heroism of Gorā and Bādal, rather than on the mystical or romantic aspect of the padminī tale (2007: 65-68).

It has been described above how the popularity of the text in a worldly context can be seen from the spread of manuscripts, such as the Rampur copy. Sreenivasan argues convincingly that the interest in the tale of the padminī queen in the late Mughal period (the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) also prompted adaptations in Persian and Urdu, which were produced in places with a strong tradition of patronage of poetry by Persianate elites, such as Rampur, Lucknow and Mirzapur. Characteristic for this reception is the waning of the Sufi element of the poem, in favour of its romantic aspect. The polyphony of religious and political elements in the original work seem to have become a distant memory (2007: 120-123).

Adaptations in poetry and prose from North India begin to appear as soon as the early seventeenth century. A Persian translation called the (*Qiṣṣa-i*) *Padmāvat*, also named *Rat-padam*, was done by the poet 'Abd al-Shakūr Bazmī (d. 1662) and was dedicated to the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605-1626) (Abidi 1962: 1). Bazmī did not mention the allegorical kuñjī and referred to the original as '*afsāna-yi hindī*', an Indian fable, which indicates that the mystical interpretation of *Padmāvat* was not the main reason for his translation.[25] By this time, Indian stories had become favourite topics for Indo-Persian poetry. Mīr Muḥammad 'Aqīl Khān Rāzī, a high official under 'Ālamgīr, adapted *Padmāvat* and *Madhumālatī*. Rāzī's text mentions an 'Indian poet', without specifying Jāyasī.[26]

From the times of Akbar onwards, the prestige in India of Persian as a language of culture and politics at many levels of the Mughal empire increased, which could have inspired the Persian versions of the padminī theme. The historian Muzaffar Alam argues that the increase in the use of Persian was partly due to an effort to evolve a political culture of empire that could overarch the various cultural and religious identities in India at the time. Later on, interest in the Indian context and its literature became part of this habitus, which could have provided an impetus to translate Indian classics from Sanskrit and the contemporary vernaculars (1998: 331 ff.). That the interest in Persian could go together with a renewed interest in the original text is demonstrated by the Rampur manuscript of 1674, which gives some indication as to the resonances it created in the mind of a literate Persianised elite.[27]

Although the appreciation of *Padmāvat* in Persian works produced in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in centres of an Indian Muslim elite culture is well recorded, it cannot be ruled out that the work circulated along other channels as well. The composite nature of the field in which the poem circulated made that different streams could exist simultaneously and sometimes cross each other. The great number of kaithī manuscripts suggests an avenue that may have included oral storytelling traditions. The insertion of extensions in these sources underlines the interest in the heroic aspects of the poems, but it is also possible that the combination of the political morals, together with the heroic topoi, remained the main driving force that propelled the transmission of the poem.

There is little evidence of a connection between the reception in Persian adaptations and the transmission of the original poem. An interesting hint is provided by a Hindi verse on the cover of both (*Qiṣṣa-yi*) *Padmāvat* and some manuscripts of Jāyasī's work.[28] The meeting ground for both the Persian translations and the Avadhi text could have been the regional courts and circles of literati where poetry from both traditions was cultivated, along with the local Sufi khānqāhs, where the mystical symbolism of the work was appreciated and used in liturgical practice. This circulation was not restricted to a Muslim audience; in 1808 the mahārāja of Benares, the patron of the cult of the other great Avadhi poem, Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas*, commissioned a Persian translation of *Padmāvat*.[29]

Another form of reception of the Sufi romances in Avadhi in regional courts can be found in the adaptations of the poems in Dakkhinī. As a major literary medium, Dakkhinī occupied a position in the Deccan that was comparable to that of Persian in Northern India. Its use by Sufi poets formed an interesting

pendant of Avadhi poetry because it mixed vernacular elements with the stylistics of Persian poetry. An example of an adaptation of an Avadhi story is the *Gulshan-i 'ishq* by Nuṣratī (d. 1674), which was inspired by Manjhan's *Madhumālatī*.[30] The lavish manuscripts of the Sufi texts in Dakkhinī make it doubtful that this poetry was solely intended for use by the 'inner circle' in which the vernacular Sufi poetry described by Richard Eaton (1978) and Carl Ernst (1992) was composed.

An interesting text in this respect is a work called *Pem-nem* (Vow of Love) by the poet Hans (or Hans Shāh), made in 1592 for sultan Ibrāhīm Shāh of Bijapur. The single manuscript available of this text has many miniatures and illustrated pages and is a fine specimen of Deccan court culture. Blumhardt, in his catalogue of the Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani manuscripts in the India Office Collection in London, reads in some lines that the poet calls his work 'Ratankahan'. He therefore assumes that Hans based it on Jāyasī's work.[31] He describes how the illustrations in the manuscript depict the merging of the lover and his beloved through mystical love, by showing the hero (Ratansen) with a small portrait of a princess (Padmāvatī) in the place of his heart. Matthews, in a review on the state of the scholarship on Dakkhinī literature, corrects Blumhardt's reading of the line of *Pem-Nem* and doubts whether the poem can be seen as a *Padmāvat* adaptation (1993: 87-88). He acknowledges that more research is needed to decipher this remarkable and so far unstudied text.

Another environment in which the Avadhi Sufi works were appropriated was the Bengal court of Arakan, where the poet Alāūl (fl. 1651-1671) completed his *Padmāvat* translation in 1652. The pioneering studies of Thibault d'Hubert into the poetical concept of Alāūl's poetry and its place in the political context of the Arakan court show how the mystical element in the Avadhi poems remained important in the Bengali adaptations. Later on in his career, the poet widened his scope and turned his attention to the more 'universal' Persian maṣnavī tradition, especially the works of Niẓāmī. He adapted works such as the *Iskandarnāma* into Bengali to underline the less regionally oriented horizon of his patrons.[32] The Bengali reception adds another voice to the variety that characterises the reception of the Sufi romances and, in particular, Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century translations into Urdu mark a new round of reception, which may have been inspired by the success of the Persian adaptations of *Padmāvat* and of other Sufi works, together with the ongoing appeal of the Avadhi texts. The influence of the Persian adaptations of *Padmāvat* may be deduced from the title of one adaptation into Urdu, called

Mudallil-i sham‘ u parvāna, which could refer to a similarly named Persian version by Rāzī. The Urdu translation made by Muḥammad Qasīm ‘Alī of Bareilly and published in Kanpur in 1873. Cambridge University Library has a manuscript of a translation into Urdu by Ghulām ‘Alī Mashadī Ẓiyā‘ ud-Dīn Shāhjahānābādī.[33]

Sreenivasan rightly points at the role of regional courts such as Avadh and Rampur in the patronage of poetry and as the location of the creation of *Padmāvat* adaptations in Urdu (2007: 120-121). Most of these poets did not acquire great fame, but some insight into the practice that created these translations is provided by Garcin de Tassy, who describes how Mīr Ghulām ‘Alī ‘Ishrat lived in the Deccan but came to Rampur in North India to visit the literary meetings where poetry was sung. There, he was persuaded by Mīr Shudratullāh Shauq to complete the *Padmāvat* adaptation started by the poet ‘Ibrat (1870, vol. II: 48).

The Urdu manuscript in the collection of the India Office Collection described as no. 73 in Blumhardt’s catalogue contains, besides an incomplete version of the *Padmāvat* adaptation by ‘Ishrat,[34] a Qur’anic account of the Virgin Mary and the birth and miracles of Christ, a retelling of the *Qiṣṣa-i Ferozshāh* which was a favourite theme in the genre of adventure stories, the *dāstān*, a story on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, a poem in praise of the saint ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī, moralistic advice for married women, the story of a woman who burnt herself to death for love of Muḥammad, and a miracle story connected with Fāṭima. The compilation shows how the *Padmāvat* story had become embedded in a discourse in Urdu that featured a wide range of pious and moralist topics.

The continued interest in the Indian Islamic cultural heritage led to the preservation of the Avadhi original of *Padmāvat*, along with other Sufi premākhyāns. The emergence in the nineteenth century of lithographed reproductions of large numbers of texts from the Indian Islamic past by publishers such as Naval Kiśor gave the *Padmāvat* text its largest dissemination until that moment. The lithograph editions were made on the basis of manuscripts and often included translations in Urdu below the text, and commentary in the margins. The large number of these prints in library collections testifies to the ongoing popularity of Jāyasī’s work.

The lithographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century included many religious works, poetry, biographies and historiographies in Persian, Arabic or Urdu. One of the most voluminous projects of the Naval Kiśor Press was a forty-six volume edition of the dāstān of Amīr Ḥamza, a text made

after an oral tradition that had always been close to the heart of Indian audiences of various backgrounds.

Naval Kiśor published the entire canon of early modern bhakti poetry as well. The inclusion of *Padmāvat* and other Sufi romances in this context is testimony to its broad appeal. From there, it made its way into the early historiographies of Hindi literature and critical editions. Gupta and Śukla used the lithographed texts as sources for their editions.[35]

The *Padmāvat* adaptations tell us of the great popularity of Jāyasī's text and also of its reception, thus providing an indication as to which kind of audience the poet could have anticipated when he composed his work. Distinguishing between worldly and other channels present in each adaptation is useful for locating the circulation of the theme of *Padmāvat*. The transmission of the tale in these different milieus highlighted specific sides of the work. The reception of the work in the form of translations and adaptations also supports the assumptions proposed earlier as to the importance of performance for the spread of Jāyasī's work. Storytellers who spread stories in the tradition of the dāstān could have acted on the popularity of Jāyasī's work and included its theme in their repertoire, taking it to audiences in locations ranging from village squares to local courts.[36] Oral circulation could also have acted as a connection between the different channels of adaptation.

The sharp distinction between a worldly and a Sufi reception should be used with caution. It is more likely, and to be expected based upon the circulation of other vernacular poetry, that there was a wide gamut of interpretations in the adaptations of the work, in which both the mystical and the heroic elements were present in varying proportions. This becomes apparent by also taking into account the reception outside North India, in the Deccan and in Bengal.

2.5 Modern reception

The last stage in the reception of Jāyasī's work involved its establishment as a major work in the history of Hindi literature, which has become its present status. This is reflected in the adoption of the text in textbooks and lists of required reading in Indian schools, universities and state exams. As has been shown above, the Urdu lithograph editions brought early modern vernacular literature to the attention of an educated middle-class audience. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the early modern texts by Sufi and bhakti poets were positioned as precursors of modern Indian writing. The Hindi scholars that worked on the early editions were attached to the same milieu that campaigned for the

use of Hindi in devanāgarī script with a sanskritised vocabulary as projected national language. As part of this initiative, the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā in Benares launched a large-scale search for early modern manuscripts and sponsored the publication of text editions and other scholarly works.

Scholars began to research the literary history of modern Hindi. Being based on the Khari Boli dialect spoken in the vicinity of Delhi, Hindi could not boast a 'literary' past of the same stature as Urdu, the cultured medium for literary prose and poetry. In an effort to define a cultural canon for modern Hindi, they turned to early modern literature in Avadhi and Braj and promoted this as predecessors of a literary canon in modern Hindi. This effort provided the context for the production of a range of works by scholars such as Śyām Sundar Dās (1875-1945), Rām Candra Śukla (1884-1942) and Mātā Prasād Gupta (1909-1969), who created the first dictionary of Hindi, the *Hindī Śabdsāgar* (1916-1928), the first critical editions of texts such as Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas*,[37] Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* (1924), and *Kabīr Granthāvalī* (1931), and produced the first historiography of Hindi literature, in the form of Śukla's *Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihās* (1929).

The ideological drive behind the promotion of sanskritised Hindi as national tongue to be had a profound influence on the representation of early modern Indian literature, as it emphasised the works' presumed 'Indian' or 'Hindu' identity. In this respect, the prominence of the Sufi works in the early history of Hindi created a problem for Śukla as editor of *Padmāvat* and first historiographer of Hindi literature. In his historiography, he centred the image of the early modern tradition around the notion that the devotion to Rām (*rām-bhakti*) expressed in Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* expressed the essence of 'Indian' religiosity. He is critical of the value of Sufi and sant poets for Indian literature, as their devotion to a God without attributes only focused on a partial expression of his preferred religiosity. In the same manner, he criticised the devotion to Kṛṣṇa and the poetry that was made in its name for being exclusively focused on love and for lacking the majestic element of rām-bhakti (1978 [1929]: 60-61).[38]

With respect to *Padmāvat*, Śukla is ambivalent. On the one hand, he recognises its evident qualities in the introduction to his critical edition, and classifies the depiction of love according to the schemes of classical Indian poetry. He criticises the fact that the love in marriage depicted in this poem is not 'Indian' because it is supposedly not embedded in the handling of worldly affairs and religious acts, like in the story of Rām (1935 [1924]: 20-21). Nevertheless, he is touched by the *mādhurya* (charm) in Jāyasī's mystical images, in which he sees a parallel with Kabīr's poetry, and therefore accepts Jāyasī as an 'Indian' poet. He is also positive about the representation of the behaviour of Padmāvatī when

Ratansen is taken captive by 'Alā' al-dīn, which he interprets as an ideal image for the devotion of the Indian wife, in the manner in which he sees it portrayed in truly 'Indian' poetry. In his historiography *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, he sets off Jāyasī's sensitivity for the representation of love of a faithful wife against 'foreign' representations, especially from Urdu poetry,[39] and warns for the more 'repulsive' (*bībhatsa*) images from Persian poetry in Jāyasī's work.[40]

It is evident that contemporary arguments and debates on the presumed 'Indianness' of Indian literature inform the reading of the early modern texts, and that Śukla actively alienates their Islamic orientation, forcing a distinction between genuinely Indian writing and 'foreign' elements. Gupta, in the introduction to his second edition, is critical of Śukla's interpretation and draws the Sufi poems and the image of love portrayed in them closer to the Indian tradition (1973: 58-66).

A different argumentation can be found in the chapters '*mat aura siddhānta*' and '*Jāyasī kā rahasyavād*' of the introduction to Śukla's edition of *Padmāvat*. In a long and erudite analysis of the notion of monistic mysticism in various cultures, Śukla links Jāyasī's concept of mystical love to various Eastern and Western philosophical systems (1935 [1924]: 97-122). His final conclusion is that Jāyasī has taken *ekāngadassino* (*ekāṅgadarśan*), a concept formulated by the Buddha (1935: 114), as his main goal. This analysis demonstrates Śukla's profound knowledge of Islamic and Western philosophy, but also a tendency to emphasise general, syncretist notions of mysticism. The generalisation of the mysticism in Jāyasī's work has the effect of neutralising the Muslim identity of the Sufi poet, and of alienating *Padmāvat* from the kind of religiosity Śukla sees as the essence of Indian religion. Interpretations of this nature have had a strong impact on the reception of Jāyasī and other Sufi poets in the academic discourse on Hindi literature and can be found in later readings of *Padmāvat*.

The political polarisation between Muslim and Hindu communities in British India at the beginning of the twentieth century led to a repositioning of the cultural heritage on both sides. In this development, Urdu became associated exclusively with the cause of Indian Muslims and was thus alienated from the mainstream of early modern and modern Indian writing. The notion of syncretism 'softened' the influence of Islamic culture on early modern Indian culture, expressed in the works of Sufi poets and sant poetry. Such influences did not fit the monolithic concept of religious identity and of Indian culture that prevailed in the Hindu nationalist discourse in the early part of the twentieth century. Another element that crept into the reception of early modern Sufi poetry and the works of Kabīr or other sant poets was the projection of a sec-

ularist ideology on this literature. Kabīr was portrayed as an icon of secularist ideals, and religious tolerance and syncretism were projected onto Sufi poems in Indian vernaculars. Thus, the image of the early modern traditions was adapted to make them acceptable as forerunners of a contemporary, 'national' Hindi literature.

The same ideology provided the impetus for the production of the critical editions that were meant to reveal Jāyasī's texts as they were supposedly written by their author, and to establish their position in the literary canon.[41] It is evident from the general tone of the reception of the early modern Sufi poems in the nationalist discourse that the editors had little interest in alternative readings that emphasised the contextual polyphony of political and religious morals in these texts.

The reception of *Padmāvat* and other works by Jāyasī was not exclusively in the hands of Śukla and Gupta. Many scholars worked on the texts, made word lists or studied its language. The practice of editing and commenting on Jāyasī's texts could be seen as a form of transmitting and repositioning the text, not unlike the active involvement of earlier scribes of manuscripts or performers, each agent adding his own outlook on the material in the process.[42] The position of the early modern Sufi works in Hindi literature has remained the subject of a lively scholarly debate in India. The prestige of the text and its place in national exams kept the interest for these works alive and introduced new readers to them, extending their path through history.[43]

2.6 European reception

A review of the reception of *Padmāvat* in different periods and contexts would be incomplete without a description of the way Western commentators and scholars on Indian culture responded to the text. Probably the earliest reference to the story of the *padminī* queen of Citor in European sources is in a late eighteenth-century geographical description of India by J. Tieffenthaler: *Description historique et Geographique de l'Inde* (1786-1789). A list of kings of Udaipur mentions Ratansen as the prince who crossed the seas to obtain the daughter of the king of Siam as his bride.[44]

Another early reference is made by H.T. Colebrooke in his *Asiatic Researches* of 1808, where he describes the poetry of Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī as an example of the 'Hindavi cabits and dohras' (1808: 220). In *A grammar of the Hindustanee language*, John Gilchrist also mentions the text (1796: 525). An important source for the French reception of the *Padmāvat* is Theodore Pavie's article in *Journal Asiatique* of 1856, in which he compares the *Padmāvat* stories by Jāyasī and the seventeenth century Rajasthani poet Jaṭmal. He based his

work on a study of the manuscripts of these works in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (1856: 89).

An important moment in the scholarly reception of *Padmāvat* is the reference in Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la litterature hindouie et hindoustanie* of 1870, which also mentions the versions made by later poets (1870, vol. 2: 67). George Abraham Grierson describes *Padmāvat* in his *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* in 1889. Later he was to collaborate with Sudhākar Dvivedī on the first attempt at a critical edition of the poem, which was published in 1911. This edition was never completed, but it provided the inspiration for the first English translation of the text by A.G. Shirreff, a retired officer in the Indian Civil Service, published in 1944.[45] This work was based on Grierson's edition for the first part and for the remainder on the edition by Śukla. It is evidently influenced by the syncretist interpretation of the *Padmāvat*. In his introduction Shirreff describes the religious outlook of its poet:

> His broad tolerance and understanding made him, above all, a prophet of unity. If we could meet him now in the Elysian fields, and could ask him whether he had approached his theme from the Muslim or the Hindu standpoint, he would, I imagine, answer with a smile that he did not know, and that he had never seen any difference between them.
>
> Shirreff 1944: ix

As the translation is based on Rām Candra Śukla's edition, it includes various verses which Gupta dismissed, such as the allegorical verse in the epilogue. The Avadhi is translated with great care and the commentary mentions many details of the text, although the translator had difficulties with some of the more opaque verses. John Millis, in his study on *Padmāvat*, also translates a large number of stanzas. An updated translation based on a modern edition of the text remains a desideratum.[46]

The notions of religious tolerance and syncretism remained important elements in the interest for early modern Hindi poetry among European scholars, who saw the early modern period and bhakti as a sanctuary of religious unity. These idealist interpretations were further reinforced by the publication of the translation of Kabīr verses by Rabindranāth Tagore in 1916. The introduction by Evelyn Underhill emphasised the religious universalism of Kabīr.[47] This attitude towards oriental poetry was not uncommon at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, and also inspired the reception of Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* as the vernacular 'Bible for Northern

India' whose religious message of rām-bhakti was interpreted with a strong Christian bias.[48]

A form of reception of *Padmāvat* of a different kind also deserves mention here. The article on *Padmāvat* in *Journal Asiatique* by Théodore Pavie mentioned above, together with his experiences during a 'grand tour' of India, provided the inspiration for the composer Albert Roussel (1869-1937) and his librettist, the musicologist and critic Louis Laloy (1874-1944), to start work on an opera *Padmāvatī* in 1914. Just as the many Indian adaptations of the material, Roussel could not refrain from changing the story to make it meet his ends. Roussel makes Padmāvatī kill Ratansen before she commits *jauhar* as an image of the sacrifice of one for the needs of many to avert the threat of total destruction. This thematic emphasis is based on Roussel's bitter experiences during World War I. The ballet-opera *Padmāvatī* saw its first performance in Paris in 1923 (De Bruijn 1991).

Conclusion

The overview of the history of the textual sources for the modern critical editions of *Padmāvat*, as well as of the dissemination of the poem and its theme in various Indian languages demonstrates the complexity of the field in which the text was received and transmitted. This is already present in the earliest stages of the transmission and limits the possibility of reconstructing the poem as it was intended by its author. The information embedded in the many insertions and variants tells of the reception of the poem in various milieus. For a contextual reading that is envisaged in the present study, this state of the text is an obstacle. Yet, the interventions in later reception give interesting clues to the polyphony that characterises both the original poem as well as its later reception. A constant factor in this polyphony is the alternation of worldly and religious readings of the poem. In this respect, the analysis of the textual sources agrees with the impressions of the structure of the literary field as outlined in the first chapter, which argued to connect Jāyasī's poetry with the mediation between the interest of Sufi centres and their worldly patrons. This polyphony also appears as a structural element in the reception of the poem, and is reflected in the usage of the text and its trajectory of transmission.

As Sreenivasan's analysis of the the spread of the padminī theme argues, the spread of the various versions of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* in Persian, Urdu and other Indian languages responded to a new perception of the poem's heroic theme, which can partly be connected to the creation of a cultural memory of

Rajput heroism, at the costs of the interest in its mystical meaning. The reception in a modern context brought a new reading to the text, one that has been predominant in the production of the critical editions. It brought the text into a new stage of the literary field of Indian literature, in which the labelling of the poem in terms of its 'Indianness' became more important than a precise reading of its contextual meaning.

The study of the 'diaspora' of *Padmāvat* is instrumental for a contextual reading of the poem. Mapping the complexity of the relations between its many manuscripts and adaptations produces a new perspective on the historiography of vernacular Indian writing which, at this point, is still unfinished. It is especially challenging to reconstruct the connection between the different forms of reception of *Padmāvat* and the ideological emphasis in the milieus in which this took place. This requires a better understanding of the location of the perception and appreciation of Islamic literary forms in the early modern history of North India, as well as more insight into the intervention in this process by the reception of other Indian vernacular literature.

The present study is not finite in this respect and has only tentatively indicated how *Padmāvat* was transmitted, engaging with insightful new research like that of Ramya Sreenivasan. Yet, the perception of early Islamic poetry and the transition into modern genres like Urdu poetry needs more attention. A guiding line in such research should be the polyphony of worldly and religious semantics present in *Padmāvat*, as this has been responsible for its ongoing popularity. Another principle that should be followed in this analysis is the intense reformulation of the meaning of existing cultural products and practices as they circulate and are picked up in new contexts. The transmission of *Padmāvat* shows this mechanism in full swing after the conception of the text. It has also been an important element in its composition. This is the subject of the following chapter, which analyses the literary horizon of *Padmāvat* and Jāyasī's creative use of images and other poetical elements to enhance the meaning of his poem.

Notes

1. See Agravāl (1961: *pariśiṣṭ* [appendix] 2 and 3) for a concise list of variants and other textual details in the manuscripts of Rampur and the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan. He concludes that many of Gupta's choices were congruent with these sources.
2. See the bibliography for more editions and for a list of the manuscripts used by Gupta and Agravāl, with some additions from the research conducted for this study. Notes on the editions I have not been able to consult are taken from Pāṭhak (1976:

19-36), who lists the editions of Jāyasī's texts up to 1964. See also Gupta's comments in the introduction to both his *Jāyasī Granthāvalī* and his second edition of *Padmāvat* (1952, 1973).

3. 'पद्मावत के मूल पाठ पर जमा हुआ काई को पाठ संषोधन का वैज्ञानिक युक्ति से हटा कर (...)'(Agravāl 1964: 17)

4. The textual history of Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* seems much more robust in this respect, although the claim that there is an extant autograph seems doubtful. See Vaudeville (1955: xiii).

5. A description of these manuscripts is given in appendix 2 of the bibliography. See also the introduction to Gupta's edition (1952: 1-7).

6. "इतना उलझ हुआ प्रक्षेप संबन्ध बहुत कम ग्रंथों का मिलेगा" (Gupta 1952: 86-87).

7. See the list of manuscripts in the references section.

8. The vocalisation may indicate that, by the late Mughal period, fewer people understood the unvocalised Avadhi. This explanation is given by Shantanu Phukan in his valuable study of the reception of Padmāvat in this period among Persianised elites (2000). See also below: 2.4.

9. See item 1 in the list of manuscripts.

10. तब घर मैं बैठे रहैं जाँहि न हाट बज़ारा । मधुमालति मिरगावति पौठी दोइ उदार ॥
ते बाँचहिं रजनी समइ आवहिं नर दस बीस । गावहिं अरु बातैं करहिं नित उठि देहिं असीस ॥
See the editions and translations by Mukund Lāṭh (1981: 49, line 335-6) and Rohini Chowdhury (2009: 141). Both translations are somewhat vague and fail to mention the Hindi 'udār' (noble, honourable). The translation by the present author given here conveys the notion that the texts were read for their elevated, 'noble' content.

11. A member of a professional caste of Hindu clerks and scribes at the Islamic courts in India, who were well versed in Persian legal and juridical idiom and often also had a great knowledge of Persian and Urdu poetry.

12. See Plukker's edition of *Mṛgāvatī* (1981: xlii, note 7) quoting Vaudeville's edition of bārahmāsā poems (1965: 34, note 1) and Parameśvari Lāl Gupta's edition of *Mṛgāvatī* (1967: 28-37) for a discussion on the original script of *Mṛgāvatī*.

13. See Muzaffar Alam (1998: 326) on the role of *kāyasth*s as *munshis* at the Mughal court.

14. See Agravāl (1961: 935-943) where he compares his own edition to the manuscript from Benares. See also Askari (1953).

15. A well documented case from the same region as the Sufi poems is the practice of *rām-kathā* and the recitation of the *Rāmcaritmānas.* See on this Lutgendorf's *The Life of a Text* (1991). See also Winand Callewaert's description of the transmission of sant poetry in *Nāmdev* (1989: 1 ff).

16. See Blackburn, Beck et al. (1989) on the specific nature of oral transmission in the South Asian context.

17. For the effects of this practice on the corpora of poetry of Kabīr and Sūrdās, see Callewaert (1991, 2000) and Hawley (1983).
18. In the manuscripts of *Mṛgāvatī* collected by Plukker for his edition, around forty interpolated stanzas were found, which is about ten per cent of the total number of stanzas in the work. The manuscripts of *Madhumālatī* show very few extra stanzas.
19. See *Padmāvat* 637 where Gupta identified four added stanzas which extend the description of the fight, stanzas 637a-ī (1952: 632).
20. See, for example, Hanaway (1971) on this phenomenon in Persian popular romances, and Blackburn et al. (1989), who describe comparable cases of adaptation in the performance tradition of Indian texts.
21. The allegorical 'key' stanza (133a) is a good example. The same verse occurs at different places in the work with a different order of lines in order to suit the specific context.
22. Carl Ernst also follows this interpretation, when he characterises *Padmāvat* as a mystical and didactic work on the basis of the allegorical scheme, dismissing its epic aspects and its connection with historical Islam (1992: 31-32).
23. The rhetorical function of this epilogue is discussed in greater detail below, in chapter 4.6.
24. See Lutgendorf's description of the performance tradition of the *Rāmcaritmānas* (1991).
25. See Alam (1998: 324, note 26), Abidi 1962: 4-7 and, below: appendix 1: *Sham' u parvāna* and *Mehr u Māh*.
26. See Ethé (1903-1937: 865) manuscript no. 1582.
27. See Phukan 2000: 6 ff, 2001: 36 ff.
28. See the description of (*Qiṣṣa-yi*) *Padmāvat* in appendix 1, below.
29. See Lutgendorf (1991: 135-137), on the role of the mahārājas of Benares as patrons of arts and religion.
30. See Gaeffke (1989) for more information on Nuṣratī's adaptation made in 1657. For more information on the tradition of Dakkhinī literature, see Schimmel (1975: 137 ff.).
31. Blumhardt (1899: 57), referring to manuscript no. 83 (ADD 16880).
32. See d'Hubert 2011, and his unpublished PhD thesis of 2010.
33. Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, (1870) and Schimmel's *Classical Urdu Literature* (1975) provide more information on these poets mentioned here and the historical context of their poetry.
34. The work by Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat was composed in 1797, which makes it likely that the manuscript is from the early nineteenth century.
35. On the publishing activities of Naval Kiśor, see Stark (2004, 2007).
36. On the role of the dāstān and *qiṣṣa* in bringing stories to various levels of society,

see Frances Pritchett (1991). See chapter 3.6 on references to themes from the oral traditions of North India, including the dāstān, in *Padmāvat.*

37. See Vaudeville (1955) for an overview of the editions of this text. Śukla's edition of the *Tulsī Granthāvalī* came out in 1923.

38. A more elaborate description of early modern poetry by Śukla and the use of the concept of syncretism in this context can be found in De Bruijn (2010).

39. '(...) यह देख कर अत्यंत दुख होता है कि प्रेम का यह पुनीत भरतीय स्वरूप विदेशीय प्रभाव से विशेशतः उर्दू स्यायरी के चलते गीतों से हटता जा रहा है. यार, महबूब, सितम, तेग, खंजर, ज़ख़्म, आबले, खून, और मवाद आदि का प्रचार बढ़ रहा है. जायसी के भावुक हृदय ने स्वकीया के पुनीत प्रेम के सौन्दर्य को पहचानता (...)'. '(…) Seeing this, it is extremely sad that the blessed Indian image of love is being pushed aside by foreign influence, especially the current Urdu songs. The use of terms such as "*yār*" (friend), "*mahbūb*" (lover), "*sitam*" (violence), "*tej*" (ardour), "*khañjar*" (dagger), "*jakhm*" (wound), "*ābale*" (blisters), "*khūn*" (blood) and "*mavād* " (pus) has become increasingly common. Jāyasī recognises with his sensitive heart the beauty of the blessed love of a faithful wife.' (Śukla 1935 [1924]: 25)

40. '(...) पद्मावत में यद्यपि हिन्दू जीवन के परिचायक भावों की ही प्रधानता है। पर बीच में फ़ार्सी साहित्य द्वारा पोषित भावों के भी छींटे कहीं कहीं मिलते हैं। विदेशीय प्रभाव के कारन वियोग दशा के वर्नन में कहीं कहीं भीभत्स चित्र सामने आ जाते हैं - जैसे 'कबाबे सीख' वाला यह भाव —।' 'Although the emotional conditions that represent Hindu life are predominant in *Padmāvat*, in-between one also finds some splashes of emotional states inspired by Persian literature. Because of this foreign influence, now and then some horrific images come to the fore such as the state of "*kabāb-e sīkh*" (beef on a skewer)'. (Śukla 1978 [1927]: 31)

41. See the preface by Dhirendra Varmā on behalf of the Hindustani Akademi that published Gupta's *Jāyasī Granthāvali*, and also Gupta's introduction (1952: 3).

42. See the other editions of Jāyasī's work mentioned in the references section. A good example of a creative form of reception is the *Saṁkśipt Padmāvat*, edited by Śyām Sundar Dās and Satya Jīvan Varma in 1936, in which the order of the stanzas is rearranged.

43. The debate on early modern Hindi poetry in the world of Hindi scholarship has continued with great vigor after Gupta and others made their editions. A description of this falls outside the scope of the present study. A study that engages with earlier descriptions in the historiography of Hindi literature is *Jāyasī, eka nayī dṛṣṭi* by Raghuvaṃs (1993).

44. '*Un des plus célèbres (de cette race) est Rettensen, qui ayant traversé la mer, pénetra dans le royaume de Siam, pour épouser Padmani, fille et héritière du Roi de Siam. L'histoire de ce rajah et de la fidelité conjugale de Padmani ont été chantées dans un poème Persan.*' Thieffenthaler (1786-1789, part 1: 341)

45. Robert Vernède's anthology of stories and poems by British colonials, *British Life in India* (1955), contains some other material written by Shirreff, showing his interest in Indian folktales.

46. The present author was planning a translation in collaboration with Aditya Behl, whose death in 2009 put this project on hold.
47. Lutgendorf mentions the 'Victorian' appraisal of the *Rāmcaritmānas* and the appreciation of translators such as G.A. Grierson and F.S. Growse for the presumed 'purity' of the Rām story, quoting the 'syncretic' views expressed by J.M. Macfie in: *The Ramayan of Tulsidas, or the Bible of Northern India*, Edinburgh (1930) (1991: 30-31).
48. For a portrait of Kabīr as a 'Prophet of Unity', see Evelyn Underhill's introduction to Tagore's translation of one hundred verses of Kabīr (1915). See also De Bruijn (2010) for an analysis of the notion of syncretism in the reception of Indian poetry in the West.

The literary context *of Padmāvat*

The preceding chapters have shown how Jāyasī's poetry is embedded in the social context that defined the role of the poet and conditioned the appreciation and valorisation of his works. An analysis of the literary background of *Padmāvat* should look both at the traditions that were present in the poet's immediate context, as well as literary forms, images and other literary elements from a larger cultural environment that found a way into the poem and defined its outline and meaning.

Padmāvat is located at the crossroads of various Indian and Islamic literary traditions, such as Indian classical literature, the Indian vernacular traditions of nāth yogī didactic poetry, and various written and oral literatures that were part of the heritage of Indian Islam, such as Persian mystical poetry and heroic storytelling traditions. The work is intentionally polyphonic and composite, and it refers to or grazes many texts or genres that had a prominent presence and were meaningful to the poet's audience and patrons. The following analysis will demonstrate that, at the same time, the poet kept a deliberate distance from the many traditions from which he borrowed literary elements. He does not intend to emulate or copy a specific model, but processes a wide range of literary material into a poem that functions within the scope of the literary field and the cultural habitus defined by the interests of Indian Sufis, their patrons and an audience around this milieu.

A description of the literary background of *Padmāvat* from the perspective of a contextual reading should avoid comparison or identification of the poem with traditions or genres that have no direct relevance to the field in which it operated. Therefore, the present analysis tries to avoid a reductionist comparison of the Indian Sufi romances with specific models from Indian or Persian traditions, as this fails to see how the genre develops its own formal and aesthetic programma, using the intertext of a vast literary hinterland.

This present analysis distinguishes between various forms of influence

and inspiration, as well as between the various strategies used in the poem to position it in relation to its literary background. Influences are there in the form of resonances from established motives and themes in the wide public domain of Indian literature, parallels in the structure of the narrative or in the didactic approach in the poem, more specific intertextual references, and common narrative elements of which the poet slightly twists the conventional meaning to make them suit his thematic programme. Special attention is given to the literary models of the Rajput warrior and the king who turns ascetic in nāth yogī tales. On the other hand, more remote influences from the Persian tales of Alexander the Great are discussed, balanced by an analysis of how Jāyasī's poem almost reads like a palimpsest of the tale of Rām's exile and quest to recapture his wife from the hands of the demon king Rāvan.

The ease with which Jāyasī juxtaposes and intertwines elements from or hints of a parallel with numerous literary traditions is crucial to its rhetorical functionality. This dialogic openness of the poem reinforces the notion that the tale of Padmāvatī and Ratansen represents a universal, divine order in a local, Rajput microcosm. The lack of metalanguage or explanation in the poem suggests that this concept corresponded with expectations that existed in the literary field in which the text was located. This leaves the interesting question whether everything in *Padmāvat* was fully understood by an audience that harboured different cultural sensibilities. In a way, Behl resolves this issue by centring his reading around the meaning the poem had in the discourse of Chishtī Sufism. The reading presented here argues that the poem's dialogic openness was instrumental to giving it a larger semantic scope, in which the representation of the mystic's quest for divine love was not a monologic idiom, but one that could also stand for an ideal of moral correctness that had a wider significance than just the path of the mystic.

3.1 A composite literary background

Defining the literary background of any work in Indian literature is a daunting task, as a result of the dialogic and intertextual nature of this environment. Themes and plots of stories go through many incarnations and exchange scenes, characters and other elements with a multitude of other tales. *Padmāvat* poses a special problem in this respect as its narrative involves two storylines, each with its own literary genealogy. The first part tells the tale of the birth of Padmāvatī and Ratansen, the journey to Siṃhal and the king's successful 'yoga' of mystical love. The work could have ended at this point without breaking conventions of storytelling or the stylistic rules of classical Indian forms, such as *mahākāvya*.[1]

The second part, which features the battle for Citor and ends with the heroic death of Ratansen and Padmāvatī's self-immolation, the jauhar, is only loosely connected to the first part. Except for the fact that Ratansen comes back to Citor to resume his position as king, there is little reference in the second part to the events in the first part. Although they are independent and have a different background, together the two parts form a perfect thematic unit, symbolising the mystic's quest for his beloved, the blissful state of union and the return to the world.[2]

The main theme of the first part, the journey to Siṃhal Dvīpa, already existed in Indian literature in various forms. The most 'classical' incarnation of the tale of Padmāvatī is the motif of the princess from the south (Laṅkā), who is married to a king from the north. Harśa's (606-648) *Ratnāvalī* tells the tale of king Udayana, whose minister relates to him the prophecy that he who marries princess Ratnāvalī of Siṃhal will become *cakravartin*, a ruler who governs the entire Indian subcontinent. Udayana pursues this goal, but the marriage only comes about after dangerous journeys and chance meetings. The Udayana stories mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara* 15-20, feature a princess Padmāvatī from Māgadha. Udayana lost his empire in a war and gets the chance to regain power through an alliance with her family. The same motif is the basis for Bhāsa's play *Svapnavāsavadatta* (between the fourth and first century BC).

Apart from Sanskrit literature, the theme of a northern king who marries a princess from the south is also present in Middle Indo-Aryan literature, in didactic works by Jain authors, in which the quest to a faraway kingdom emphasises the religious and moralist message of the tales.[3] The image of the king who becomes a yogī in order to achieve a religious goal is also the basis of many nāth yogī stories on kings like Bhartṛhari, Gopicand and Vikrama. This model was very popular all over North India and many stories of this type can be found in collections of fables and oral traditions.[4]

Given the various forms of interaction and competition between the Indian Sufis and nāth yogīs, it is no surprise to find elements from the tales on yogī kings spilling over into *Padmāvat*. The adoption of this material in the Sufi works involves a shift in the thematic meaning of the renunciation motif, which is caused by the different interpretations of the notion of mystical love in the two traditions. For the Jain and the nāth yogī preachers, love was a negative concept. The renunciation of kings such as Gopicand was a step towards overcoming attachment. Their love for their queens featured in the stories was seen as an impediment to the accomplishment of spiritual liberation. Only by conquering passion, the king can become a yogī. Therefore, most of these stories end with the king's renunciation from worldly life and from the love for his

family and relatives. Only then has he become the perfect disciple of Gorakhnāth. The background of this negative notion of love and the test is present in the representation of the fire of viraha, which affects Ratansen, but foremost his wives, Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī, when he is held captive by the sultan.[5]

The Sufi poets made this test of love through the pain of viraha a positive image that stands for the yearning for God. The prem that is depicted in *Padmāvat* as the final goal of the yogī-king Ratansen, is a positive notion, and is comparable in that respect to the concept of *'ishq* that features prominently in Sufi theory and in Persian mystical poetry.[6] In the premākhyāns by Indian Sufi poets, the princesses or beautiful women become idols, whose absolute beauty makes them reflections of God's presence. The love and sacrifice for such an idol leads the believer to the knowledge of the divine and to an experience of God's love for his creatures, which Sufi doctrines see as the cause of creation. Love and sacrifice lead the way to spiritual development.

This concept from Sufi theory provides the foundation for the symbolism of the story of Ratansen's love for Padmāvatī. The Sufi poets placed this concept of love in a narrative form that was well known from Jain and nāth yogī stories of kings who turned into yogīs, thus giving new meaning to a familiar and powerful literary theme. As nāth yogīs operated in the same cultural sphere as the Sufis and competed with them for royal patronage and prestige in popular devotion, proposing an alternative semantic programme for these well-known stories, as Jāyasī did in his *Padmāvat*, must have enhanced the impact of his poem.

Within the model provided by nāth yogī stories and the inversion of the theme of love, the narrative and thematic content of the first part of *Padmāvat* is further defined by the fact that it revolves around a Rajput king. This connects the work with a broad range of literary themes associated with Rajput culture and also gives the poem a political subtext. The journey to Siṃhal Dvīp under the guidance of his guru, and his self-sacrife for the love of the divine Padmāvatī provide an example to the worldly ruler for legitimising his power through spiritual growth under the guidance of a religious leader.

The connection between spiritual progress and political power lies in the notion of truthful service. The poet of *Padmāvat* uses various themes associated with the service of a Rajput warrior to establish this connection. The motif of the beautiful padminī princess as wife of a Rajput king was present in early Rajasthani epics such as Cand Bardāi's *Pṛthvirāj-rāsau.*[7]

Another element from Rajput culture that provides a background for Ratansen's quest for love is the practice of the *digvijay* – the tour a king was ex-

pected to undertake to establish his rule. This practice provides a background for the theme of the voyage in the representation of the exploits of Rajput kings in the Rajasthani vārtās and rāsaus.[8] An important difference with the role of the cakravartin of Sanskrit tales is that the Rajput does not become an independent ruler after his quest, but remains a faithful servant of his overlord, who is prepared to sacrifice his life in battle in his service. The motif of forging alliances by marriage, which is also present in the Sanskrit tales, was an established political practice among ruling elites in Jāyasī's days.

Other motifs associated with Rajput kingship, like the quest for a padminī princess and the ethics of service and sacrifice, come together in Ratansen's quest in the first part of *Padmāvat.* The combination of motives gives the poet the opportunity to represent the dual connotations, worldly and religious, of the quest for a princess of divine beauty. The powerful thematic complex existed before Jāyasī wrote his poem. It can be found in heroic stories, such as the early *Laksmansen-Padmāvatī-kathā* of Dāmodar (1459?) in Braj (McGregor 1984: 60). The motif of a quest with a dual connotation can be found in stories from a much wider area, including Sindh and the Punjab. Well-known examples are the Punjabi romance of Hīr and Rañjha, which is adapted in the seventeenth century by Vāriṣ Śāh, and the story cycle of Moumal and Mahendra, which is found in various oral and literary recreations in Sindhi and Punjabi. These stories also lent themselves well for adaptation by Sufi poets.[9]

The siege of the fortress of Citor, the historical seat of the Cauhān dynasty, by Muslim rulers, provided Jāyasī with the basis for the second part of his poem. Existing accounts of the battles over Citor, which could have been sources for Jāyasī, combined fact and fiction and also feature the motif of the beautiful queen Padminī, who was supposed to have died as a *satī* in the siege of the fortress by 'Alā' al-dīn. This tradition is also referred to by later Mughal historians, on whom the accounts of the siege of Citor by 'Alā' al-dīn and by Akbar made a deep impression. The ritual of jauhar, the suicide of the Rajput women to avoid falling into the enemy's hands, became a familiar topos in these descriptions.

The primary source could have been the account by Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī in his *Khazā'in al-futūḥ* or *Tārīkh-i 'Alā'ī* (Habib 1931: 47-49; Elliott and Dowson 1876-1877 vol. 3: 67-92). He does not mention the padminī story, but his account is full of the heroic and romantic topoi that were attached to the campaigns of 'Alā' al-dīn against Indian rulers, including the jauhar of their queens. Later writers such as Ferishta, in *Gulshan-i Ibrāhimī* (*Tārīkh-i Firishta*), Abū'l Faẓl, in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (1877 vol. 2: 269) and Ẓiyā' al-dīn Baranī, in *Tārīkh-i Ferozshāhī* (Briggs 1958 vol.1: 362-363), have taken over this account.

Lāl (1967: 102-110) argues that Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* provided inspiration for Ferishta's account. The reference in *Chitāīvārtā* to 'Alā' al-dīn's passion for a padminī as queen of Citor shows that this theme predates Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, and that there may have been alternative streams of transmission of this topos.

The later reconstruction by James Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1829-32) was conceived in a completely different context, in which the role of the Rajput queen was redefined. Ramya Sreenivasan's thorough analysis of the historical and political context of Tod's work, characterises it as an attempt to construct a version of Rajput identity that was most favourable to the ruling kings of Mewar (2007: 139). Tod omits many elements of the story in bardic versions that might have exposed its roots in the world of Rajput chiefs and their internal conflicts. He also left out the quest motif that was induced by depicting queen Padminī as a princess from Siṁhal, locating her in 'real' Ceylon. Sreenivasan argues that Tod's version omits elements of the story that might embarrass the stature of the Mewar kings. He reduced the colourful figure or the queen from bardic versions into what Sreenivasan describes as:

> (...) the silent pawn around whom a kingdom was defended and lost; a newly 'domesticated' figure of the queen now functioned as the symbolic heart of Rajput polity. (2007: 145).[10]

The theme of the passion of 'Alā' al-dīn for the queens of Rajput fortresses, which features prominently in the second part of *Padmāvat*, has been connected earlier with the Khiljī campaigns in popular historiography. Tales of the overthrow of Rajput strongholds like Ranthambor and Deogir by 'Alā' al-dīn mention the sultan's passion for the Indian women as the primary motif for his campaigns. Literary accounts of these events can be found in *Hammīrrāsau* and *Chitāīvārtā*.

The motif of the conquest of Citor combines well with that of Ratansen's quest as yogī of love, modelled on the tales of nāth yogī kings. It combined the worldly and mystical connotations of the themes of sacrifice and service. Moreover, it combined two narrative elements that were familiar to his audience.

The association of the themes of the siege of Citor and the ethics of Ratansen's quest with Rajput culture is not unproblematic, as the latter is used often as a generic term for ruling elites of North India. The elements referred to here originated in the complex political culture of Rajasthan, but circulated with elites all over North India who claimed Rajput status, although they may have been connected only with 'minor' lineages.[11] The representation of the padminī theme in works such as *Padmāvat* in Avadhi should therefore be seen

as an adaptation of the Rajput idiom in a new environment. Ramya Sreenivasan describes the role of the padminī theme and the battle over Citor in historical constructions of the identity of Rajput elites in the Avadhi context who were involved with local Sufi centres, and may well have been patrons of Jāyasī (2007: 48). In this milieu, the increasing power of Sher Shāh was perceived as a real threat, which may explain why the poet located his mystical tale in an 'imagined' Rajput environment, built around the tale of the fall of the iconic stronghold Citor. In Ratansen, he presented his audience and patrons an example of resistance to the rising power of the new sultan.

The dual identity of Ratansen as both a yogī and a warrior in the Rajput tradition characterises *Padmāvat* and forms the basis of many allusions in the work to other literary traditions, such as the Persian maṣnavī, oral story traditions, legendary biographies of pīrs, and stories on Rām or Kṛṣṇa.

The saint-warrior was a familiar figure in the Sufi milieu, where he featured prominently in legendary biographies of pīrs and other religious heroes produced in the context of the devotion at the tombs of the holy men. These tales describe the saint's miraculous power in battles with worldly or spiritual opponents. This force was an important element in the popular cult of the Sufi saints. Elements such as the travels to all corners of the universe, the performance of miraculous deeds and encounters with worldly rulers were familiar elements of the imagined biographies of the Sufi saints and can be seen as a background for the description of Ratansen's voyage to Siṃhal in the first part of *Padmāvat*.

Another element in the stories on Sufi saints is the establishment of a religious domain (vilāyat) by the pīr, which required challenging and overpowering worldly and religious competitors. This theme structures the narrative of the biographies and can also be seen as a subtext in Ratansen's voyage to the south, escorted by an army of vassals dressed as yogīs that threatens to take over the fortress of Siṃhal.[12]

Another source for the composite character of Ratansen were images from popular Islamic devotion, based on traditions surrounding the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and that of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The prominence of these images in popular Islam and Sufism has been described in chapter 1.5.2. in the context of Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām*. They provide a bridge between the context of 'serious' mysticism and the religious environment of the devotion to local pīrs.

The projection of themes from Sufi mysticism and popular Islam on the image of a Rajput warrior and his role in the battle for Citor sets *Padmāvat* apart from other Sufi romances. The notions of sacrifice and service tie to-

gether the representation of love, loyalty and legitimate kingship presented in the poem.[13] Both the worldly and the religious connotation of these themes come together in the composite character of Ratansen. Other readings of *Padmāvat* by Behl or Millis, recognise the connection of Jāyasī's poetry with a worldly social context, but they emphasise the mystical symbolism and semantics of the poem. Sreenivasan, on the other hand, views the work and its later emulations primarily from the perspective of the functionality of the padminī theme in defining Rajput identity, which is the main topic of her study. The present reading attempts to bring out the polyphony of worldly and religious morals in *Padmāvat*, without foregrounding the one or the other. The idiom of Sufi mysticism, as well as the poet's connection with major Sufi centres, provide a 'transcendent' authority to the polyphonic message of the poem.

Although there is no direct connection, it is interesting to observe that, not much later in the sixteenth century, the nexus between religious and political morals became an important element in Akbar's project of *Dīn-i Ilāhī*. This can also be read as an effort to formulate a political code to uphold the legitimacy of the Mughal empire on the basis of religious concepts.[14]

3.2 Specific models for *Padmāvat*

The description of the thematic framework of *Padmāvat* and its function in the poet's social environment narrows down the search for literary sources. A work that can be seen as a model for the representation of both the ascetic element and the heroic Rajput themes in *Padmāvat* and for the poet's use of existing literary forms is *Citāīvārtā* by Narāyaṇdās, which revolves around sultan 'Alā' al-dīn's siege of the Rajput fortress of Deogir. The work starts with the alliance between the sultan and king Rāmdev. The Rajput king stays for a while at the court in Delhi and becomes a firm ally of the sultan. He returns to Deogir to arrange the marriage of his daughter Chitāī. The sultan offers him the services of a painter, whom the king takes with him to Deogir. There, Rāmdev is installed on the throne again and sends Brahmins to Dvārasamudra in the south to find a suitable husband for Chitāī. They return with prince Sauṁrasī, and an elaborate wedding is prepared.

The painter from Delhi happens to see Chitāī and is inspired to paint her portrait. In the meantime, Sauṁrasī pursues a deer on a hunting party and comes to the ascetic Bhartṛhari, who protects the deer. The prince does not heed Bhartṛhari's call to let the deer go free. The holy man curses him to the effect that his wife will fall into another man's hands.

The painter returns to Delhi and shows 'Alā' al-dīn the portrait of Chitāī. He describes her beauty to the sultan, who orders his army to march to Deo-

gir to capture the princess. The siege is long and relentless and forces Sauṁrasī to escape from the fortress to seek help from his relatives in the south. Meanwhile, 'Alā' al-dīn and his minister Rāghav Cetan conceive a plan to capture Chitāī when she leaves the fortress to bathe with her girlfriends. Rāghav Cetan uses a gift of magic power (*siddhidān*) given to him by his personal deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) Padmāvatī. The plan works and Chitāī is taken to Delhi as a hostage.

'Alā' al-dīn proposes to Rāmdev to consent to a marriage with Chitāī. The sultan and his minister try all sorts of ruses to make Chitāī give up her pride and agree with the marriage. Sauṁrasī, when he hears of Chitāī's fate, becomes a yogī and wanders around playing his lute and singing songs of viraha. Chitāī does not forget her love for Sauṁrasī and in order to soothe her pain, the sultan arranges all kinds of entertainment. One day, Rāghav Cetan brings a wandering singer to the court, who happens to be Sauṁrasī. He recognises Chitāī and is reunited with her. Seeing the force of love and the perseverance of the separated lovers, 'Alā' al-dīn releases Chitāī.

Chitāīvārtā was composed by Narāyaṇdās and later revised by Ratanraṅg. Its date is still uncertain and conjectured at 1450 for the original version and ca. 1520 for the revision, but a later date of early sixteenth-century is also possible. It was probably created at the Silhadi Rajput court in Malva (Sreenivasan 2007: 50).

An interesting feature of the work is that it mentions the padminī story in connection with the siege of Citor, in stanza 320-321.[15] In this scene, 'Alā' al-dīn is conferring with his minister Rāghav Cetan on the news that Sauṁrasī has escaped the siege to seek help. They fear that Chitāī is no longer inside the fortress, which would make an assault fruitless. Then 'Alā' al-dīn recalls the case of the padminī of Citor and seems to be hesitant to use the same stratagem to obtain Chitāī.

> The king of Delhi spoke thus: 'I heard of the padminī of Citor,
> then I went and took Ratansen captive, but Bādal came and freed him.'
>
> *Chitāīvārtā* 321[16]

There is no religious or didactic purpose behind the composition of this work. Nevertheless, it shows how the image of the ascetic king could be combined with the themes from Rajput legends. The appearance of the nāth yogī hero Bhartṛhari points to the background of stories on kings who became yogīs.

Another reason for regarding *Chitāīvārtā* and similar works as predecessors of the treatment of the Citor material by Jāyasī, is the appearance of 'Alā' al-

dīn, the minister Rāghav Cetan and his iṣṭadevatā Padmāvatī. This makes it likely that these characters were known in Rajput court literature and provides a background for the choice of Padmāvatī as the heroin of Jāyasī's work.

'Alā' al-dīn is not the absolute villain in the story. He is aggressive in his conquest, but he is not denounced for it as he is defeated by Sauṁrasī's love for Chitāī. This representation corresponds somewhat with Jāyasī's depiction of the sultan's hollow victory over Ratansen in *Padmāvat*. 'Alā' al-dīn is a fictional character, whose role in *Chitāīvārtā* has little connection with the historical sultan. Sreenivasan is correct to point out that *Chitāīvārtā* shows that the theme of the demand for a queen as a token of political dominance existed before *Padmāvat*. It reflects the historical context of the poet in which the threat of domination by a Delhi sultan was felt, and in which women were vulnerable as stakes in a political conflict (2007: 47-48, 50).

It is evident from *Padmāvat* that themes from works such as *Chitāīvārtā* from Rajasthan exerted their influence outside the region, just as the Rajput political idiom spread in northern India. *Chitāīvārtā* contains many thematic and narrative elements that also appear in *Padmāvat*. The description of the palace built by Rāmdev after his return from Delhi contains many of the images used by Jāyasī in *Padmāvat*. The painter decorates the palace with scenes from love stories such as Nala's separation from Damāyantī, the story of Naiṣadhā and Niraṣadi, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and depictions of the four classes of women. Like Jāyasī, the poet of *Chitāīvārtā* was aware of the thematic force of his images and uses every opportunity to give conventional images a new meaning. The use of similar images in *Padmāvat* shows how Jāyasī refers to cognate traditions.

The religious and didactic aspect is not prominent in *Chitāīvārtā* and only present in Sauṁrasī's moral mistake as he pursues the deer. The essence of the story is the love, separation, and reunion of the two protagonists. Jāyasī adapted and expanded the narrative pattern of these early romances of Rajput kings and queens and their conflicts with 'Alā' al-dīn, infusing them with Sufi symbolism and a more pronounced moral message.

3.3 Sufi romances and other sources

There are other vernacular works with a romantic theme that can be seen as a background for Jāyasī's composition. References in *Padmāvat* 200 and 233 suggest that the poet had a clear image of his models in mind, as he explicitly mentions heroes and heroines from romances as a parallel to Ratansen's sacrifice for the love of Padmāvatī. Stanza 200 mentions Duhkhānt and Śakuntalā, Mādhavānal and Kāmakandal, Nala and Damayantī; 233 refers to Vikram and

Sapnāvatī, Sudaibach and Mugdhāvatī, Rājakuṁvar and Mṛgāvatī, Manohar and Madhumālatī, Pemāvatī and Sarasur, and Uṣa and Aniruddh.[17] This list refers both to Sanskrit texts, as well as to oral story cycles, some of which had already been adapted by Sufi poets into mystical romances, such as the stories of Madhumālatī and Mṛgāvatī. It is not clear whether Jāyasī refers to the Sufi adaptations by Manjhan and Quṭban or to the original oral stories as an example for his pair of lovers in *Padmāvat*.

The composition of Sufi poetry in Indian vernaculars was an established tradition in Jāyasī's days. In the genre of the Sufi premākhyāns in Avadhi, Maulānā Dāūd's *Cāndāyan* of 1379 is the earliest known work. It is not clear whether this poet used existing written examples for his adaptation of a local story cycle into a Sufi romance. His work does not give the impression of a novelty or an experiment in staging the love of Lorik and Cāndā as a symbol of the mystical love of God. Given the impact of *Cāndāyan* in Sufi circles, the text must definitely be considered a model for later works in the genre such as *Madhumālatī*, *Mṛgāvatī* and *Padmāvat*.[18]

Cāndāyan is a very early work, which makes its language sometimes difficult to follow. Its poetic qualities are nevertheless evident and it is remarkable that it took more than a century before this work was succeeded by newer premākhyāns. It is possible that the increase of patronage by local courts gave Sufi poets the opportunity to create large poems in the literary footsteps of Maulānā Dāūd.

The comparison of other Sufi works with *Padmāvat* reveals a large number of parallels and poetic elements common to most premākhyāns. The metaphoric idiom used by Maulānā Dāūd to project a mystical meaning on the story of Lorik and Cāndā became a stock of images all later Sufi poets could use. Although Jāyasī does not openly refer to *Cāndāyan* or the story of Lorik and Cāndā in his work, it can be argued that *Padmāvat* stands closer to this text than to the almost contemporary premākhyāns by Quṭban and Manjhan. The latter poems are based on tales that feature magical tricks, transformations of humans into animals and other motives that stem from folk tales.[19] *Cāndāyan* is based on a local story cycle with a specific societal connotation, as it depicted relations between various social groups in the region where the cycle originated. Dāūd's adaptation gave this story a wider, supra-regional scale.[20] The regional background sets *Cāndāyan* apart from the more literary, 'fictional' premākhyāns. *Padmāvat* also addresses issues that were at stake in its specific historical and social context, using the idiom of mystical love.

Another parallel between *Cāndāyan* and *Padmāvat* is the structure of the

story. *Cāndāyan* starts with the marriage of the young princess Cāndā of Govar. This marriage is a failure, because her husband does not pay any attention to her sexual needs, and Cāndā returns to her parental palace. There the bard Bājur sees her beauty and faints on the spot. He travels to the court of king Rūpcand and describes Cāndā in a *nakhśikh* description.[21] Rūpcand falls in love and lays siege to Govar in order to take Cāndā as his bride. As the siege drags on, the hero Lorik is called to assist in the battle. He defeats Rūpcand and frees Govar. During the banquet to celebrate the release, Lorik sees Cāndā and falls in love with her. He is not of royal blood and cannot marry her, so their love has to remain secret. After a nightly meeting in Cāndā's palace they leave Govar and visit neighbouring courts. After many fights and miraculous adventures that put Lorik's love and determination to the test, the hero receives a message from his wife Mainā, who pines away in separation, and he goes back to Govar.

The sequence of scenes that describes how Rūpcand hears about the beauty of Cāndā, goes to Govar to capture her and is eventually defeated, forms a model for the main episodes in both parts of *Padmāvat*. The scenes in which Ratansen stands at the gates of Siṃhal Dvīp and its mirror image, in the episode in which 'Alā' al-dīn's lays siege to Citor, both follow this sequence of events and contain the same narrative elements. The sequence is not an innovation by the Sufi poets and can be found in other stories. Its appearance in a well-known premākhyān like *Cāndāyan* suggests that both episodes in *Padmāvat* used this as a model.

Cāndāyan also provided a model for the stutikhaṇḍ, the prologue, of *Padmāvat* as Jāyasī mentions the conventional items for this part in the same order as Dāūd. Themes from Indian vernacular poetic traditions, such as the nakhśikh description of Cāndā's beauty, the bārahmāsā which describes the viraha of Lorik's wife Mainā, the despair of Lorik when Cāndā is killed twice by a snake bite, his rejoicing when she is restored to life by wandering magicians, these scenes are favourite places for giving the story a mystical meaning. In his use of these elements, which have also been used by other Sufi poets, Jāyasī stays close to the thematic function they have in *Cāndāyan*.

The thematic and structural similarities indicate that the background for *Padmāvat* should be sought in the same traditions from which Dāūd took his material, rather than in *Mṛgāvatī* and *Madhumālatī*, which have a more literary nature. The parallels with *Cāndāyan* and *Chitāīvārtā* refer to a common narrative type, with elements such as elaborate descriptions, fights at the gate of a fortress and the suffering of the hero. Where this provides the structure for a purely romantic epic in *Chitāīvārtā*, the same model hands Maulānā Dāūd a blueprint for a mystical romance.

Although the Sufi premākhyāns share many characteristics and all reflect the outlook of Indian Sufis who had become deeply assimilated with the Indian environment, there are significant differences between the individual works, as this analysis shows. Aditya Behl emphasises that the Indian Sufi romances describe the transformation of the Indian environment into a location where an appearance the divine that conforms to Islamic religious notions occurs (2005, no. 3: 18, 29-47). Typical examples of this aspect of the poems can be found in *Padmāvat* in the description of Siṃhal as the body of the yogī (stanza 41, 216), or the heavenly palaces of this place (stanza 30), which equal the gardens of heaven described in the Qur'an. It is important to note the similarities in the poetical and religious programme of the various works of *hindavī* poetry, as Behl does, but the different context and functionality of the works made that this genre developed into a varied and composite one.

The influence of other Indian Sufi poetry than the premākhyāns reveals itself more in smaller details of the text of *Padmāvat* than in its overall thematic and conceptual structure. The Sufi poets who first began to write in the Indian languages used local vernacular strophic genres and metres, such as the dohā and *pad*, to express their mystical experiences. In Sindhi, Punjabi and other northwestern dialects this poetry also became popular outside the sphere of the dargāhs and can be found in collections such as *Ādī-granth* of the Sikhs, which contains verses by Bābā Farīd. There is some debate on the precise function of this kind of poetry.[22] In his study of the Sufi traditions in the Deccan, Carl Ernst argues that the early Sufi poetry in Dakkhinī was intended more for internal use within the congregations, than to reform the local people. The wealth of powerful Indian poetic forms was an attractive medium for the Sufis to express their religious experience. He rightly rejects syncretist interpretations of this poetry (1992: 166 ff).

As Indian Sufis became more embedded in the social and religious fabric of North India and learned the vernaculars by daily use, they also got to know the various forms of popular poetry. Being trained in Persian and Arabic poetry, they must have realised the possibilities of transferring their ideas and concepts of mystical experiences to these local poetic forms. It can also not be ruled out that Indian poetry was closer to their heart as they had learned it in everyday religious practice, rather than through rigorous intellectual effort, which was needed for acquiring skills in writing and composing poetry in Persian and Arabic.[23]

The intimacy with the local religious idiom prompted further development of Indian vernacular poetry by Sufi poets inside and outside the dargāh.

The frequent contacts between Sufis and yogīs led to familiarity with the Indian mystical concepts and practices and provided the Sufi poets with a poetical idiom in the vernaculars fit for use in their own poetry.

3.4 *Nāth yogī* imagery

The central role of nāth yogī congregations in North Indian popular religion provides the background for the use of elements from this tradition in Indian Sufi poetry.[24] The tantric and ascetic nature of the nāth yogīs made that they were situated at the margins of regular society and were popular with the lower classes of society all through the early modern period. The nāth yogīs were the followers of the legendary guru Gorakhnāth, whose teacher Matsyendranāth claimed to have received his inspiration directly from Śiva. The sect probably started in the twelfth or thirteenth century and established centres in the Himālaya region and later in many other parts of North India. The main centre was Gorakhpur, but the graves (*samādhis*) of local nāth yogīs and siddhas (saints) developed into important regional centres of pilgrimage and devotion. Besides the external devotees, the sect had many initiated yogīs who had their ear lobes pierced as a sign of their initiation, hence the name *kānphaṭ yogīs*.

In the early modern period, the nāth yogīs cultivated martial arts and wrestling and served as mercenary soldiers with all warring factions. This practice, and the belief in the malevolent and strong magical powers of the nāth yogīs, made them respected and feared wandering ascetics. Their mystical training was based on tantric and yogic doctrines. The preachers described their religious experiences in strong and colourful poetry and sneered at the established religious authorities of both Hindus and Muslims.

The popularity of the devotion to the *samādhis* of the nāth yogīs gave the sects an important religious and social position. Other religious movements, such as the bhakti sects and the Sufi dargāhs, could not escape the influence of the nāth yogīs on the religious imagination of large parts of the population. The latter's devotional practices and mystical concepts were based on classical tantric yoga theories. The poetry of nāth yogī preachers recorded in collections such as *Gorakhbānī* exerted a strong influence on subsequent poetry.[25] The tantric mystical theories and the idiom of the nāth yogī poets form the semantic backbone of many forms of early modern religious poetry in North Indian vernaculars. They provided a stock of images and rhetorical modes for the description of devotional attitudes and spiritual experiences, while they remained connected to living popular religion as practised in the nāth yogī centres. Although the religious outlook of the sant poets was different from that of the nāth yogīs, they used the same images and concepts in their po-

etry. In his *Rāmcaritmānas*, Tulsīdās uses many images that originate from nāth yogī concepts, such as the devotion to the name of Rām, to represent his doctrine of rām-bhakti.[26]

Both the bhakti sects and the Sufis competed with the nāth yogīs for religious charisma and patronage. The confrontations between Sufis and yogīs recorded in the legendary biographies of saints were not always aimed at a friendly exchange of mystical experience, but were often thinly disguised power struggles, which the hagiographic texts refer to as magical contests. Many stories of such contests between Sufis and yogīs are located at local courts where patronage was dispensed. Despite this antagonism, or perhaps because of it, the Sufis used the poetic and mystical idiom of the nāth yogīs. It provided a religious lingua franca that was well known with a large part of their audience.

An important example for the influence of nāth yogī practices and the use of their poetry by Indian Sufis is the figure of ʻAbd al-Quddūs Gangohī (1456-1537). His biography describes frequent encounters with yogīs and the exchange of practices and doctrines with Indian Sufis.[27] Records such as these provide a background for Jāyasī's use of nāth yogī idiom. His use of these images in all of his works, including *Akharāvaṭ* with its orthodox Islamic theme of the Last Judgement, shows how familiar this material was for the poet's audience in and around Indian Sufi centres.

Nāth yogī imagery is present in all parts of *Padmāvat* and provides some of its key images. Partly, this can be traced back to earlier premākhyāns, such as *Cāndāyan*. In stanza 126, Ratansen takes on the full dress of a nāth yogī when he sets out for Siṃhal, and in stanza 183 he waits near the temple for a meeting with Padmāvatī, in the same way as Lorik waited for a meeting with Cāndā (*Cāndāyan* 164). The description of Ratansen as a yogī in *Padmāvat* is an inventory of all instruments and paraphernalia associated with the wandering ascetics.

> The king renounced his kingship and became a yogī; in his hand he held a lute and he suffered from the separation.
> His body was unkempt and his mind rattled like a madman; he had become entangled in love and his hair was tied in knots.
> His face that was like the moon and his body [that was anointed with] sandalwood oil, he smeared it with ashes and made dust of his body.
> He wore a belt, a horn, a ring and a puzzle; he put on the robe of the yogī, a string of beads and used a crutch.
> Wearing his patchwork frock he took his staff in his hand; in order to become a siddha, he called out 'Gorakh!'.

He put earrings in his ears and a rosary around his neck; in his hand he had a bowl and a tiger skin on his shoulders.
He put sandals on his feet and held a parasol above his head; he took his begging bowl and donned red clothes.
He went around begging and prepared his body with penance and yoga;
I will achieve perfection[28] when I get Padmāvatī, for whom my heart pines.

Padmāvat 126

Jāyasī extended these images by portraying the fortress of Siṃhal as the body which has to be conquered by yoga, referring to the concept of the body in nāth yogī doctrines. Ratansen's yoga of love is the force that subdues the passions that govern his body and stand as watchmen at the gates of Siṃhal. Inside the fortress of the body are the secret channels through which one can reach the tenth door. By climbing the floors of the fortress, the yogī of love pierces the *cakra*s and reaches the *brahmarandhra*, the point where the meeting with the beloved takes place.

The fortress is crooked, like your body; examine it and see that you are its mirror image.
It will not be conquered by a determined fight; he who knows himself will get it.
There are nine gates inside that fortress; five watchmen walk their beat there.
There is a tenth gate that has a hidden entrance; it is an impossible slope and the path is very narrow.
Only a spy [who knows the secret] can get to that gate; when he jumps into the opening, he can climb in like an ant.
Underneath the fortress is a tunnel in a deep pool; I tell you, there is the path.
Like a thief who breaks open [a gate] to enter; like a gambler who makes a bet in a game.

Like a pearl diver who takes a plunge in the sea and only then will get the pearl;
in that manner you should find that gate of heaven and climb Siṃhal Dvīp.

Padmāvat 215

The next stanza describes the breathing exercises, which Sufis practised in the same manner as Indian ascetics. The goal that is described here, the reigning in of mental activity that is not directed at enlightenment, is a basic tenet in

Sufi doctrine. The penance and control leads to the effacement of the self, which opens up the 'channel' for realising God in the world in its universal and pervasive aspect.

> The tenth gate is tall like the palm tree; only he who has turned away his vision [from the world] gets to see it.
> He who goes with his breath and mind reigned in will climb it; he will plunge into it, like Kṛṣṇa who dived into the Kālindī.[29]
> Master your mind and control your breathing; when you die, you will destroy the self.
> In public, talk only of worldly affairs; in secret, focus on what your mind desires.
> The whole world is drunk, boasting of 'I', 'I'; when there is no 'you', all will be 'He'.
> When someone dies once while he is alive, what can death do to him, who can beat him?
> He is himself both the guru and the pupil; he is himself everything, even when he is alone.
>
> He is Himself life and death, He is Himself body and mind;
> He creates what He wants out of Himself, what need is there for another?
>
> *Padmāvat* 216

These images, which describe Ratansen's sacrifice for the love of Padmāvatī, can also be found in Jāyasī's *Akharāvaṭ* and *Ākhirī Kalām*. Other nāth yogī images in *Padmāvat* are based on the practices of alchemy and metallurgy, especially the process of refining gold, crafts in which the yogīs were considered to be experts. These images describe the purification of the mystic's body by means of his penance and sacrifice for love. The body is the base metal from which gold can be made through the process of yoga of love.[30]

Behl aptly points out the distance Jāyasī takes from the Indian ascetic practices and the images derived from these. He argues that the poet does not intend to show the yogic practices as an integral part of the Sufi paradigm, but uses them to represent the integration of the Islamic mystical paradigm into the Indian environment. He maintains that Ratansen's spiritual development is represented in terms of nāth yogī practices and doctrines, but remains inherently that of a Chishtī Sufi. The king is described as taking on the garb of a yogī, but he can take it off when he is united with his beloved. The description in

stanza 126 is also in a sense a caricature, as it depicts the king in an outfit which would never be assembled on a real yogī (2005, no. 4 : 38-39).

While Behl's reading is basically correct, the distancing from the nāth yogī images in *Padmāvat* can also be seen in the light of what has earlier been described as Jāyasī's intention of reaching out to a wide audience. The nāth yogī material provided a powerful medium as a result of its prominence in early modern religious literature. It was accepted by Indian Sufis as a legitimate idiom for expressing notions of Islamic mysticism, but it had a universal appeal that allowed the poet to communicate also with worldly parties in his audience. Behl's observation that Ratansen only dresses up as a yogī in *Padmāvat*, but never becomes one, still stands. This image also conveys the notion that a worldly king can never fully achieve the same liberation as a mystic.[31]

One aspect of poetry by nāth yogī preachers that is picked up by many other traditions is the use of short forms with a strong rhetoric impact. Indian Sufis used the qualities of the short acerbic or moralist dohās and other short verses for writing mystical poetry in Indian vernaculars, using the images from Indian ascetic theories.[32] This poetry circulated in the same space in which other popular early modern vernacular poetry developed, such as that of the sant poets. Being less literary than the premākhyāns, this kind of poetry stood closer to everyday language and idioms. Taking advantage of their short format, the striking images in the poems gave them a wide thematic and semantic horizon. They did not need the symbolic structure of a story but convey their message in a direct address to the audience.

In the poetic format of *Padmāvat*, the closing dohā of each caupāī-dohā unit is suitable for a direct address to the audience in a style that is comparable to that of the distichs of sant poets. As a result of this, Jāyasī is sometimes compared to Kabīr. Although it is not clear whether stanza 43 of *Akharāvaṭ*, which describes the act of weaving as a metaphor for mystical practice, refers to Kabīr, it is most likely that Jāyasī knew the poetry attributed to this poet. The parallels between the mysticism of Jāyasī and Kabīr have been the subject of various studies, mostly from a perspective that projected a programme of religious syncretism on the work of the two poets.[33]

There are obvious paralles between Jāyasī's imagery and use of popular sayings with a religious morale in the dohās of his poems and the verses ascribed to Kabīr. Both poets use nāth yogī imagery and local expressions to describe mystical concepts. Because of the widespread circulation and adoption of Kabīr's poems by various religious movements, it is hard to pinpoint the ideological core of his poetry. What many poems share is the use of a personal re-

ligious experience as a source of inspiration, which the poet shares emphatically with his audience in a poetical testimony (sākhī).[34] In Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, more than in his previous works, the short verses stand apart from the main story and convey the moralist message of the poem as well as the spiritual inspiration behind its creation. Jāyasī embedded the rhetorical effect of the short verse in the extensive thematic structure of his poem. The language of his dohās is not different from that of the rest of the work and therefore less composite than the medium in which sant poetry is written. Even in *Akhāravaṭ* and *Ākhirī Kalām*, which deal with themes from the heart of Sufi doctrine and Islamic piety, there is relatively little Persian or Arabic vocabulary, which is present in the composite language of sant poetry.

Another element that is absent in Jāyasī's dohās, compared to those attributed to Kabīr, is the bitter attack on religious authority. The emphasis in Jāyasī's verses is on the personal address, sometimes stirring the reader into action with strong words, but it is not aimed at religious authorities. Jāyasī was not a sant poet and was not Kabīr, but he integrated the rhetorical functionality of the short strophic form in the structure of his work.

The important role of the local dargāh of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr in Jais for Jāyasī's agency as a poet has been mentioned in relation to the poet's biography in chapter 1. This environment brought together the religious experience of both the 'serious' pupils of the pīr and that of the common Hindu or Muslim devotees of the grave of the holy man. This context provided the poet of *Padmāvat* with themes derived from mystical theory, as well as with material from the taẕkiras, the legendary biographies of holy men, that feature miraculous journeys, meetings with famous saints, and contests with worldly rulers or other mystics, mostly yogīs. The texts had a double function, boosting the belief in the saint's power in the eyes of the devotees, but also presenting an example to the mystical pupils, the murīds, of the power mystical knowledge brings, with the message of the need for control of this great force.[35]

In *Padmāvat*, motives from the taẕkira*s* can be found in the description of Ratansen's journey to Siṃhal, which resembles the magical journeys of the saints to the corners of the universe to gain religious power. The image of Kṛṣṇa's voyage to the underworld in *Kanhāvat* is also related to this motif.[36] When the yogī Ratansen is confronted by king Gandharvsen of Siṃhal, he relies on his yoga, which is described as a fearsome weapon against which Gandharvsen is powerless (*Padmāvat* 239-259). The advise to the king by the council of ministers on how to deal with the yogīs who have reached Siṃhal and how to prevent the intended sacrifice by Ratansen, reflects the stories of pīrs who

defy death and miraculously escape from captivity.[37] The encounter with Śiva and Pārvatī (207-216) also resonates with the motif of the test of the pīr's magical powers. Ratansen's threat to set the world ablaze with the fire of love reflects the use of such force by the legendary pīrs. It has already been indicated above (chapter 3.1) that the accounts of the deeds of Muḥammad in *ḥadīṯ* and *ṣīrat* literature were equally important as the taẕkiras in creating an image of the presence of the divine that people could relate to at an emotional level.

3.5 *Padmāvat* and the Persian *maṯnavīs*

The nature of the relationship of the Sufi premākhyāns with the Persian maṯnavīs is a topic of ongoing controversy among interpreters of Jāyasī's work. At the root of this debate lies the problem of how to position the Sufi poems in the history of vernacular Indian writing. It has been shown earlier how the unease with the Muslim identity of the Sufi poems defined the reception of the texts by the early historiographers of Hindi writing and editors of the works, who envisaged outlining a history of vernacular writing in which Hindu values prevailed.[38] Also in more recent analyses of the relative distance of the Sufi premākhyāns to Persian poetry by later, less biased, scholars, the position of the genre in Indian literature remains a consideration.

There are various positions in this debate: Pandey emphasises the similarities between the Indian works and Persian maṯnavīs (1978). Vaudeville describes the Persian background of the notion of love in *Padmāvat*, which she compares with the concept of 'ishq in Persian mystical poetry (1962a). At the same time, both acknowledge the cultural distance between the Indian romances and the maṯnavī, as well as the notion that the former developed in their own separate discourse.

Gaeffke emphasises the distance to the Persian works and argues there is only a faint echo of these texts or of direct knowledge of the sources of Sufi theory in Jāyasī's works. He argues that Jāyasī was too far removed from intimate knowledge of the Islamic tradition and its literary products to connect his work with Persian Sufi poetry. In his opinion, the Indian works are based on the '(...) Hindu-background and grass-root traditions (...)' of the local poets, which '(...) have nothing to do with the famous Sufi ideas of first awareness, search, path and final goal.' He argues that the Dakkhinī maṯnavīs were much closer to the Persian tradition and were made with more knowledge of mystical and theological theory (1989: 528).

Behl argues that the Persian maṯnavī was the model for a long romantic, heroic or didactic poem in Avadhi and provided a frame for integrating the many elements from local genres to create a '*desī* [local] Muslim literary

tradition' (2005, no. 1: 9). Thereby he brings the Indian poems much closer to the Persian examples and argues that the primary function of the Sufi premākhyāns was to present the Indian environment and its cultural discourses in a literary format that was familiar for Indian Muslims.

The present study balances the views expressed in earlier readings and proposes to interpret *Padmāvat*'s indebtedness to the Persian maṣnavī in the light of the appeal of the poem to a wide audience that included worldly and religious patrons. From this perspective, it is evident that the Persian works provided a conceptual model for integrating a didactic subtext in a heroic narrative. Persian poetry was respected and widely recognised, and with the widespread use of Persian in India, knowledge of its poetry was not restricted to Indian Muslims. On the other hand, Jāyasī's adoption of elements from Persian literature should not be connected exclusively to the Sufi connotation of his poem, but also to the broader moralist message of the poem.

Direct references to the Persian maṣnavī are rare in *Padmāvat*. Even in places like the prologue, in which the relationship with Persian poetry is most evident, the images may refer to well-known topoi or even lines from Persian poetry, but always with a twist that integrates them in the composite semantic fabric of the poem. Although the cultural distance between the premākhyāns and the Persian maṣnavīs may have been much smaller than is assumed by the historiographers and editors who wanted to give the Sufi romance a place in the history of modern 'Indian' Hindi literature, *Padmāvat* should not be seen as a remake or reflection of the maṣnavī in an Indian language. It contains elements from Persian poetry, but these are always oriented towards the meaning and functionality of the poem in a polyphonic cultural environment.

Behl's emphasis on the functionality of the premākhyāns in the Sufi milieu in his reading of *Padmāvat* and other romances determines to a large extent his view on the connection between the Indian texts and Persian poetry. This reading does not take into account that the religious semantics of the Persian maṣnavīs had a wider scope than only Sufi mysticism and also conveyed moral lessons and examples of piety intended for use in a worldly context. This aspect of the Persian texts is a more likely background for Jāyasī's eclectic use of the genre.

It should also be considered that the maṣnavī genre exerted influence in an indirect manner, through its reflection in other works, rather than through a direct reading.[39] Possible intermediate genres may have included oral story traditions in Persian, which influenced the representation of heroism in *Padmāvat*, as will be discussed further on in this chapter.

The following paragraphs will define the relation between Jāyasī's poem and the Persian maṣnavī from the perspective of the broad thematic scope of

these texts. It will look at two types of texts in the Persian genre that may have provided a model for characteristic elements of *Padmāvat*. Thereby it will review models for the narrative structure of *Padmāvat*, which is built on the model of the exemplary life story of an enlightened king, especially that of Alexander the Great, and at the didactic streak in the work, which comes to the fore especially in the character of the bird as a spiritual guide. Possible Persian models for the prologue of *Padmāvat* will be discussed in chapter 4.6.

3.5.1 The maṣnavī as a genre

The name of the genre of narrative poems in Persian refers to its poetic format of rhyming couplets. The maṣnavī differs from other verse forms in Persian poetry in its rhyme scheme of aa-bb-cc which, contrary to schemes based on monorhyme, allows for compositions of considerable length. A general convention for the composition of texts in this format has never been formulated. Influential texts, such as the *khamsa* – a set of five texts on different themes – of Niẓāmī (twelfth/thirteenth century) became examples for works by Jāmī (1414-1492) and Amīr Khusraw (1253-1325) and set the example for numerous other works.

Although the Persian maṣnavī and the premākhyāns are both long, narrative poems, the poetical format of the Avadhi texts has a history in Indian vernacular poetry and is not derived from the Persian metre. There is no evidence that the two-lined structure of the maṣnavī influenced the already existing caupāī meter, as is suggested by Haywood.[40]

Poems in the maṣnavī format cover a broad range of types and subjects. Iranian mythology and the legendary life stories of ancient kings provided themes for heroic poems. Narratives featuring exemplary pairs of lovers, such as Yūsuf and Zuleikhā, Salāmān and Absāl, and Laylā and Majnūn were the basis for romantic maṣnavīs. The representation of courtly love inspired mystical interpretations of these narratives.

Moralist instruction and the exposition of religious or mystical insights are the main characteristics of maṣnavī with a didactic slant. Examples of this type are Rūmī's *Maṣnavī-i ma'navī* and the *Makhzan al-Asrār* by Niẓāmī. Mystical allegories in the form of frame stories, such as the *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair* by Farīd ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (thirteenth century), combine the exposition of religious topics with narrative elements. In these poems, the didactic element is very prominent. They are often composed as frame story, in which substories are used to exemplify philosophical, religious or mystical topics.[41]

The story of Ratansen and Padmāvatī has various structural parallels with the model of the romantic maṣnavīs. The temporal space of the narrative begins before the birth of the protagonists and ends with their death. The development

of their love until the final union in the jauhar of Padmāvatī on the funeral pyre of Ratansen illustrates the various stages and aspects of love. This thematic thread binds the references to other texts and narrative models in the work. In this respect there are parallels with maṣnavīs of the romantic type, such as Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn*. An important theme in this story is the total commitment and sacrifice demanded by Shīrīn. Khusraw is depicted as a worldly king, who is too much focused on the pleasures of courtly life, and therefore cannot commit himself exclusively to the princess, whom he sees as just one of his conquests. In this story, the stone cutter Farhād represents the ideal lover, who sacrifices himself for love. Only at the end of the story does Khusraw repent his mistakes and realise the value of love, after which he is reunited with Shīrīn.

The poem suggests that sacrifice for love brings everything within reach of the worldly king. It features examples from other narratives, like animal fables and heroic stories, and gives long descriptions of courtly life. Many episodes are devoted to the separation of the lovers and their reunion through the efforts of various intermediaries. This gives the poet the opportunity to display his rhetorical and poetic skill and describe the theme of love in all its aspects.[42]

The many episodes that branch off from the main story of *Padmāvat*, in which Jāyasī connects his tale with well-known narratives, can be seen as a parallel to the structure of the Persian romances. Side stories such as Rāghav Cetan's treason, Ratansen's shipwreck on the return from Siṃhal, his dialogue with the Ocean, Padmāvatī's trials and suffering when Ratansen is captured, and the liberation of the king by Gorā and Bādal have the same function in the work as the subplots of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*.

This narrative pattern is not unique to the maṣnavīs, but it provides a productive model for the integration of elements from a composite literary background into the narrative of a king's quest for spiritual growth. The depiction of the entire life of the hero, with its good and bad moments, gives an opportunity to show how love guides him to a higher moral status. His life story becomes an example for the seeker of divine truth. This powerful narrative structure was present as a model for the conversion of the Indian heroic tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī into a premākhyān with a message of moral and spiritual growth.

Among the maṣnavīs that deal with the exemplary life story of a legendary king, the works based on the life of Alexander the Great, ruler of the world and searcher for wisdom, occupy a special place. He is already mentioned in the Qur'an as *ẕū'l qarnain* (the one with the two horns) and many stories relate his exploits as a warrior and prophet (*paigambar*).[43] Niẓāmī based his account of Alexander's life, like his *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, on material from Fir-

dausī's *Shāhnāma* (tenth century). Niẓāmī's *Iskandarnāma*, which forms part of his khamsa, has become the most well-known literary version of this theme.[44] The work is remarkable in both its scale and poetic scope. It is divided into two parts, the *Sharafnāma* (the Book of Nobility) and the *Iqbālnāma* (the Book of Victory). The first book deals with the exploits of Alexander as a warrior and conqueror of the world. The second book describes Alexander's discussions with famous philosophers from all regions of the world. The wisdom he obtains from these discussions and a divine message make him reach the rank of prophet. At the top of his worldly might he visits all corners of the earth and tries to gain the complement of his worldly power – insight into and power over the mysteries of the world. The representation of both the worldly and religious side of ideal kingship provide the structure for the *Iskandarnāma*.[45]

The Alexander story, with the king-philosopher as its inspiring protagonist, had a great influence on narrative traditions all over Asia and much of the Mediterranean world. Motives like the search for the water of life and the voyages to the end of the world and to Ceylon (Sarandīb) have become emblematic for Alexander's quest. They can also be found in the legendary biographies of pīrs and many other stories, where they suggest a parallel with the figure of Alexander. Gaeffke (1989) was correct in pointing out the influence of these elements from the Alexander stories on the Sufi premākhyāns in Avadhi. Many images and themes in these works reflect the accounts of Alexander's quest for worldly power and mystical truth. The source of these images in the Indian poems may have been Niẓāmī's *Iskandarnāma*, or the many narratives inspired by this influential work.

The theme of the perfection of kingship is what links Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* to the Alexander stories. It is predominant in the first part, in the motif of Ratansen's quest for Padmāvatī, and returns in the second part of the work, in inverted form, when sultan 'Alā' al-dīn is characterised as the equivalent of Alexander because of his failure to obtain the object of his quest, the water of life, symbolised by the princess Padmāvatī. It is possible that this image contains an allusion to the fact that 'Alā' al-dīn called himself 'Alexander the second' (*Iskandar as-ṯānī*).

The two aspects of kingship, the absolute worldly power and the spiritual 'defect', of which Alexander has become a literary icon, are central to the thematic structure of *Padmāvat* and are projected on the protagonist of the Rajput epics and courtly romances. Direct references to the Alexander stories underline the prominence of this theme in the poem. Jāyasī also integrates the images connected with Alexander into other motives in his poem. An example of this is Ratansen's voyage to Siṃhal and his marriage to Padmāvatī, in the

first part of the work, which suggest a parallel with Alexander's visit to Sarandīb and his search for the water of life. The description of the tree of life on top of the fortress of Siṃhal, where Padmāvatī resides, hints at the image of the source of immortality, which Alexander tried to obtain but never found.

> On the top of the fortress there are two rivers; one is filled with water, the other with milk: they never run dry, like Draupadī.[46]
> There is also a pond filled with the dust of pearls; its water is nectar and its mud camphor.
> Only the [true] king shall drink that water and he will not age as long as he is alive.
> Beside [the pond] there is a golden tree like the Kalpataru in Indra's paradise.
> Its base is in hell and the branches reach up to heaven; who will get to taste its immortal creepers?
> Its leaves are the moon, its flowers are the stars and its radiance reaches the whole city.
> When someone does penance and eats its fruit, his old age will become youth again.
>
> Kings have become beggars when they heard of the enjoyment of this nectar;
> He who obtains it will be immortal and have no illness.
>
> *Padmāvat* 43

Millis (1984: 231) correctly points out the nāth yogī symbolism in the image of the body and the three *nādīs* (channels) leading to the pool of *amṛt* (nectar) inside the skull. In the description the various semantic complexes that give meaning to the poem merge in a single, polyphonic image. It combines yogic images, orthodox, puranic images (the *kalpataru* – the tree of life), and the motif of the quest for the fountain of life by Alexander, icon of both Sufi mysticism and courtly morals. The complex image of the fortress functions as an index for the meaning of the events in the poem that is about to unfold.[47]

References to the Alexander stories also appear at the end of the second part of *Padmāvat*, where Ratansen addresses the messengers of 'Alā' al-dīn who demand Padmāvatī as a sign of the king's submission to the sultan.

> 'Go to the Turk and tell him not to rush to his death; he will be like Iskandar.'
> 'When he heard of the water of life he ran to the *kedalī* forest; he could not obtain it and repented.'

'Like a moth, he flew to that lamp and fell into it; he burned having set foot on that mountain of fire.'
'The earth became iron and the sky copper; he gave his life while being far from entering [the fountain of life].'
'The fortress of Citor here is like that mountain; when the sun [the sultan] rises, it will burn to charcoal.'
'If you are the equal of Iskandar, then dive into the ocean like he did.'
'You captured Chitāī with a trick, how do you dare proclaim yourself overlord?'

'Foreseeing such an attack, I have kept my army on alert.'
'Let him who was to come tomorrow, dare to attack now!'

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These images show the negative aspect of worldly power in *Padmāvat*, as they refer to 'Alā' al-dīn calling himself the 'second Alexander'. The stanza refers to the search for the water of life in the Land of Darkness, the *ẓulmāt*,[48] but recalls his inability to obtain the water. In this context, Ratansen represents the opposite image of the sultan, because he found the water of life in the form of Padmāvatī, where both the first and the 'second' Iskandar failed.

The images from the exploits and search for wisdom of Alexander enrich the description of Ratansen as the ideal king and example for the spiritual development through piety and mysticism. The Alexander stories, especially the literary Persian versions, epitomise this theme and must have been around in the context of Indian Sufi dargāhs and local courts. Some caution, however, is justified in connecting the Alexander images in the *Padmāvat* directly to the literary versions in Persian. The Alexander stories were present in many forms and it is not unlikely Jāyasī was more familiar with derivative versions of this material in intermediate genres of popular prose narratives such as the dāstān, rather than with Niẓāmī's literary texts.[49]

3.5.2 The didactic maṣnavī: Hīrāmani and 'Aṭṭār's hoopoe

Where the exemplary life story from heroic and romantic *maṣnavīs* may have provided a model for the overall structure of *Padmāvat*, the didactic aspect of the poem suggests an analogy with Persian works based on frame stories. Especially, the prominent role of the bird as a guide and teacher is an interesting feature in this respect.

In the first part of *Padmāvat*, the parrot Hīrāmani appears as the pet bird and teacher of Padmāvatī. Her father Gandharvsen does not trust the bird's

lessons, as he suspects that it teaches the young princess more than just Sanskrit grammar. As a result, the bird flees to the forest to escape the king's anger. Considering himself safe in the trees among other birds, Hīrāmani is unaware of the arrival of a bird-catcher, who captures the bird and takes it to the market in Siṃhal. There, a Brahmin from Citor buys it and brings it to king Ratansen, who is pleased with the bird's wit and wisdom and keeps it as his teacher. Hīrāmani tells the king about his origin in the South and thereby mentions Padmāvatī. After the king has fallen in love on hearing the description of her beauty, the bird guides Ratansen on his way to Siṃhal and helps him meet the princess. He also takes care that the king, when captured by Gandharvsen, is not taken for a wandering yogī and executed at the spot, by revealing Ratansen's true identity to his former master.

Hīrāmani is a composite character, who is made up of various birds from oral stories, animal fables, moralising folktales, Rajput epics and Sanskrit literary sources. On the Persian side, the story of the birds in the *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair* by Farīd ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār provides an interesting intertext for the agency of the parrot in *Padmāvat*. 'Aṭṭār's poem is an allegorical tale in which a flock of birds sets out on a journey to find the *sīmurgh* on mountain Qāf, whom they believe is their king. The birds are guided on this dangerous journey by the hoopoe, the *hudhud*, who shows them that their voyage is a search for their own origin and inner self. The journey takes them through the seven valleys that represent the stages of the mystical pupil on the road to God. Many birds perish, and only thirty birds reach the mountain Qāf, only to find that the *sīmurgh* refuses to see his visitors. He sends them a written message in which he explains that the king they were looking for is inside themselves. The message makes them realise that the goal of their search was their own divine essence – thirty birds – which reads in Persian as '*sī murgh*'.

There are many parallels between 'Aṭṭār's story of the birds and the role of the parrot Hīrāmani in the tale of the voyage of Ratansen. In Jāyasī's poem, the seven valleys have become the seven oceans that separate Siṃhal from the continent. They have a similar thematic meaning, indicating the various stages in the detachment and spiritual development of the mystic (stanzas 150-158). Like the birds in the Persian story, Ratansen realises that he will only reach his goal by sacrificing his ego and internalising his beloved. The guide and guru on the way to Siṃhal is the parrot, the Brahmin of the birds who, like the *hudhud*, knows the way and convinces his pupil of the need for sacrifice. The scenes in the forest, in which Hīrāmani lectures the other birds and continues to do so even when he is captured by the bird-catcher (stanzas 70-73), also evoke the image of 'Aṭṭār's *hudhud*.

Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair was a popular mystical allegory and well known in India. The motif of the bird as guru, guide, messenger, and intermediate between this and the transcendent world is typical of didactic frame stories. It also appears prominently in *Ṭūṭīnāma* (fourteenth century), which is based on the Sanskrit *Śukasaptati* (c. twelfth century).

The episode of Hīrāmani in the forest in *Padmāvat* is like a substory in a frame story, which serves to expound the moral lessons taught in the main narrative. The prominence of Hīrāmani's role in the story is a marker of the influence of didactic narratives, such as the Persian *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair*, on *Padmāvat*.

The shift of narrative focus brought about by the appearance of the parrot as teacher and narrator also has a function in the rhetorical structure of *Padmāvat*. When the bird speaks, the poet is no longer the omniscient narrator. The role of the bird as preceptor and critic of the king correlates with Jāyasī's own position as mediator between the Sufi dargāh and worldly patrons. The *persona* of the talking bird who comes from outside this world and is therefore a source of transcendent wisdom, gives the poet a possibility to speak out freely and expound a moral message that is also relevant in his 'real' position. The bird as alter ego of the poet provides a safe distance, allowing him to bring home his message more directly than he could have done as actual narrator of the story.[50]

The analysis of various parallels with Persian texts shows that no single maṯnavī or work can be seen as the model for *Padmāvat*. Jāyasī used the structure of romances, such as *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and the Alexander story, and combined this with the didactic streak of frame stories such as *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair*. These parallels address cultural and poetical sensibilities of literati in his composite audience and thus add to the rhetorical impact of his *Padmāvat*. The way he uses elements from the maṯnavī show that the poet does not emulate this genre but interweaves Persian and Indian images, as is shown in the example of the images of the source of the water of life, the Persian *āb-i ḥayāt*, that are combined with the description of the fortress of Siṃhal as a symbol for the body in yogic terms. He recontextualises the Persian images in the Indian cultural environment while placing his poem at a certain distance from the world of Persian poetry. The references to Alexander and the critical role of the parrot show how Jāyasī was also sensitive to the moralist connotations of the material from Persian texts, beside their meaning in Sufi mystical symbolism. This made these images functional in his address to both the Sufi environment and its worldly patrons.

3.6 Oral storytelling traditions in Persian

A source for thematic and narrative elements in Jāyasī's poetry that stood much closer to the vernacular discourse in which he operated than literary Persian poetry, was the extensive oral tradition of the Persian dāstān. Although this tradition becomes more visible in India much later, when Persian and Urdu *qiṣṣas* are produced in large numbers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Persian oral stories appeared everywhere where the language was spoken. They must have been around in India from the days of the earliest Muslim conquests. The spread and development of these narratives was in the hands of more or less mobile professional storytellers who told their stories in villages and local courts. Their performances became part of courtly culture and were highly appraised, especially at the Mughal court, where many emperors patronised performers and had beautiful illustrated manuscripts made of the dāstāns.[51]

The dāstāns were based on themes from early written epics in Persian and were brought to India by wandering storytellers.[52] Some of the oral tales, such as that of Amīr Ḥamza, became more popular there than the original written versions had ever been. Akbar had an illustrated manuscript made of the *Ḥamzanāma* with 1,400 miniatures, which is considered one of the masterpieces of Mughal illustrative art (Pritchett 1985: 5 ff.).

In the late eighteenth century, the first written and printed dāstāns appeared in Urdu, most of them commissioned by the Fort William College. This gave rise to performances in Urdu which became very popular during the nineteenth century and attracted wide audiences from all parts of society. The stories of the dāstāns are simple but exciting narratives which are enjoyed for their marvels and miracles (*ṭilisms*) and the hyperbolic description of battles and amorous conquests of the hero (*razm u bazm*). A set motif is that of the journey to the mysterious land of Qāf, from which the protagonist can only escape by force of magic. The characters are 'flat' versions of the heroes from earlier courtly literature.

The protagonist is in most cases a king, who gets into trouble as a result of his lack of practical knowledge. He can only find a way out by using his strength and brutality, aided by the magic powers of his companion 'Amar 'Aiyār, the trickster. Women have a less active role in the stories and are often only the focus for the adventures of the male protagonists. They are often princesses, who endow the hero with superhuman powers and cause him to undertake journeys to faraway lands.

The transmission of the stories through performance had a great influence on their structure. Rather than following a continuous storyline, they are

made up of narrative elements that could be chained in various ways by the performer according to his skill and the demands of his audience. Every story is made up of these fixed elements, which could be filled in with different characters and staged against a different background. Extensive descriptions of topics ranging from female beauty to local dishes or weaponry gave the performer the opportunity to demonstrate his rhetorical skills and knowledge. The longer these lists of items, the better the performance.

There is no information on the original poetic form of the Persian romances in performance, but the available written texts are in prose with verses inserted at various places in the text. The main story is told in the prose sections, with the verses only adding rhetorical embellishments.

It is very unlikely that the popularity of the Persian dāstān remained confined to the courts. It must be assumed that already in an early stage themes from these stories spilled over into existent Indian storytelling traditions. In opposite direction, Indian stories were taken up in dāstāns. It is difficult to assess how *Padmāvat* relates to the oral story traditions in Persian. Their popularity in courts places them in the same environment in which Sufi poets operated. In the same manner as with the maṣnavī, it seems there is a parallel at a distance. It must be assumed that the popular oral stories provided Jāyasī with a carrier wave for the tale and narrative technique of his own poem, certainly because they had a strong appeal with the Sufi poet's target audience. At the same time, Jāyasī keeps the distance between the two traditions intact, as his poetry had a different thematic agenda than the adventure tales of the dāstān.

Parallels of many archetypical scenes and characters from the dāstān can be found in *Padmāvat*. The voyage to Siṃhal has much in common with Amīr Ḥamza's journey to the land of Qāf, where he is held captive by a princess. The difficult return to Citor, with the shipwreck and separation of Ratansen and Padmāvatī, can be compared to the adventurous voyages of heroes from the dāstān to faraway lands.[53] Figures like the parrot Hīrāmani and even Rāghav Cetan, the treacherous Brahmin who defected to 'Alā' al-dīn's side, have a role that is comparable to that of *'aiyār* in the dāstān. Jāyasī also demonstrates his descriptive skills in various places, as if he were an oral performer.

Especially, the second part of *Padmāvat* contains many elements that would not look out of place in a dāstān. The battle over Citor, 'Alā' al-dīn's passion for Padmāvatī, the treason which leads to the capture of Ratansen, and the heroic fight of Gorā and Bādal to free the king suggest a parallel with the favourite topics of battle and romance in the dāstān. It is also in this part of

Padmāvat that the manuscripts have many insertions that may have been the result of additions in performance.[54]

In the battle scenes of the second part, Jāyasī refers directly to protagonists of the Persian dāstān. The following stanza tells of the heroic death of Gorā, who stayed behind to cover the retreat of Ratansen and Bādal after the escape from 'Alā' al-dīn's prison and was stopped by Sarja, the sultan's general.

> The hero Sarja roared, mounted a lion, came up to Gorā and attacked him.
> He [Sarja] was known as a strong warrior; Mīr Hamza and 'Alī were his helpers.
> To help him, the raging Ayūb[55] rose above his head, which made the fame of Rām and Lakṣmaṇ fade.
> Also Tāyā Salār came, who could take both Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas captive;
> He who had vanquished Lindhaur and 'Alī, which wrestler is his match?
> He entred, riding his lion and came to the powerful lion Gorā.
> He threw his spear and pierced [Gorā's] stomach; he retrieved it with great force and made his entrails fall out on to the ground.
>
> A bard said: 'Oh, lucky Gorā, do as king Bholā did in battle,
> who collected his entrails, put them on his shoulder and then spurred on his horse.[56]
>
> *Padmāvat* 635

The stanza cited here shows how the references to the dāstān are juxtaposed to images from Indian narratives. The references and parallels add meaning to the description of the events in Jāyasī's poem. As has been outlined above for the references to the maṯnavīs, the poet has no intention to emulate or copy the dāstān, but weaves elements from it into the fabric of *Padmāvat*, suggesting that the events in his poem resemble the tales from which he took his images, which brings the former closer to the world of his audience.

The later reception of *Padmāvat*, as described in chapter 2.4, suggests that the Sufi poems circulated in the performance circuit around courts and dargāhs. The manuscripts of *Padmāvat* show traces of performance in the form of inserted verses and added remarks by performers. The Persian storytelling traditions also had a textual pendant, as manuscripts with extracts of the stories were presented to patrons as proof of the performer's skills. The patronage of prestigious manuscripts by wealthy rulers, of which the *Ḥamzanāma* is a sublime example, was also part of this practice.[57] This at least suggests that the production of manuscripts of *Padmāvat* in various forms overlapped with prac-

tices connected to the performance of oral stories. The production of manuscripts of *Padmāvat* helped to bring these works to the attention of local courts and nobility. The Sufi poets had a more pronounced didactic intention than the storytellers; patronage is what tied both to worldly powers.

The practice of bringing texts to a patron provides a very real background to the literary and cultural polyphony of the images in *Padmāvat*. The premākhyāns have a distinct dialogic quality that allows them to contain and integrate material from various sources and use it to cater for different milieus. In the scope of references in these poems, the distinction between 'high' and 'low', or between oral and written texts, seem fluid. This fluidity can also be witnessed when *Padmāvat* has been adapted into tales that focus more on the heroic than on the mystical side of the poem, as has been described in the previous chapter.

3.7 References to the story of Rām

Among the narratives that are referred to in *Padmāvat*, the tale of king Rām occupies a special place. Jāyasī refers to it in many instances, indicating how events such as Ratansen's voyage to Siṃhal, the intervention by Maheś, Pārvatī and Hanumān, the 'conquest' of the fortress and of Padmāvatī, the return of the king and the siege of Citor by a bad ruler, can all be linked to the epic of Rām.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the tradition of *rām-kathā*, the performance and exegesis of the tale of king Rām was well established all over North India. Although it became an important carrier of rām-bhakti in Tulsīdās's *Rāmcaritmānas* (1574), the story was not a fixed entity. Vaudeville's study of the sources for Tulsīdās's version shows the range and variety of the religious ideologies that could be projected on this material.[58] Jāyasī's references to the Rām story reflects its fluid semantics. The obvious structural and thematic connections between the two tales make *Padmāvat* appear like a 'palimpsest' of the Rām story. This does not mean that the poet grafted his poem entirely on a fixed image of the Rām material. He uses elements from the complex of Rām stories as a parallel to his own story, making use of his audience's familiarity with the motif of the voyage to a southern island to retrieve a woman. He engages more with this parallel than that with other narratives, but he also keeps it at a distance, as he did with other contributing traditions.

In *Padmāvat*, events such as Rām's exile, his journey to Laṅkā and the fight with Rāvan are connected with the theme of mystical love by depicting Rām and Sītā as a pair of lovers destined to find each other. In this context, Rāvan is the equivalent of the sultan 'Alā' al-dīn, whose pride and brutality leads to the couple's separation and the battle with Rām. Thereby, Jāyasī draws well-

known scenes from the Rām story into his own thematic programme. This usage of the material was not unlike the practice of sectarian rām-bhakti poets, who projected their own moral and religious paradigms on the tale of Rām. In the same manner, Jāyasī twisted the thematic meaning the nāth yogī stories and other narratives referred to in *Padmāvat*. In the following stanza at the end of the work, the poet underlines the parallel of his narrative and the story of Rām:

> At the moment they [Padmāvatī and Nāgmatī] had departed with him [Ratansen], the pādshāh encircled the fortress.
> But then the opportunity had passed, Rām and Sītā had vanished.
> The shāh came but the whole court was empty; [he said:] 'That which I tried to prevent by working night and day has happened.'
> He picked up a handful of dust and threw it in the air, [saying:] 'This earth is vain.'
> 'As long as earth does not fall on [a man], his desire will not die down.'
> His entire army raised a mount; they made bridges to all the passes of the fortress.
> There was an attack and an unimaginable battle; Bādal came to the gate but he was vanquished.
>
> There was a jauhar of all the women; the men went in battle.
> The pādshāh destroyed the fortress; Chitor had become Islam.
>
> *Padmāvat* 651

At this prominent point in the story, when 'Alā' al-dīn sees that his attempt at capturing Padmāvatī was in vain, the poet emphasises that Ratansen and his wife were like Rām and Sītā. The correspondence between the two narratives, which is announced many times in previous stanzas, is that 'Alā' al-dīn is like Rāvan, who did not obtain Rām and Sītā because he was beaten and killed. 'Alā' al-dīn won the battle but has not reached his goal because the king and his wife are both dead and cremated. The fire that burned Laṅkā is now the fire of the jauhar in Citor. The loser in both instances is the worldly ruler who has no eye for spiritual growth and is driven by lust.[59]

The references to the Rām material mark specific themes in *Padmāvat*, in the same way as repeated images and metaphors are used by the poet for this purpose, as will be explained in the next chapter. A very productive element is the wordplay on the different meanings of the Hindi word *rāvan*, which means: 1) the demon-king of Laṅkā from the *Rāmāyaṇa*; 2) 'lover', derived from Skt. *ramaṇa*; and 3) '(Hindu-)king', which is probably based on the association

with vernacular words meaning 'king', such as '*rāut*',[60] '*rāy*', or '*rān*'.[61] This play on words is combined with the implicit comparison between Rām's fight for Laṅkā and Ratansen's quest for Padmāvatī.[62] Examples of these images can be found in the following verses.

Padmāvatī returns from the temple of Śiva where she performed the pūjā of spring and met Ratansen, who fainted at the sight of her. She goes to sleep and has a dream in which she observes the meeting of sun and moon, predicting her future marriage with Ratansen.

> It was as if day and night had become one; Rām had come and laid siege to the fortress of Rāvan.
>
> *Padmāvat* 197.6

In the description of Padmāvatī and Ratansen's wedding, the poet remarks:

> Her waist [Laṅkā] rejoiced for the rule of Rāvan [the good lover]; a group of beautiful women prepared her attire [second meaning: Rām and Lakṣman equipped their armies].
>
> *Padmāvat* 280.5

After the marriage ceremony, Padmāvatī withdraws to be dressed for the wedding night. Ratansen is overcome by the separation and wakes up when he hears about the coming of his guru 'Gorakh' (i.e. Padmāvatī).

> The king regained his consciousness when he heard the word 'Gorakh'; he roared like Rāvan [the lover] when he heard about Rām [the woman].
>
> *Padmāvat* 304.1

The poet assesses the damage after the wedding night.

> I will describe a fight like that of Rāvan and Rām; a battle raged in the bed that destroyed the separation.
> He took Laṅkā and conquered the golden fortress; he robbed all the ornaments that had adorned it!
>
> (*Padmāvat* 318.1-2)

During their year at Siṃhal, Padmāvatī forces Ratansen to stay with her and be her lover.

> Do not let it be [like] yesterday, when you stayed with your wife [double meaning: when you were Rām]; today you have to fight like Rāvan [be my lover].[63]
>
> *Padmāvat* 333.5

These allusions are based on Jāyasī's projection of Ratansen's quest for Padmāvatī on Rām's siege of Laṅkā and his battle with Rāvan. The connection between these parallels is that Jāyasī draws narrative elements from the Rām story into the paradigm of mystical love.

In the first part of *Padmāvat*, the references to the Rām story revolve around the parallel between the fight for Laṅkā and that for Siṃhal. In this context, Ratansen is the intertextual 'double' of both Rām and Rāvaṇ. He conquers the fortress of Siṃhal as a yogī, 'liberates' Padmāvatī from the torment of viraha and marries her. This makes him lord of both Siṃhal and Laṅkā, in the sense that he becomes the lover – 'lord of the waist (*laṅk*)' – of Padmāvatī. In this quality he is also the equal of Rāvan, which is expressed in the double meaning of Rāvan's name ('lover'). In Jāyasī's view the demon-king was driven by lust when he captured Sītā. Rāvan's role as former lord of the kingdom of Laṅkā and captor of Sītā is represented in *Padmāvat* in the figure of Gandharvsen (literally, 'he who has an army of demons'), the father of the princess.[64]

The association of Ratansen with the two protagonists of the Rām story combines two opposite aspects of love: the ascetic quest of Rām and the passionate lust of Rāvan. In other places Jāyasī indicates that the difference between the two exemplars of love is that Rāvan never obtained the fruits of his capture of Sītā, because he did not give up his soul for her, even when he had her in his power in Laṅkā. Padmāvatī hints at this failure when she incites Ratansen to sacrifice his individual identity for love.

Padmāvatī sends Ratansen a message after their first meeting at the temple in Siṃhal.

> 'Even when Sītā was with him, Rāvan could not enjoy her.'
> 'But what can I hope for when I say anything. My soul is in someone else's hand.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 233.8-9

The poet leaves no doubt about it that Rāvan's attitude was not correct. He was destined to lose Sītā because of his pride, which is compared to Gandharvsen's attitude, who can not keep his daughter Padmāvatī because she is bound by love to the yogī Ratansen. The worldly pride of the king of Siṃhal prevents him from seeing that the yogī Ratansen is in fact a king.

At the imminent impalement of Ratansen in Siṃhal, a bard comes forward to point out the danger of pride to Gandharvsen.

> 'Rāvan opposed Rām in his vanity; his pride started the battle.'
> 'Who was strong like that Rāvan; who had ten heads and twenty arms?'
> 'For whom did the sun cook meals and Agni wash his loincloths?'
> 'Śuka was his staff bearer, the moon his torchbearer; the wind always swept his gate clean.'
> 'He had Death bound to his bedpost; there was no other who could take him on.'
> 'Even he, who was as durable as the diamond, was killed by ascetics.'
> 'He had a hundred million sons and grandsons, but not one remained to mourn him.'
>
> 'Let no one be vain and think of someone else as weak.'
> 'God bestows the sign of victory, but is also the protector of the weak.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 266.8-9

Worldly vanity is, in Jāyasī's eyes, a mortal sin that led to the ruin of many powerful kings. In *Kanhāvat* he describes the same *garab* as the flaw of king Kaṃs that sealed his fate (stanza 31). An important parallel for the intervention in the scene of Ratansen's impalement in Jāyasī's own work is in *Ākhirī Kalām*, where the impending punishment of the sinners is prevented by Muḥammad and Fāṭima.[65]

In the second part of *Padmāvat*, the situation is reversed, but the double association with Rām and Rāvan is continued. Ratansen is no longer the conqueror but the defender of the fortress in which the divine woman is 'held', which links him to the demon-king who defended Laṅkā and held Sītā captive. On the other hand, he is also defending the sacred bond with his beloved, which forms the basis of his 'sat', his valour. This makes him the equal of Rām, who fought for the release of Sītā.

From the perspective of the love for Padmāvatī, 'Alā' al-dīn is, just like

Rāvan, under the spell of the divine woman and tries to conquer her. In some passages, when Jāyasī shows the perspective of the sultan and his allies, the concepts of honour and sat are reversed again. 'Alā' al-dīn, in his siege of Citor, sees himself as the equal of Rām who beleaguered Laṅkā. He sees no other outcome of this fight than the fate that befell Rāvan. In the description of the bombardment of Citor by the troops of 'Alā' al-dīn aided by African, Turkish and French[66] ballistic experts, the fall of Citor is predicted.

> The fire that had burned Laṅkā to amethyst had now broken out in the fortress.
> How could that Rāvan,[67] who was destined to burn, be inflammable and immortal.
>
> *Padmāvat* 525.8-9

'Alā' al-dīn's general Sarja predicts the fall of Citor because Ratansen does not want to deliver Padmāvatī.

> 'Oh king, be glad, [Ratansen] will burn in the end, as he does not accept to serve the pādshāh.'
> 'Many have reinforced their fortress in this manner; in the end they became like Rāvan of Laṅkā.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 536.1-2

The double role of Ratansen can be understood as a reading of the Rām story in which the king who aspires to transcend worldly existence by doing penance for love faces the worldly ruler guided by lust and passion. Both Rām and Rāvan came under the spell of the encounter with the divine Sītā. Rām is the model of the 'true' ascetic lover who risks his life in the fight against the demon-king of Laṅkā to free her from her captor. Rāvan has Sītā in his power, but his worldly attachment prevents him from 'enjoying' his love for her.[68]

Ratansen performed the yoga and self-sacrifice of love, which made him transcend the conflict between Rām and Rāvan by integrating it within himself. He has completely merged with his beloved, so that he can never be separated from her, which happened to Rām when Rāvan captured Sītā. Back in Citor, he is the worldly king again. His loving union with Padmāvatī saves his soul from getting corrupted by worldly affairs. Just as Rāvan had Sītā

with him, he has Padmāvatī at his side, but he can 'have his cake and eat it'. He is both the yogi and the worldly king, without compromising his true essence, his sat. This is the key to the apparent paradox of Ratansen's double role.

The projection of the theme of love on the events of the Rām story is also the basis for references to other motifs from this narrative. In various instances the poet compares the fire of viraha that sets the lovers ablaze with the fire with which Hanumān, Rām's faithful servant, destroyed Laṅkā. This comparison illustrates the force of the fire of love and is congruent with other images of fire in *Padmāvat*. Like the monkey Hanumān, Ratansen threatens to set the world ablaze when his desire for Padmāvatī is not fulfilled. The princess of Siṃhal is consumed by this same fire which Hanumān brought to Laṅkā.

> Her body became like Rāvan and tormented her; the separation became like Hanumān.
> [Viraha] burned her while she was already burning; it reduced her to ashes and even then did not leave her alone.
>
> *Padmāvat* 248.8-9

> And how can I describe the unending fire; he who hears it is burned, that is how strong it blazes.
> It was as if Hanumān had come to sit upon her; a fire like that of Laṅkā raged in her body.
> Laṅkā was destroyed when the fire had broken out; she was struck by such a bolt of lightning that [the fire] could not be extinguished.
>
> *Padmāvat* 253.1-3

Hanumān is also referred to in his less fiery role of bringer of the life-saving *saṃjīvani* root to the wounded Lakṣmaṇ. This image makes the monkey the equal of Hīrāmani, who brings Ratansen amṛt (ambrosia) in the form of the love of Padmāvatī.

Ratansen wakes up after hearing the description of Padmāvatī, only to find himself longing to meet her. There is no help for him except Hīrāmani's guidance.

> The king's state is like that of Lakṣmaṇ when he was knocked unconscious by the arrow of *Śakti*.

> Rām is not here and Hanumān is very far away, who will come and bring the [life-saving] *saṃjīvani* root?[69]
>
> *Padmāvat* 120.4-5

Jāyasī was also aware of the many popular representations of Hanumān as the ideal servant of Rām, which is an important aspect of this character in rām-bhakti. When he describes how Gorā and Bādal offer their service for the dangerous release of their lord from the captivity of the sultan, Hanumān is brought up as the exemplar of the devoted sevā of the warrior when Padmāvatī asks Gorā and Bādal's help to free Ratansen.

> Gorā and Bādal accepted the betel, they formed an army like [that of] Aṅgad and Hanumān.
>
> *Padmāvat* 612.1

Bādal is determined to free Ratansen.

> Like Hanumān I will gather all my force in my thighs; I will dive into the ocean and free my lord from his imprisonment.
>
> *Padmāvat* 614.7

After freeing Ratansen, Gorā stays behind to cover the king's safe return to Citor.

> I will become like Hanumān and ruin the dagger of Yama; today I will keep my lord out of trouble.
>
> *Padmāvat* 629.7

These are both references to the Mahirāvaṇa episode, a substory of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which Hanumān frees Rāma and Lakṣmaṇ who are captured by Mahirāvaṇa, a son of Rāvaṇa who reigns in an underwater world. Hanumān jumps into the whirlpool that leads to that world, destroys the dagger of Yama, which makes it possible to slay Mahirāvaṇa and free his lord. It is also the subject of the *Hanumāncālīs* by Tulsīdās. The tale exemplifies the serving nature of Hanumān. Jāyasī also refers to this popular narrative in the scene with the

rākṣas (demon) who tries to lure Ratansen into a whirlpool. In *Kanhāvat*, the Kāliyā episode, in which Kṛṣṇa defeats the snake in the Yamunā, is 'rewritten' along the lines of the Mahirāvaṇa episode. Kṛṣṇa dives into the river and enters an underworld where he battles the king of the snakes and brings back the flowers from the gardens of his palace (*Kanhāvat*, stanza 70 ff.).

Ratansen returns to Citor after being freed from the prison of 'Alā' al-dīn, on which occasion Padmāvatī praises the efforts of Gorā and Bādal.

> You sat on the banner like Hanumān; at that moment my beloved could come back and enter Citor.
>
> *Padmāvat* 641.7

Many more references to the deeds of Hanumān can be found in *Padmāvat*, indicating Jāyasī's strategy to use the universal appeal of the characters from the Rām story to support his own thematic programme. By bringing a figure like Hanumān, who was not only a character from the Rām story, but also the object of a widespread popular devotion, into the thematic realm of *Padmāvat*, the poet greatly enhanced the rhetorical appeal of his message of love. The interleaving of verses of *Padmāvat* with so many elements from the Rām narrative is typical of the dialogic openness of Jāyasī's poetry to the traditions in his environment. In a similar manner, it is very likely that Tulsīdās used elements from the Sufi poems for his didactic version of the Rām story. The caupāī-dohā format in Avadhi was used in *kathā*, but it is also possible that Tulsīdās was inspired by the way Sufi poets used the dialogic qualities of this form as it was applied in the genre of the premākhyāns.[70]

A final example of Jāyasī's intertextual vision can be found in the description of Ratansen's return journey, from Siṃhal to the coast of Jambudvīp. The ships end up in a terrible storm and go adrift. This is observed by a giant rākṣas from Laṅkā, who fishes in the same waters and sees a good catch coming his way.

> A fisher of Vibhīṣan approached, hunting for fish.
> It was a deep black monster from Laṅkā; he came forward like a black raincloud.
> He had five heads and ten arms; he was scorched black when Laṅkā was burned.
> Together with his breath, smoke came out of his mouth; when he spoke words, fire erupted.

> It was as if he wore a fan [of hair] on his shaven head; his teeth protruded from his mouth.
> His body was like that of a bear and it frightened even bears; he looked at you as if he would rush forwards to eat you.
> With his red eyes he came closer without fear; seeing this frightening sight everyone was afraid.
>
> His feet were on the earth, his head was in heaven; it was as if he had a thousand arms.
> He appeared in the same way as Rāhu [appears] amidst the moon, the sun and the planets.
>
> *Padmāvat* 390

When the demon sees Ratansen's ships in trouble he smells an opportunity for a good catch.

> The ships were adrift and did not respond to the helm; the monster saw it and laughed like a demon.
> 'This is the second time in many days that the meal of the snake will be completed.'
> 'King Vibhīṣan will get this padminī, it is as if Āyodhya radiates today.'
> 'It is as if Rāvan has captured Sītā and the Rāmāyan has been completed with him living in Laṅkā.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 391.1-4

The rākṣas pretends that he will bring the king to safe waters but instead he brings him to the whirlpool of Mahirāvaṇa. With their ships, all their belongings, elephants and soldiers go under. A giant bird comes and picks up the monster and drops it also in the whirlpool. Ratansen and Padmāvatī survive the shipwreck, each floating in different directions on a separate piece of wood.

As a truly intertextual character, the rākṣas steps over from the world of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to that of *Padmāvat*, to become an exemplar of the treacherous servant. He is blackened in the battle for Laṅkā as he served the bad king Rāvan. Now he serves Vibhīṣan, the half-brother of Rāvan who chose the side of Rām and was made ruler of Laṅkā after the latter's victory. He hopes to bring Padmāvatī to his lord. Ratansen has already committed the mistake of not offering to the Ocean and is now misguided by the rākṣas who promises to

bring him to safe waters. The king offers him a good reward for this service, expecting that his riches will always get him out of trouble. With the example of Ratansen's misjudgement, Jāyasī illustrates the importance of spending money on the right servant. Money alone does not get one anywhere, good guidance is needed and that can only come from the Sufi pīr and his representative – the poet.[71]

To emphasise the wicked nature of the rākṣas, Jāyasī combines references to the background of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with images that mark the monster as the worst possible guide a Muslim can encounter: the dajjāl, the 'deceiver' who is believed to come to earth near the end of time. The dajjāl is feared for spreading disbelief and conflict in the world, which eventually causes people to regain the path to true faith. His appearance varies with the descriptions in the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥādīṯ*) and other sources, such as travelogues and fantastic cosmologies. In the latter works he is described as a sea monster who reigns in the East Indian seas near the end of the world, where he leads seafarers astray. Similar stories may have been the source for Jāyasī's association of the rākṣas from Laṅkā with the dajjāl. Deceit and misguidance are the essential connotations of this figure, which fits in with the role of the rākṣas in *Padmāvat.*[72]

The dajjāl is no stranger to Jāyasī's poetry as the poet has described his coming and eventual downfall in his work on the predictions of the Last Day, *Ākhirī Kalām* (stanza 11-12). Like Satan, he spreads conflict and disbelief among people. The association of this figure from the eschatological traditions in Islam with characters such as the rākṣas from Laṅkā shows the range of images and concepts from Islamic tradition Jāyasī uses to give meaning to his poem. These images include both the mystical doctrines in Islam, as well as common beliefs and practices, which further underlines the notion that the poet addresses an audience both inside and outside of the Sufi context.

Conclusion

The survey of the literary background of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* shows how the work is embedded in the composite field of early modern North Indian culture. The references that have been identified in this analysis can largely be related to the context of the interaction between local elites and Sufi dargāhs. Some of the works or traditions that have been identified as possible sources can be seen as distant models that are not specifically referred to in the poem. This is the case with the earlier romantic tales in Indian literature or the Persian romantic maṯnavīs, which form a background for the structure and layout of the poem. Other texts or genres are prominently represented in the work,

such as the idiom of nāth yogī poetry, the tales of yogī kings, or the character of the bird from didactic maṣnavīs. In the references to the Rām story, structural and the thematic parallels overlap. The link between the story of *Padmāvat* and this classical Indian epic is emphasised in many stanzas in which the poet draws images and scenes from this tradition into the thematic paradigm of his own poem.

In all cases, references to the literary background serve to enhance the rhetorical power of Jāyasī's poetry. It should be emphasised that the poet does not emulate or copy a specific model. The wide array of references is integrated into the semantic fabric of the work and extend the poem's semantic reach, without diluting its independent message. The poet intends to show that the tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī is *like* the many other stories in the literary context, but not the same thing. He positions his poem in a vast intertextual landscape, but only to emphasise its place in its own discourse and context, where the text has a specific functionality. This double edge to the use of intertextual reference is further analysed in the next chapter.

Notes

1. The projection of the aesthetics of classical genres such as *mahākāvya* and *sargabandha kāvya* on Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* is a regular topic in modern interpretations, even though a connection with these genres is unlikely. See Pāṭhak (1976: 193-210) and Millis (1984: 55 ff).
2. Chapter 5 contains a detailed analysis of the representation of the concept of mystical love in Padmāvat.
3. Millis (1984: 77), quoting Jain (1961: 482-487), refers to an Apabhraṁśa work called *kahā Rayaṇaseharīkahā* by the poet Jinaharśagani written in the fifteenth century in Citor. It is a Jain version of the story of a king who marries a southern princess.
4. See Briggs (1973).
5. See also Briggs (1973) and Grierson (1885), and for a comparison of the treatment of the theme of love by Sufi and nāth poets in Bihar: Champion (1991). See also Vaudeville (1986: 23 ff) on the use by Jain preachers of poetic forms and songs like the bārahmāsā and the *phāgu*, mostly against the background of the legends of Nemināth Sūrī. The love described in the Nemināth stories has the characteristics of a test.
6. On the comparison of the concept of 'ishq in Persian poetry and viraha in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, see Vaudeville (1962a) and below, chapter 5.6.
7. It can be found in the section called *Padmāvati-sahāy*. The dates of the various parts of this work are disputed (Gupta 1962).

8. For a general description of the pre-Mughal Rajput pattern and its political implications and numerous references to the warrior-ascetic in songs, ballads and legends, see Kolff (1990: 71-110).
9. See on these works Matringe (1988) and Maheux (2004).
10. See also the articles by Mathur (1951) and Rizvi (1975: 259-260).
11. See Kolff (1990), on the early modern Rajput clan structure and its distribution over North India.
12. See Digby (1986a, 1986b, 2000) on the motif of the establishment of a vilāyat in Sufi biographies. Aditya Behl emphasises the allusions to the establishment of Muslim rule and the conquest of the Indian environment on Indian rival religious movements as a motif in Sufi premākhyāns (2005, no. 1: 2-3 ff).
13. See chapter 6, for an analysis of the role of the themes of sevā and sat as inspiration for the actions of the characters, and also chapter 7, for Jāyasī's own role as mediator, which he describes as an inspired service to his patron.
14. See Richards (1978) and Streusand (1989).
15. The text is edited by M.P. Gupta (1958). For the historical background of the work see Bāṭekṛṣṇa (1946), who refers to a chronicle called *Chitāīcarit*. The marriage of a daughter of Rāmdev to a prince of Deogir is recorded in the Sanskrit court chronicle *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṁśamahākāvya* (3.10), by Rudrakavi, which dates from 1596. A king Sauṁrasī is also mentioned in the Persian historical work *Futūḥ us-salaṭīn* by Isāmi, as the ruler of Citor at the time of the siege by 'Alā' al-dīn (Ojha 1932: 13 ff.).
16. यौं बोलै ढिल्ली कौ धनी । मैं चीतौर सुनी पदमिनी ॥
बांध्यौ रतनसैनि मैं जाइ । लै गौ बादिलु ताहि चिडाइ ॥
17. Agravāl gives references to the sources for these stories (1961: 227-228, 267-268).
18. Al-Badā'ūnī refers to it in his *Muntakhab at-tawārīkh.* A Persian translation was used in sermons. There is also mention of a Persian translation by the fifteenth-century Sufi 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī (1456-1537), but the text is no longer extant (Pandey 1978). See also Naseem Hines' valuable critical study of the various interpretations of *Cāndāyan* (2009).
19. These magical elements and similar themes can be found in the various collections of folktales collected at the end of the nineteenth century by Aurel Stein, Day and others.
20. See on the representational aspect of the story cycles: Blackburn (1989).
21. This a conventional description of the beauty of the female protagonist from head (*śikh*) to toe (*nakh*).
22. See for a description of early Indian Sufi poetry in north-west India: Schimmel (1974) and Maheux (2004).
23. See Schimmel (1982a: 20).
24. The information on the nāth yogīs presented here is based on Dasgupta (1962); Briggs (1973)*;* Vaudeville (1974) and; Champion (1991).

25. See the editions of Callewaert and Op de Beeck (1991) and Barthval (1942).
26. See Vaudeville's study of *Rāmcaritmānas* (1955).
27. See the extensive study by Simon Digby on the works of Gangohī and his biography written by his son, *Laṭā'if-i Quddūsī*. Digby owns a manuscript of the rare text (1975).
28. Literally: 'become a siddha".
29. A reference to the story of Kṛṣṇa who dives into the river to kill the serpent Kāliyā, which Jāyasī also alludes to in his *Kanhāvat* (75-81). See also below, chapter 3.7.
30. For a description of the yogic theories on alchemy, see Millis (1984: 182-186) and White (1996: 123-169).
31. The distance between the worldly ruler and the mystic is a prominent theme in references to the legend of Alexander. See below, chapters 3.5 and 7.2.
32. Such verses can be found in 'Abd al-Quddūs Gangohī's *Rushdnama.* Other examples include the poems attributed to Amīr Khusraw (1253-1325) and Bābā Farīd Ganj-i Shakar (1173-1266). See Digby (1975), Ernst (1992) and Schimmel (1974) on poetry by Indian Sufis from various regions.
33. See Triguṇāyat (1971) and EI s.v. Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī (by J.A. Haywood).
34. See Vaudeville 1974, 1993: 109-129.
35. The use of baraka was not undisputed in early Sufism and sometimes denounced as an outer display. Al Hujwīrī discusses this in his *Kashf al-mahjub* (see the translation by Nicholson, 1911: 62-69).
36. Such motives can also be found in stories on Guru Nānak's voyages to Laṅkā, with surprising parallels to *Padmāvat*, and in stories from the Persian dāstān (prose epic) of Alexander the Great (McLeod 1968: 114-117) and Southgate (1978).
37. See the story of the encounter of Kabīr with Sikandar Lodi, Lorenzen (1991: 108 ff). See also Digby (1970) and Lorenzen (*ibidem*) on the influence of the taẕkira tradition on hagiographic traditions in bhakti sects.
38. See the description of the milieu in which these historiographies were made, in chapter 2.5.
39. The closest example of 'Indian' maṣnavīs were the works of Amīr Khusraw. His romance *Deval Rānī Khiẓr Khān* (1315 CE) could have been an example for the adaptation of an Indian semi-historical tale in Persian poetry, but there are no references to this in *Padmāvat.*
40. EI, s.v. Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī. See also chapter 4.1.
41. EI, s.v. Iran, vii. - literature; s.v. mathnawī.
42. Cf. the introduction to the translation by Massé (1970).
43. See *Sura* 18, where a ruler of the world called *ẕū'l qarnain* is mentioned, whom later exegetes have identified as Alexander. See EI, s.v. *dhū'l qarnain.*

44. Cf. Southgate, *Iskandarnama*, appendix, in which the various versions and related works are discussed, such as *Dārābnāma*, by *Ṭarsūsī* (twelfth century), *Khiradnāma-i Iskandarī* (in *Maṣnavī-yi Haft Aurang)* by Jāmī (1485-1491), and other earlier Persian and Arabic sources for the Alexander legends.
45. See for a more detailed description of this work the introduction to Bürgel's translation (1991).
46. A reference to the story in the *Mahābhārata* in which Draupadī miraculously keeps on providing water during a drought.
47. The reference to the search for the water of life also alludes to the praise of Khvāja Khiẓr in the silsila of Jāyasī's pīrs, see *Padmāvat* 20.6; *Akharāvaṭ* 27, 6-7, and *Kanhāvat* 6.6-70).
48. Agravāl is correct in interpreting this as a reference to the *kajalī ban*, the lampblack forest, mentioned in nāth yogī stories as the place where famous siddhas retreated to, which is also mentioned in stanza 130, line 7. Here, this connotation is combined with that of the Land of Darkness, the *ẓulmāt*, from the Alexander stories. See also Gaeffke (1989: 529).
49. The Bengali poet Alāūl, who also translated the Avadhi premākhyāns, used the Persian texts for his adaptations of the Alexander stories, which were patronised by the Arakan court. See: d'Hubert (2010).
50. See chapter 7, for a further analysis of the mediating role of the poet.
51. See Pritchett 1985.
52. See Hanaway (1971). Manuscripts of the dāstāns range from the twelfth to sixteenth century.
53. This theme is prominent in the dāstāns that feature Alexander as protagonist, such as the eleventh-century *Iskandarnāma*. The stories focus on kingship and mix images of Iranian kings with the tradition of the stories about the Prophet (*Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*). Favourite topics are the voyages and the amorous adventures. Some of the references to Alexander in *Padmāvat* suggest the background of these stories, besides the literary versions. See Southgate (1978).
54. See chapter 2.3.
55. The role of Ayūb (Job) in this context is somewhat unexpected. The characters Lindhaur and 'Alī are also mentioned in the Ḥamza stories (Pritchett 1989: 104).
56. Cf. Agravāl, *Padmāvat*, p. 854, who gives many details on the names mentioned in this stanza. King Bholā is a historical Cālukya king from Gujarat. Bhīma Deva, who was known as Bholo Bhīma Deva (Mad King Bhīma?) reigned from 1178-1241 and battled with Muḥammad Ghorī.
57. Pritchett (1985: 5 ff) describes how a written digest of the stories was presented by the *qiṣṣakhvān* to his patron, as an application for service at the court.
58. See Vaudeville (1955) on the sources for Tulsīdās's poem.

59. In this context, stanza 576, where Jāyasī describes how the citizens of Citor indicate the scale of their shock by comparing the brutal capture of Ratansen by 'Alā' al-dīn to the defeat of Rāvan, Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kālīya, the capture of the Pāṇḍavas, the death of Kaṃsa and other scenes from Indian tales. See Agravāl (1964: 770), who refers to similar passages in *Ardhakathānak* and poems by Sūrdās.
60. Cf. verse 558.1.
61. This meaning of the word '*rāvan*' is not found in the main Hindi dictionaries. It appears in verse 525.8-9 and is hinted at in other verses. Cf. Agravāl (1961: 685, note 9).
62. This is inferred by the poet by using the wordplay on Laṅkā: 1) the southern island where Rāvan reigns, 2) the waist of Padmāvatī. Ratansen conquers both, as Rām who subdued Rāvan and released Sītā, and as Padmāvatī's lover.
63. Other instances can be found in verses 26.2; 104.2; 198.5; 266.1-2; 324.1; 376.2; 404.4; 405.6; 475.2.
64. The pun on *laṅk* (Laṅkā; waist) is already hinted at in Hīrāmani's description of Padmāvatī's beauty.
65. See chapter 1.5.2.
66. Verse 525.3: हबशी रूमी औ जो फिरंगी । बड़ बड़ गुनी तिन्ह के संगी ॥ 'The African, Turkish and French were very skilled and so were their companions.'
67. The word '*rāvan*' is also used here to indicate the Hindu king ('rau') Ratansen.
68. For a poet who presumably was familiar with the Arabic script, the congruence in the radicals in sat, satī, Sītā was an indication of their conceptual relationship. The play with words with the same radicals is a feature of Arabic and Persian poetry. The notion that the Arabic script is of divine origin made this an important medium for mystical symbolism.
69. There is a wordplay on *rāmā*: 'woman', which refers to Padmāvatī who can help him but is far away.
70. This has been argued by De Bruijn (2010), on the basis of the parallels mentioned here, and by Behl (2008), who compares the description of the Mānasar lake in Tulsīdās's poem with that of paradisiacal places in the Sufi works.
71. On this aspect of service, see chapter 7.
72. The dajjāl can be found in the Alexander romances and in works like the *Kitāb al 'Ajā'ib al Hind* by Ibn Shahriyar (ca. 900). The dajjāl is believed to be easily recognisable by his appearance: he has one eye and on his forehead is written the word '*kāfir*'. Eventually the dajjāl will be killed by Jesus when he returns as the messiah. For more information and references to places in the tradition literature, see: EI s.v. Dadjdjāl; Wensinck (1941) and Gibb (1953: s.v. al-dadjdjāl).

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Structure *and* meaning *in Padmāvat*

The previous chapter surveyed the range of literary material at Jāyasī's disposal as building blocks for his poem. It also demonstrated how this literary horizon is referred to in the poem and how it relates to both the structure and the meaning of the poem. Thereby, it has been shown how Jāyasī consciously positions the tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī in contiguity with, but also at a certain distance from, other narratives in which elements of this polyphonic motif was present. This distance reinforces the relevance of Jāyasī's poem in the particular context in which it was created.

The present chapter analyses how the poet gives combines this the various formal and thematic elements from neighbouring tradions to give them a new meaning in *Padmāvat*, and related them to the logic of the literary field in which his poem functioned. Jāyasī stretches the expressive boundaries of the genre to its limits, but still works within the space that is defined by his artistic horizon and his audience's expectations. At the heart of the aesthetics of the genre in which he worked is the circulation of cultural signs between different communities. In the previous chapter, it has been demonstrated how the poet draws a vast range of literary images into the thematic scope of his work. Mediation and service are the keywords to describe the poet's role in his social context, but they also define his agency of reformulating the meaning of existing literary material.

Central to this transformation was the poet's mission to capture in a literary form the essence of mystical inspiration: the experience of the presence of the divine in the transient world.

> Where is a king like that Ratansen; where is the parrot who was equipped with such good insight?
> Where is the sultan 'Alā' al-dīn; where is Rāghava who made the description [of Padmāvatī]?

> Where is the beautiful queen Padmāvatī; nobody stays in this world, only the story remains.
>
> *Padmāvat* 652.4-6

In the closing stanzas of his poem the poet indicates that the story of the love between Ratansen and Padmāvatī is the only testimony of the momentary manifestation of the divine in this world. The transcendent nature of the divine makes that it can only be present in this world in temporary form, like that of an *avatāra*, such as Kṛṣṇa or Rām, or in the beauty of the princess from Siṃhal. This presence is beyond the reach of everyday experience and will only manifest itself under specific circumstances. In *Padmāvat*, Muḥammad Jāyasī creates a virtual world in which the 'unreal' presence of the divine can, for a short moment, become real. His poem shows his patrons and others around him the sacrifice and truthfulness required to establish and maintain a union with the divine in worldly life, symbolised in the tale of Ratansen's love for Padmāvatī. The connection between the transcendent order presented in the poem and the world of his audience is the poet's inspiration, which he received from his pīrs. By presenting his visionary tale, the poet conveys their presence and power to provide access to divine truth to those who serve or support them.

This programme determines both the formal and thematic structure of *Padmāvat* and informs the way the poet positions his work in its literary and cultural environment. The following analysis will show how the poet adapts well-known narrative motifs to make them follow the causality induced by this thematic programme. A close reading of the prologue of the poem will show how the poet prepares the stage for this transformation by 'resetting' creation and defining a space in which the meaning of his tale can manifest itself.

4.1 The *caupāī-dohā* format

A prominent formal characteristic of *Padmāvat* is the metrical format of the caupāī-dohā that is strictly maintained throughout the poem. There is some variation in the length of the lines of the dohās, but this is largely due to the transliteration of the text from manuscripts in Persian scripts, which affects the scansion of the lines.[1] The caupāī-dohā format has a history in didactic poetry in early modern Apabhraṃśa by Digambar Jain poets in the *kaḍavaka* style, which combines narrative and didactic verses in different metres. The forerunner of the caupāī lines in the Sufi romances can be found in the *padakulaka* metre that is used for the narrative part of the Jain works. The *dohā* of the premākhyāns existed previously as the metre for short, gnomic poems. In the

Apabhraṃśa poems, the closing verses used the *ghaṭṭa* metre (Schokker 1984). In the kaḍavaka style, the short closing verse offered the opportunity for adding comments and homiletic explanation to the story told in the narrative part of the text. This poetic format was very popular in early modern religious poetry and in oral storytelling traditions, such as the kathās. This alternation of narrative and didactic commentary is the background for the caupāī-dohā format as it is used in the premākhyāns.

The long syllables at the end of the *ardhalis* (half verses) of the caupāī lines emphasise the flow of the narrative in the descriptive part of the stanza. The concluding couplet of each stanza uses the dohā metre, which has short-ending syllables. The direct, stinging rhetoric of the dohā is a common feature of nāth yogī and sant poetry. The difference in metrical form is evident in recitation, which brings more attention to the didactic message delivered in the the closing couplet. This is emphasised even more in the dohās that contain a *chāp* – the name of the poet.

> Muḥammad [says]: 'Life is like the filling of the buckets on a Persian wheel;
> Just like the bucket that comes up [when its time comes] and empties, so life will flow away.'[2]
>
> *Padmāvat* 42.8-9

> Muḥammad [says]: 'You can keep that lamp that burns on the liquor of love alight [forever];
> but unless you sacrifice yourself for it like the moth, you will not taste the liquor.'[3]
>
> *Padmāvat* 154.8-9

> Muḥammad [says]: 'I gave up my single eye and ear on the "left side",
> when I heard the call of the *papīha* bird on the "right".'[4]
>
> *Padmāvat* 367.8-9

Jāyasī uses the strict and relatively simple caupāī-dohā scheme with great agility. The limited use of particles that mark the grammatical function of words, comparable to modern Hindī *kā/kī*, *ke* or *ko*, makes the language compact. It also allows the use of double meanings of words that produce an alternative syntax. The different possibilities for vocalising the Persian script add another possibility for constructing these puzzles and double meanings.[5]

Despite the regularity of the caupāī-dohā format, it does not produce a monologic narration, as it allows variations in the rhetorical perspective and makes it possible to mark divisions in the story. The caupāī-dohā is a self-contained unit that can be chained into a long narrative, but can also function as a separate poem of a more lyrical nature. This gives the poet the option to alternate between a descriptive or narrating voice and a lyrical register, in which the stanza becomes like a pad, the longer verses in collections of sant or bhakti poetry.[6]

The hybrid functionality of the caupāī-dohā unit allows Jāyasī to insert descriptions or didactic explanations made up of a string of stanzas, without losing track of the main storyline. Examples of this usage can be found in the bārahmāsā (341-359), or in the conventional description of the beauty of Padmāvatī from head to toe (*nakhśikh*) in stanzas 99-118 of *Padmāvat*. Each part of the body is described in a separate stanza. Together, these stanzas make up a complete image of the divine beauty of Padmāvatī. The form is a separate entity in the poem, just as the bārahmāsā.

The descriptions also show the independent, lyrical voicing that is possible in the caupāī-dohā format, as each stanza develops its own theme, using compatible metaphors and similes, concluded by a dohā that contains a strong statement or poetical image. As a whole, the stanzas that make up the nakhśikh provide an index for the thematic meaning of the images used to describe the beauty of the princess throughout *Padmāvat*.

An example of this is Hīrāmani's description of Padmāvatī's eyebrows:

> 'Her black eyebrows are like strung bows; whomever she sees, she strikes with a poisoned arrow.'
> 'That bow that is mounted on her brows, for whom did Death craft such a weapon?'
> 'It is the very bow that Kṛṣṇa took along; it is the very bow that was in the hands of Rām.'
> 'It is the very bow that destroyed Rāvan; it is the very bow that killed the demon Kaṃsa.'
> 'It is the very bow with which Rāhu was split [by Vishnu]; with it Sahasrabāhu was killed [by Arjuna].'
> 'It is that very bow that I saw on her; that archer took the whole world as its target.'
> 'Nothing can beat these eyebrows; even the *apsarās* and the *gopīs* went into hiding.'

> 'No archer can produce a bow that compares to the eyebrows of that lady; when the bow of Indra [the rainbow] rises in the sky, it quickly hides for shame.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 102

There are also instances in which the caupāī-dohā unit develops into a separate lyrical poem, as in stanza 402, which describes how Padmāvatī loses her beauty when she washes ashore in the ocean and realises she is separated from Ratansen. One can imagine how this feature is effective in performances, as it gives the performer an opportunity to halt the narrative and intensify the emotions incited by the scene he describes. It has been noted above, in chapter 2.3 and 2.5, how the hybrid nature of the caupāī-dohā unit opens up the poem to insertions in transmission or performance, without disturbing the structure of the narrative. It allows the texts to discard elements and take on new material in circulation that is integrated into the work in later transmission. The alternation of the narrating and lyrical voice added polyphony to the work and allows the poet to tell his tale from different perspectives.

Another aspect of the use of the caupāī-dohā metre is its consecration of the poem as a literary text. Its language should not be seen as a vernacular in a sociological sense. The use of metric speech and the format of earlier premākhyāns position the work in the tradition of Indian Sufi poetry that had become an established entity in the literary field. As the distribution of manuscripts of the poem described in chapter 2.2 has shown, its circulation extended over a much larger area, following the spread of the appreciation and valorisation of this form of poetry among North Indian elites.

4.2 Division and structure of the narrative

Although *Padmāvat* tells a single, continuous story, its narrative consists of various episodes that are often adapted from existing elements to fit the poem's thematic programme. Jāyasī's craft does not lie in inventing new material, but in rearranging existing narrative elements and combining them in a coherent thematic whole by means of consistent images and metaphors.

Most modern critical editions, with the exception of Gupta's text, present *Padmāvat* in separate chapters (*khaṇḍs*). This division is not found in the oldest layers of manuscripts. Some later copies contain small headings in Persian that summarise the context of each stanza or chapter.[7] The division in khaṇḍs roughly agrees with the implicit structure of the poem, with some ex-

ceptions. The *basanta khaṇḍ* (183-198) is taken as a single episode, while it consists of a number of scenes that each have a different thematic register and go back to different literary models. Jāyasī clearly separates these scenes, but they are taken as one single episode in many manuscripts.

The division in khaṇḍs suggests a linear composition, but it is a prominent feature of the structure of *Padmāvat* that the two parts of the poem are mirror images of each other. Many scenes in the account of the siege of Citor correspond with episodes in the first part. Ratansen's voyage to Siṃhal and the ensuing battle to win Padmāvatī is mirrored in the sultan's siege of Citor. Rāghav Cetan's treason and the description of her beauty to 'Alā' al-dīn is the counterpart of Hīrāmani's description of Padmāvatī. The two parts use the same narrative elements but with opposite thematic polarity.

The mirrored composition reflects the contrast between the ascetic love of Ratansen and 'Alā' al-dīn's lust. Ratansen and Padmāvatī's marriage constitutes the mystical union – the fusion of guru and pupil, the Creator and his creation. The first part describes how this bond was forged through penance and sacrifice, the second part how it is tested and comes out victorious over the worldly ambitions of 'Alā' al-dīn. In this two-tiered structure, the tying of the marital knot in verse 286 represents the centre and pivot of the poem.

> Then the woman filled her folded hands with water and presented her youth and life to her husband.
> The husband accepted the hand given to him by the woman and the knot was tied that binds the two together.
>
> *Padmāvat* 286.4-5

The repetition of narrative elements is a common feature in storytelling traditions. Jāyasī gives this stratagem a thematic function by using it to contrast the two aspects of love.

The individual episodes of *Padmāvat* develop separate thematic or didactic statements. Each scene represents a specific aspect of the overall theme of the work and has a place in its rhetorical structure. Specific images and extended metaphors indicate the thematic meaning of the scene. The end of such an episode is usually marked by a strong didactic statement, preferably in a dohā that sums up the theme addressed in the preceding part.

Examples of this can be found in the episodes that precede the crossing of the seven oceans by Ratansen and his men on their way to Siṃhal. Dis-

missing the warnings by king Gajapati that the crossing is dangerous, Ratansen sets out with his army in a short episode, *bohita khaṇḍ*, that spans stanzas 146-149. The scene marks the point in Ratansen's spiritual development where he relies completely on love and truthfulness.

> The king explained: 'He who has fulfilled this love, what can comfort and well-being do for him?'
> [To his rowers:] 'Row as you can row; just as you bring yourselves across, so you will bring me across.'
> 'I do not care so much for comfort; if I wanted comfort, I should not have been born.'
> 'The earth and the sky, both turn like millstones; of him who gets in-between, nothing is left.'
> 'I now long only for this one comfort; that I do not fail having bound myself to truthfulness on the path of love.'
> 'As long as there is truthfulness in one's heart, there is light in one's eyes; the pearl diver is not afraid when he plunges into the sea.'
> 'I will search the ocean until the gem [Ratansen] is fitted to the jewel [Padmāvatī].'[8]
>
> 'The Vedas were brought up only after searching the seven underworlds.
> In the same manner I will climb the seven heavens and run the path that leads to Padmāvatī.'[9]
>
> *Padmāvat* 149

The strong statement in the dohā concludes the didactic explanation that demonstrates his reliance on truth and love, and indicates the universal scope of his project. This concludes the episode and marks the transition to the next scene, the crossing of the seven oceans.

4.3 Defects as structural elements

In the introductory stanzas Jāyasī explains how his physical defects, his loss of hearing in one ear and of sight in one eye, do not prevent him from being an effective poet. On the contrary, these deficiencies qualify him to create his visionary poem.

> Muḥammad, even though he only has one eye, created this poem; he who hears the poem is amazed.

> God put him into the world like the moon; he gave him a blemish but also a bright light.
>
> *Padmāvat* 21.1-2

The defects and errors of judgement implied in this verse play an active role in structuring the narrative of *Padmāvat*. They form a rupture in the regular order of this world and thus provide an opportunity for the 'impossible' experience of the divine in this world. The poet explains that a 'wound' is needed to produce the ghee from the ocean of curds:

> In view of the ocean of curds, the mind is being burned; only he who yearns for love can bear the burning.
> The soul is blessed who burns with love; churning [the soul] brings out the ghee in the curdled milk.
> One drop of curdled milk thickens all of it; one drop of sourness and it will be destroyed and become water.[10]
> Breath is the churning rope, the mind a sturdy churning pot; without a wound in the heart the cream does not come out.
> If one carries love in one's heart, this fire feels like sandal; he who is without love will run away scared.
> When someone burns with the fire of love, his suffering will not be in vain.
> He who knows the truth [sat] will burn his self; he who is without the truth cannot realise the truth in his heart.
>
> When they had crossed the ocean of curds, where was their reserve in love?
> It did not matter whether water or burning coal would fall on their heads.
>
> *Padmāvat* 152

Like the 'wound' that starts the churning, the narrative of *Padmāvat* is set in motion by Gandharvsen's anger at the nature of Hīrāmani's teachings to his daughter, which led to the unjustified expulsion of the faithful servant.[11] The bird flees to the forest, where he commits the fatal mistake of indulging in his comfortable existence, unaware of the approach of the fowler who catches the bird and takes it to the market of Siṃhal.

The next productive defect is that of a bankrupt Brahmin from Citor, who is forced by debts to join a caravan of merchants on their voyage to Siṃhal to buy stock from its famously rich markets.

> In Citorgaṛh there was a merchant who went to Siṃhal Dvīp for his merchandise.
> There was also a Brahmin who was in dire straits and had become a beggar; he joined the merchants on their voyage.
>
> *Padmāvat* 74.1-2

At the market of Siṃhal, the luckless Brahmin recognises the qualities of the parrot, who is, after all, the 'Brahmin' of the birds. He buys the bird and takes it back to the court of Citor. The motif of the flaw occurs when the Brahmin explains to Ratansen that even he is ruled by his demanding stomach.

> There was an order of the king and his servants ran; quickly, they brought the Brahmin and his parrot.
> The Brahmin blessed the king and put forward his request: 'This parrot is my soul and I do not want to be separated from it.'
> 'But this stomach of mine is treacherous, it makes even all ascetics and mendicants bow.'
> 'If one has no bed or wife, one can lie on the ground and put an arm under one's head.'
> 'When one's eyes do not see, one is blind; when no words come to one's mouth, one is dumb.'
> 'When one's ears do not hear, one is deaf; but this one [organ], the stomach, can never stop functioning.'
> 'It made numerous rounds, but in the end it was still lacking; it wanders from door to door without getting enough.'
>
> 'This [stomach] drags me along and makes me beg; it brings along hunger and thirst.'
> 'When such an enemy would not be there, who should be in need of anyone else?'
>
> *Padmāvat* 80

The next defect that sets the story in motion, is the error of judgement that occurs when Nāgmatī is angry at the parrot for his frank speech. He told her that her beauty cannot compare to that of Padmāvatī. She orders the bird to be killed, but her rage is a flaw of character that can only have negative consequences.

> You were full of anger and did not look ahead; how can there be marital happiness when one is in anger?
> From anger only unpleasantness and enmity arise; nobody can kill him who controls his anger.
>
> *Padmāvat* 90.3-4

A servant of the queen is clever enough to hide the bird from her and bring it to the king when he asks for his favourite counsellor. At that moment, Nāgmatī's anger at the parrot comes out and the king confronts her with her mistake. The incident gives Hīrāmani the opportunity to tell Ratansen about the beautiful Padmāvatī of Siṃhal, thus setting in motion Ratansen's quest for love.

A similar turning point in the narrative is the appearance of Maheś and Pārvatī in Siṃhal, when Ratansen is burning with the fire of love for Padmāvatī. Having tested Ratansen's determination, Pārvatī asks Maheś to point out to the king the secret passage to the palace of Padmāvatī. She insists that he does not make the same mistake he made earlier which caused two other deaths.[12]

Ratansen threatens to immolate himself, when he cannot enter the palace of Siṃhal:

> 'The sin of the two murders you took on your shoulder has not yet vanished.'
> 'When you want to take the blame for a third one, take that of him on you!'
>
> *Padmāvat* 211.8-9

When Ratansen is eventually brought to the stake by the soldiers of Gandharvsen, a bard defends the king and calls Hīrāmani as a witness. Seeing his former counsellor, Gandharvsen realises he misjudged the bird and caused Ratansen's attack on his fortress.

The next stage in the narrative, the return of Ratansen to Citor, is brought about by the king's neglect of his wife and, perhaps a more vital flaw, of his mother (stanza 362). Another flaw of character which is decisive for the course of the story is Ratansen's greed, when he refuses to pay toll to the Ocean and his trust in the guidance by the rākṣas during the crossing.

In the account of 'Alā' al-dīn's campaign against Citor, the main defect with regard to moral truth and honour are the sultan's passion and rage, which make him resort to treason. The role of the mistake as the force behind the

events in *Padmāvat* takes on a new meaning in this situation. It is no longer the positive disruption of reality which gives access to other dimensions, but the test of the sat of Ratansen and Padmāvatī in a hostile world. Their shipwreck on the ocean made them aware of these dangers and gave them the detachment needed to reach the eventual union in death.

An example of a worldly defect is the behaviour of Rāghav Cetan. Although Ratansen was right in sending away the counsellor because of his deceit and his abuse of magic to make the moon appear, Padmāvatī is quick to realise that this can cause problems in the future. His wish for revenge could make him offer his services to the enemy.

> Padmāvatī heard the rumour: the talented Rāghav has gone away.
> The woman thought with wisdom about the future: '[The king] did not do the right thing by sending away this talented man.'
> 'He who can make the moon appear by performing the magic of the Yakśinī can later place it next to the sun.'[13]
> 'The tongue of a poet is like the Hīrāvan [gold-coloured] sword; on one side it is fire, on the other water.'
> 'He should not in ignorance utter some inappropriate [word]; it takes a lot to achieve fame, not much is needed to cause bad reputation.'
> She quickly called for Rāghav [with the words:] 'The sun [his lord] has become eclipsed, make it go away!'
> When a Brahmin is summoned to where he can get a reward, he goes straight to heaven [to stay there].
>
> Rāghav Cetan comes to the tower of the palace.
> But he was not aware that lightning was in the sky.[14]
>
> *Padmāvat* 450

Deceit and treason characterise the second part of *Padmāvat*. When 'Alā' aldīn's siege of Citor remains ineffective, he is forced to achieve his goal by less valorous methods and he offers Ratansen a settlement to be negotiated inside the fortress of Citor. The sultan thus hopes to get a glimpse of Padmāvatī and to capture Ratansen after the meeting. Ratansen is warned of this treason by his aides Gorā and Bādal, but he is so convinced of sat as the just moral principle that he cannot consider the possibility of deceit by others.

This behaviour indicates the struggle of the king who has entrusted his soul to sat. In the first part of *Padmāvat*, the king had to guard himself against

his own instincts, now he has to deal with deceit by others. These dilemmas continue to provide the driving force behind the narrative as each scene evolves from a moral choice in the preceding one. The dilemma between suspicion and the honesty of sat is depicted in the following scene, in which Gorā and Bādal vent their suspicions about the sultan's intentions when he visits the palace and Ratansen replies with his confidence in sat.

> Gorā and Bādal stood beside the king; they were both kings and were like [Ratansen's] two arms.
> They approached the king and [said] close to his ear: 'When a man is awake he will not be robbed.'
> 'Testing his words, we fathom the Turk; in public [he speaks] of a meeting, but secretly he thinks of his army.'
> 'Do not proceed with meeting the Turk; he will betray you in the end game.'
> 'The enemy [the plum] is tough and crooked like a thorn; only by taking it away can it be concluded if he is a *makoi.*'[15]
> 'When one wins a piece from the enemy's side, one is given sweet bread to eat.'[16]
> 'We now have the royal parasol of that bastard; when the root is gone, the leaves will not stay.'
>
> 'He is like Kṛṣṇa at Balī's porch, because he wants to capture you with a trick.'
> 'Therefore we are convinced that the [offer to] meet should not be accepted.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 558
>
> The king heard it, but in his heart he did not like the words; [he said:]
> 'Friends, the present meeting is not like that one then [between Balī and Viṣṇu].'
> 'Only he is righteous who acts righteously, even towards a mischievous man; in the end good fortune will be with the righteous one.'
> 'When an enemy wants to kill you by giving you poison, one should give him salt, it takes away the poison as it were.'[17]
> 'After giving poison [the enemy] will become like a snake [who carries poison] and eat; when he sees the salt he will become like salt and will melt.'[19]
> 'When someone is struck with a sword, he takes a sword in his own hand; when the salt [the correct man] hits him, he bows his head.'
> 'Although the Kauravas gave poison to the Pāṇḍavas, they took the stakes in the end.'

'He who tricks someone will receive a trick in return, like the lion who is put in a cage.'[19]

When the king spoke about correctness, it was as if he had put salt on the two men.
They went back to their palace, angry like the trapped lion.

Padmāvat 558

As predicted by the two warriors, Ratansen is fooled by the sultan and captured. A similar challenge to sat occurs when Padmāvatī is visited by envoys of the sultan who try to persuade her to go over to the camp of the sultan. The challenge that leads to the conclusion of the narrative and to Ratansen's death comes from the king's old rival Devpāl, who made use of Ratansen's captivity to persuade Padmāvatī to defect to his court. Ratansen cannot accept this breach of the moral code of the Rājput and his sat. He defends his honour in a duel with his rival, but is hit by a poisoned spear. Mortally wounded, he manages to punish Devpāl for his treason by cutting of his head.

King Devpāl went into the fight and roared: 'King, let there be a man-to-man fight between you and me.'
He came and threw a spear filled with poison; then the moment of death was decided.
The spear landed below the [king's] navel; it pierced his navel and went out through his back.
When he [Devpāl] advanced after this throw; he was hit by the king [Ratansen]; his neck was broken and his body fell down separately.
After having cut off the head [Ratansen] bound it to his stirrups; he returned the same enmity that [Devpāl] had shown him.
He came back [to Citor] alive but had lost his strength; on his way the iron [weapon] had caught him.
As if he were bitten by the black snake he could not move; his tongue was taken by Yama [Death]; what could he say?

[The king's] consciousness slipped away; halfway on his road [of life] bad luck had befallen him.
Elephants, horses, who belongs to whom? [The king] was laid on a stretcher and brought home.

Padmāvat 646

The breach of honour by Devpāl is set straight, in the sense that Ratansen's sat is maintained and that he dies a hero's death, which prepares him for the final union with his beloved in the fire of the jauhar.

4.4 Intertext and variations on common narrative elements

The previous chapter of this study described the rich literary background of *Padmāvat*. An important element of Jāyasī's rhetorical strategy is to emphasise that the theme of *Padmāvat* is the driving force behind a range of narratives that are familiar to his audience. He accomplishes this by rearranging and adapting common narrative elements, a technique that was also productive in storytelling and performance traditions, in which a performer presents a new outlook on familiar scenes. In order not to lose his audience, the poet indicates subtly where his narrative deviates from the beaten track. Jāyasī uses references to other narratives for this purpose, positioning *Padmāvat* in relation to the nearest intertextual beacon, which makes the audience aware of the innovation in the poet's message.

An example of the re-combination of topical narrative elements in *Padmāvat* is the scene of the crossing of the ocean on the journey to Siṃhal and its mirror image – the return voyage to Citor after the marriage with Padmāvatī. The crossing of the sea as a symbol for the mystic's departure from the ordinary world is a common topos that can be found in other Sufi premākhyāns, such as *Mṛgāvatī* and *Madhumālatī*.

Kuṃvar, the hero of the *Mṛgāvatī*, sees Mṛgāvatī and her girlfriends bathing in a lake. After their first meeting and spending a happy time together, the girl is transformed into a bird and flies away, leaving a message for the prince to come and find her in a place called Kaṃcananagar. Kuṃvar suffers in separation and sets out to regain her. In *Madhumālatī*, the protagonist is prince Manohar, who meets his beloved in an illusory meeting arranged by *apsarās* ('angels') who separate the lovers after their first encounter. The prince becomes a yogī and goes on a quest to find her.[20]

Like Ratansen, the heroes of these poems set out on a sea voyage, leaving behind worrying relatives. In Manjhan's *Madhumālatī*, Manohar's father escorts him on the first leg of the journey and equips him well.[21]

> At dawn, [Manohar's father] prepared the army and retinue; for twenty *kośas* the king accompanied [the prince].
> There were elephants and horses and many provisions, treasures and soldiers.
> Who could count all this?
> The king ordered the retinue that came with him to accompany the prince.

They went, asking [the way] for the country of Mahāras, where the ruler is king Vikrama.
They came to the shore of an ocean that was impassable, unerring, unfathomable and deep.

The elephants and horses, the army and retinue, all the stores and treasures, the prince loaded them aboard a ship and went with it; who can erase what is written on the forehead?

Madhumālatī 176

Having loaded the ship he sailed it across the ocean; nobody gets to know what God has written [as his fate].
He went for four months from [one stretch of] water to the other; after that his hour of ill fate had arrived.
On the ocean dark waves showed and the ship's helmsman lost direction.
They could not make out any direction; the boat got into a violent whirlpool.
As soon as it came into it, the ship shattered into seven hundred parts; from four sides [the waves] began to thrust against the boat.

His dear friends, the retinue and all the stores and treasures drowned.
His royal throne and all the Tokhār horses drowned.

Madhumālatī 177

When prince Kuṃvar, the protagonist of Quṭban's *Mṛgāvatī* arrives in a city, he asks how he can reach Kaṃcananagar, where his beloved is. He relates his suffering to the local king, who offers him a *padminī* girl as substitute for Mṛgāvatī. Kuṃvar refuses but accepts the help of a passing ascetic, who is touched by the prince's determination and shows him the way to Kaṃcananagar, accompanying him to the shore.

The ascetic felt compassion for these emotions; he showed the way [the prince] had to take.
The ascetic accompanied him and stopped as he came to the shore of the ocean.
[He said:] 'Here is the road to Kaṃcananagar, its landing place is on the other side of this ocean.'
'Go, remembering God the Creator; only when you are not afraid you will be successful.'

There was a raft at the shore of the ocean; [the ascetic] made him get on it and slowly went to his own home.

[Kuṃvar thinks] 'When will I see the beloved with two smiling eyes, spreading out all her limbs, like the lotus in the water of the lake?'

Mṛgāvatī 116[22]

He set the raft afloat and went on his way; there he encountered a high wave.
The wave came and when he saw it he was confused; with great force it rocked him, like [he was in] a swing.
He went up and came down again; the boat drifted in all four directions.
One moment he went east [the next] he went to the west; then he rushed to the north or to the south.
[He said to himself:] 'I do not fear for my own soul, but when I die I will not meet her.'

Quṭban [says:] 'The land of my beloved is inaccessible; yet, there they live without worries.'
'We are constantly afraid like Bailocana who was afraid of the branch of a tree.'[23]

Mṛgāvatī 117

Both poems provide interesting material for comparison with Jāyasī's version of the initiatory crossing of the ocean. As has been shown above, Ratansen comes to the kingdom of Orissa and asks king Gajapati to provide him with ships for the crossing, but is warned of the danger of this passage. Just as Kuṃvar told the tale of his separation and quest for Mṛgāvatī, Ratansen states his resolve and his love for Padmāvatī.[24] This convinces king Gajapati, who donates him the ships and lets him set out on the dangerous journey under Hīrāmani's guidance. The waves and the sea monsters in the ocean put the determination and inner conviction of the seamen to the test in the same way that Kuṃvar was tested on his journey.

The poet of *Madhumālatī* takes a different approach and construes Manohar's departure around the theme of detachment from worldly goods and wealth. The shipwreck of the loaded ships illustrates the impossibility of achieving progress on the mystical path without complete sacrifice of worldly wealth. This theme is prominent in Jāyasī's reply to Gajapati (145) where he praises the generosity exemplified by Ḥātim Tai and Karṇa. It features more

prominently as the motive behind Ratansen's difficulties on his return journey (387-396). Like Manohar, whose father gives him many riches, Ratansen's ship is loaded with goods by his father-in-law – king Gandharvsen. Ratansen's tragic defiance of the moral obligation of generosity and detachment, by refusing to pay toll to the Ocean, leads to his shipwreck on his return voyage.[25]

The return voyage of Ratansen and Padmāvatī to Citor is the counterpart of the initiatory crossing of the ocean. It can be read as a confrontation with the difficulty of maintaining moral correctness in the corrupting environment of worldly life. Jāyasī's description of this passage makes use of a narrative pattern that, in Manjhan's epic, marks the start of Manohar's ascetic journey. Jāyasī has turned around the thematic meaning of this motif to make it suit the place it occupies in his narrative. The implicit intertext of similar scenes, such as Rām's crossing to Laṅkā and dangerous voyages and shipwreck in Persian dāstāns and biographies of pīrs only adds to the rhetoric impact of the episode.[26]

Ratansen's journey to Siṃhal as a yogī of love and his return to his throne in Citor mark the two sides of spiritual development: the disentanglement from the world to achieve liberation and the return to a world where the virtues of truthfulness are being tested. *Mṛgāvatī* may have provided a parallel for the description of the voyage to the ocean shore. Jāyasī adapted the rather flat treatment of this motif by expanding it with the description of the seven oceans. This added to this topos the thematic notion of the gradual passage along the stages of the mystical path, which is well developed in Persian sources, such as *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair* by 'Aṭṭār, where the birds cross the seven valleys to find the *sīmurgh* under the guidance of the hoopoe. In 'Aṭṭār's poem the valleys stand for the search (*wādī-'i ṭalāb*), love (*wādī-'i 'ishq*), insight (*wādī-'i ma'rifat*), independence (*wādī-'i istighnā*), unity (*wādī-'i tauḥīd*), amazement (*wādī-'i ḥairāt*), poverty and annihilation (*wādī-'i faqr o fanā'*).[27] Jāyasī's passage through the seven oceans also indicates the development along several stages of spiritual insight and sacrifice of the self. The images he uses are inspired by puranic cosmology, where the seas are separated by the continents. Only six of the oceans are named in the poem: the ocean of milk, the ocean of curds, the churning ocean, the sea of wine, the Kilkila sea, and the seventh, the Mānasar, which resembles the Mānasarovar lake, the location of divine revelation in yogic mystical theories.

Direct intertextual links can be found in those places where the poet refers to images from his own works. In stanza 156 of *Padmāvat*, the poet describes the narrow path in the *kilkila* sea, which forms the last part of the passage to Siṃhal. This contains a reference to the image of the crossing of the pul-i ṣirāṭ, the bridge over the eternal fire that separates heaven from hell,

which all believers have to cross on the Day of Judgement to enter paradise. They cross the bridge, trusting that the merit acquired during their lifetime will bring them across safely. Jāyasī uses this image in his *Ākhirī Kalām* (stanza 27-28). The reference to a powerful image from common Islamic piety, the belief in resurrection and the Day of Judgement, colours the description of the crossing of the *kilkila* sea in *Padmāvat*, broadening the semantic scope of the poem beyond the idiom of Sufi mysticism.[28]

4.5 The production of meaning: Indian and Persian aesthetic models

The previous chapters have demonstrated how the analysis of the literary background of *Padmāvat* adds to the confusion over the position of this poem in relation to the many traditions that fed into it. It has been shown how different views on the literary affiliations of the poet and his work led to different interpretations, ranging from the allegorical reading proposed by Milllis on the basis of the 'key' stanza added in later transmission, interpretations that see the poem as an emulation of Persian examples, or the classification of the history of 'Indian' literature by editors and historiographers who operated in an context influenced by the ideology of Hindi nationalism.

The confusion over the readings of Jāyasī's poetry extends to the analysis of the aesthetic and poetic model that is at the heart of his work. Also in that respect, both Indian and Persian models are projected on to his work. Śukla and Gupta analysed Jāyasī's poetic style and imagery mainly from the perspective of classical Indian poetics based on rasa ('emotion') and *alaṁkāra* ('embellishment'). This coincided with and was prompted by the emphasis on classical aesthetic theories in the construction of a canon of modern Hindi literature, in which the early modern vernacular traditions were seen as the primary cultural archive. The critic and writer Mahāvīr Prasād Dvivedī (1864- 1938) was very influential in laying down an aesthetic and linguistic foundation for modern Hindi poetry and literary prose on the basis of Sanskrit poetics. This had a lasting influence on literary criticism in Hindi, in which the sanskritised vocabulary from classical rasa theories became the dominant idiom of literary analysis, even for modern literature.[29]

4.5.1 Rasa *in* Padmāvat

Although the term rasa and its meaning in aesthetic theory were present in early modern vernacular traditions, there is no indication that it played a prescriptive role of Indian Sufi poetry in the vernaculars. The references to rasa and the aesthetic categories based on this notion in Jāyasī's poems indicate that the poet was aware of this paradigm. He uses the term rasa in its various

connotations and includes conventional elements from Indian classical art poetry, such as stylised descriptions of cities and gardens, the description of the seasons (*sadṛtuvarṇana*), and the description and categorisation of female beauty (*nakhśikh* and *strībhedavarṇana*).

The references to rasa occur in various contexts and have a function in the poetic concept of *Padmāvat*. Jāyasī exploits the multiple meanings of the word (juice, taste, essence, ambrosia, emotion) which converge in the notion of the experience of the divine that can be grasped like the taste of a fruit's juice. This symbolism is used several times in the context of descriptions of Padmāvatī's beauty and that of other female protagonists.

> 'Above her lips and teeth her nose shines; it is like a parrot who is looking longingly at a pomegranate.'
> 'It is as if two wagtails [her eyes] play, each on one side; who will get that juice, who will not?'
>
> 'It is as if the parrot became her nose, when he saw that ambrosiac rasa of her lips.'
> 'The parrot does not leave her side, so much does it relish the smell that comes [to the nose] with the wind.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 105.6-9

In the same paradigm, the redness of Padmāvatī's lips is connected to the notion of love.

> [Hīrāmani speaks:]
> 'Oh king, the ambrosia of these lips is such that the whole world longs for it.'
> 'I do not know for whom this lotus blossoms, who will be the bee that gets its juice.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 106.8-9

The description of her tongue leads to praise for her linguistic skills, which reflect on those of the poet as well.

> 'I will describe her tongue, that speaks words with rasa; the mind becomes enamoured when it hears these words that are like ambrosia.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 108.1

These images of rasa brand Padmāvatī's physical beauty as a reflection of the divine in this world. The description of her tongue links her beauty to the notion of poetic speech, which is already introduced in the prologue of the poem. There, stanza 23 describes the words of the poet as full with the rasa of love, an image that reappears in various places in the poem.[30] The connection between the images expresses the notion that the divine nature of poetry and, thereby, the real meaning of the words of the Sufi poet, should be tasted like rasa. Only the *rasika*, who is the connoisseur of art poetry in classical aesthetic theory, but here someone who has prepared his mind for discerning the divine in the story of Padmāvatī, can perceive this meaning. This notion is fundamental to the poetics of *Padmāvat*.

Used in this way, the term rasa in Jāyasī's poem suggests a reference to the connection between aesthetic experience and spiritual enlightenment that can be found in the context of early modern Indian devotional religion. The vaiṣṇava-bhakti theology developed by the Bengali Gosvamins in the context of the movement founded by the 'seer' Caitanya (fl. fifteenth century), built upon the extension of the poetics of rasa to the realm of philosophy and mystical speculation. At the root of this theological model are the interpretations of the concept of *dhvani* (literally: 'sound') by the eleventh-century philosopher and aesthetician Abhinavagupta, who wrote a commentary on the *Dhvanyaloka* by Ānandavardhana (820-890). This extension equates the experience of the most pure form of religious emotion through art (*śāntirasa*) with the mystical experience of unity.

In vaiṣṇava-bhakti theology, the link between the aesthetic and the religious emotion was integrated into the notion that poetical depictions of the love-play of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopī*'s can induce an experience of the divine nature of this love through the evocation of the rasa of (sensual) love: *śṛṅgārarasa*. This causes the reader or listener of a verse to experience the same love as felt by Rādhā.[31]

Jāyasī's allusion to the connection between the mystical and the aesthetic experience does not position his poem in a defined theoretical framework, and certainly not in that of vaiṣṇava-bhakti poetics . Echoes of this idiom, as well as of the underlying religious concepts can be found in many traditions of early modern vernacular poetry. Its ubiquitous use in nāth yogī and sant poetry may also have been an inspiration for the images found in *Padmāvat*.

Finally, there is also a reference to the more technical use of the term rasa in classical poetic theory in *Padmāvat*. In stanza 618.8-9 the hero Bādal reproaches his young bride for complaining about his departure for the battle to free Ratansen by pointing out that,

> 'You are are a weak woman, your mind is numb, anyone who knows about these things knows this.'
> 'When men have the rasa of heroism [*vīrarasa*], love [*siṅgārarasa*] is not suitable.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 618.8-9

This alludes to the notion of *rasabhaṅga*, the conflict of emotions. Classical aesthetic theory prescribes that the dominant mood (*bhāva*) of a poem should not be diffused by introducing other main emotions in a scene.

The classical poetics based on the concept of rasa and dhvani provided a theoretical framework that only had a limited influence on the practice of writing poetry in Sanskrit and, later, in the Indian vernaculars. For the latter, the most immediate context is formed by predecessors of the premākhyāns, such as the didactic epics of Jain poets in Apabhraṃśa. Texts like *Paumacariu* by Svayambhu (eighth or ninth century) provide an interesting source for the aesthetics of vernacular poetry as it uses a poetical format that combines a narrative metre and a concluding didactic short verse. Behl is correct in pointing out the influence of *Uktivyaktiprakaṇa* by Dāmodar (twelfth century) in Old-Kosali and *Varṇaratnākara* in Maithili, works that connect repositories of Sanskrit literary forms and poetical models to the eastern vernaculars (2005, no. 2:21). Another poetical inventory in Apabhraṃśa that is relevant here is Abdur Rahman's *Sandeśarāsaka* (c. thirteenth century).

The poetry of nāth yogī and sant preachers seems to provide a relevant background for the aesthetics of the Indian Sufi romances, but the highly composite nature of this makes that it is hard to see what it may have contributed to the poetics of *Padmāvat*. It has been mentioned before how short, didactic poems had the capacity to 'startle' the audience out of its semantic comfort zone, by using bold images and a direct rhetoric. The Sufi poets incorporated this aspect into the didactic rhetoric of their poems, using poetic forms such as the dohā.

4.5.2 The aesthetics of Persian poetry

While elements from classical Indian poetics can be found in *Padmāvat*, these serve more as references to neighbouring vernacular literature than as the defining structure of the aesthetics of Jāyasī's poetry. The emphasis on the transfer of emotions that characterises the rasa-based aesthetic systems is alluded to in *Padmāvat*, but is not the main focus of the poem. Central to the

poem's semantics is the notion that it reveals the presence of the divine in the transient world, making visible something that is beyond vision or comprehension. This mission brings it closer to poetical elements and aesthetic concepts that can also be found in Persian mystical poetry, such as in the romantic and didactic maṣnavīs.

Some elements from the vast domain of Persian poetry that may be relevant in the context of the Indian Sufi poems are described by J.Ch. Bürgel (1974). He refers to Niẓāmī's frequent use of images from the realm of magic and alchemy to describe the genius of the poet. This magic involves turning ordinary speech into an expression of divine truth. The most important quality of the poet is his inspired vision of a transcendent world and his capacity to use the magic of poetic speech to relate this vision to his audience, using the full range of images, topoi and narrative conventions at his disposal. Bürgel points out that this capacity is also expressed in the epithets of the poets Niẓāmī and Ḥāfiẓ, such as: '*āʿīn-i ghaib*', 'mirror of the unknown world', or *'lisān al-ghaib*', 'tongue of the hidden', which refer to the mediation of a vision of the world 'at the other side'. Bürgel extrapolates these notions from remarks by the poets on their own activity that can be found, for instance, in the prologues of the maṣnavīs by Niẓāmī, which describe an *ars poetica* that is primarily based on the poet's own artistic practice.[32]

Bürgel goes on to describe the stylistic tools that support the poetic 'magic' of the Persian poet: the hyperbole of cosmic dimensions, similes which defy natural causality, and fantastic etiologies (also called poetic syllogisms), which ascribe situations or properties of described objects to a thematic logic rather than to a natural cause. The ascription only makes sense in the framework of the poet's vision of an unseen world. An example of the fantastic etiology can be found in *Padmāvat*, in stanza 116, where the beauty of Padmāvatī's waist is described. The stanza concludes with a dohā that explains the behaviour of lions, with their proverbial thin waist, from defeat by the princess's thin waist.

> 'Against this waist the lion could not fight, and retreated into the woods.'
> 'Out of anger, it drinks human's blood and kills them for food.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 116.8-9[33]

The thematic logic that proposes that Padmāvatī is a reflection of the divine structures the description of her beauty by Hīrāmani, and makes all the similes and metaphors used in the descriptions cohere with this vision. A similar

kind of thematic causality underlies the projection of mystical love on the siege of Citor by 'Alā' al-dīn and projects the themes of prem and sat on all events depicted in the poem.

Like the Persian poets, Jāyasī often uses hyberbolic similes that encompass the entire universe in the realm of comparison and transcend natural causality. Examples of this are the comparison of Ratansen and Padmāvatī as the sun and the moon, which provides an opportunity to draw the planets, the stars and other cosmic phenomena into the descriptions.[34]

Similar use of the hyberbolic images can be found in the description of the crossing of the ocean (149-158) and in the scene in which Ratansen threatens to give up his life and set the whole universe alight with the fire of his love (199-206), which prompts Śiva and Pārvatī to come to his and the world's rescue. The universal dimension is also present in the account of Nāgmatī's suffering from the pain of separation during the twelve months that her husband is away in the form of a bārahmāsā, as well as in her conversation with the bird who is to send her message to Ratansen in Siṃhal (341-359, 360-373). The messenger bird tells Ratansen of the fire of Nagmatī's pain:

> 'There was such a blaze from the pain of separation that the clouds became black from the rising smoke.'
> 'Rāhu was burnt as was Ketu; the sun was burnt as was [the dark] half of the moon.'
> 'Moreover, all the constellations and the stars were burnt; burning fragments came down on earth.'
> 'The earth there burnt in many places; the *ḍhāk* forest was burnt in that conflagration.'
> 'Such a heat came from the breadth heated by the pain of separation that the mountains were scorched and turned into coal.'
> 'The bees, fireflies and snakes were burnt; the cuckoos, the king-crows and the raven were burnt.'[35]
> 'All the birds in the forest took to the sky to save their souls; the waterbirds caught fire and dived into the water.'
>
> 'I was also burning when I fled from there, and quenched myself in the ocean.'
> 'When the ocean burned, the water became salt; its steam covered the whole world.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 370

The cosmic scale of the fire of love fits the thematic logic of the poem, in which love is presented as an emanation of the divine light God sent to the world to express His love.[36]

The stylistic devices of the hyperbole and the fantastic etiology indicated by Bürgel as the tools of the mystical poet have a functionality in *Padmāvat* that resembles their use in Persian poetry. In descriptive passages, such as that of the fortress of Siṃhal, or of Padmāvatī's beauty told by Hīrāmani and Rāghav Cetan, Jāyasī covers the object of the description with an abundance of images. These do not serve to explain the object of the description, but extend and enrich their thematic connotation, building layer upon layer of meaning. The natural congruence between the images and the objects they describe is only the starting point for a simile, but not its limitation.[37] Key to the meaning of such complex images if their function in the framework of the poet's vision of an unseen world.

The transformation of objects from the invisible realm to the logic and the language of the visible world by means of poetic speech and its figures is a central element in Jāyasī's agency as a mystical poet. It is also alluded to in images in the prologue of the poem, which described him as half blind, which indicates that part of his vision is directed elsewhere. But even by these extreme means, the poet can only attempt to convey the meaning of Padmāvatī's beauty in terms that relate to the transient world. This humility is expressed at the end of the *nakhśikh* description by Hīrāmani – the mystical poet's alter ego.

> I do not know how to describe her untouched beauty from head to toe;
> I have found nothing in this world that makes a worthy comparison.
>
> *Padmāvat* 118.8-9[38]

Although it is a conventional phrase, its conspicuous location at the end of twenty stanzas of nakhśikh description makes it a poignant expression of the poet's predicament. As can be witnessed here, the caupāī-dohā proves particularly functional in the descriptive passages, as it allows the poet to explain in the dohā the thematic connotation of the complex images in the narrative part.

The display of the cosmic forces unleashed through love evidently has the rhetorical function of indicating the divine nature of this notion and of underlining the poet's capacity to control this force.[39] The hyperbolic aspect of the power of love is also a favourite topos in the tales of Sufi pīrs in which they display their magical forces.

There is an obvious similarity between the poetics of Persian mystical

poetry and Jāyasī's use of hyperbole, poetic syllogism and his emphasis on the vision that allows him to bring the unseen to light through poetic speech. Places that are central to the meaning of the poem, such as the descriptions of the beauty of Padmāvatī, the suffering of Nāgmatī, or the fortress of Siṃhal, show these elements close to or intertwined with images from Indian traditions, such as that of nāth yogī asceticism, where the context of rasa-based poetics is never too far away. While the visionary, 'magical' quality of poetry from the Persian tradition is an important drive for the aesthetics of *Padmāvat*, so is the resonance of the religious interpretation of rasa. The hybridity of *Padmāvat*'s poetics is a product of the composite cultural environment in which the poet worked and served the interests that defined his position. Just like the references to the traditions in the literary background of the poem, his poetics brush against neighbouring concepts in Indian and Persian literature. Behl characterised this aspect of *Padmāvat* and other premākhyāns aptly as 'double distancing' from Sanskrit poetry, on the one hand and the classical Persian tradition, on the other hand. Thereby, Jāyasī and other Sufi poets positioned the romances in the vernacular discourse of hindavī poetry, which was accepted as a valid medium by the Indian Chishtī community and was valued by local elites (2005, no. 2: 22). Behl points out how the descriptions that have been referred to above playan important role in contextualising concepts from Sufi doctrine in the Indian cultural environment. They demonstrate that the Indian vernacular is an equally effective medium for mediating the poetical vision of the unseen as Persian (2005, no. 3: 16-28). The images with which Jāyasī characterises his craft and agency in the prologues of his work refer to the poet's capacity to transform the Indian environment.

The present analysis of the aesthetics of Jāyasī's poetry identifies two important influences, but this does not completely solve the confusion over where to classify this work referred to earlier on. To a large extent, this confusion lies in the observer, not in the object under observation. It arises from the comparison of the poetics of *Padmāvat* to either the Indian or Persian aesthetic traditions, as if these two are sharply delineated, monolithic programmes for writing poetry. For the poet of early modern Indian vernacular poetry, combining elements from the various traditions did not carry the ideological implication it acquired in later historiographical classifications of Indian literature.

Jāyasī used the narrative elements and the poetic strategies that were available in the field of early modern vernacular literature. His composite idiom and poetics are not unique to Sufi poetry, but can also be found in the didactic poetry of nāth yogī and sant poets. Our understanding of this field through the

lens of later, nationalist categories has made us lose sight of the inherent dialogism that operated therein and defined its aesthetics. The vernacular, both as a language and as a literary medium was not fixed to a specific social or cultural category, and could be the carrier wave of the ideologies of all early modern communities. *Padmāvat* shows how this works out when a Sufi poet uses it to perform his magic of turning ordinary speech into divine truth.

4.6 Setting the stage: The prologue and the description of Siṃhal

The formal and thematic structure of *Padmāvat* can best be analysed from the perspective of its function of creating a space in which the poet can unfold a vision of the unseen, the presence of the divine in this world. The tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī is precisely such a vision. The moralist and religious messages, or the examples for pious living and legitimate power the poet wants to bring across to his audience derive their authority from the fact that it is presented in the context of this visionary tale of mystical love.

The prologue of the poem has a crucial function in setting this space by creating a framework in which the narration of the episodes of the work are embedded. The framework is erected in the opening stanzas, the stutikhaṇḍ (1-25), which describe the creation of the world, the power of God, the Prophet Muḥammad, the poet's spiritual teachers and local religious institutions. It extends into the first chapter of the poem, which contain the description of the fortress of Siṃhal, the location of the first scenes of the story. The frame is closed at the end of the poem, with an epilogue in stanzas 652-653, in which the poet complains of old age and sums up the essential lessons of his poem.[40] Throughout the work, the framework is made visible again to the reader/hearer in stanzas in which the poet makes his presence as narrator and mediator heard, especially in dohās in which he addresses the audience directly, insisting on the thematic meaning of the episode that is narrated in the previous stanzas.

4.6.1 A virtual performance

The two sections at either end of the poem and the didactic interventions by the poet in which his tale is embedded, create the impression of a performance or live recitation by the poet. The rhetorical framework that encloses the poem suggests that the poet stands in-between the plane in which the events of his tale unfold and that in which his audience is located. Being in and of the transient world, the audience cannot see what the inspired poet sees. Therefore, his role is that of a mediator between the space in which his story unfolds and the reality in which his audience is located. The prologue, the epilogue and the

didactic dohās mark this intermediary position of the poet, and thereby reflect the mediating role Sufi poet the poet had in his real social context, where he connected the interests of both wordly and spiritual patrons.

The suggestion of a performance that is created in the prologue and maintained throughout the poem is a rhetorical device. It cannot be dismissed as purely a stylistic tool, as the history of the text and its transmission strongly suggest that performance played a role in its dissemination. The notion of performance suggested in the prologue is also relevant in the context of the use of the premākhyāns in Sufi liturgical practice, of which there is some evidence.[41] All these elements reinforce the demarcation of the poet's position in the representation of his story.

Framing is a feature of all artistic representations, and is not unique to Jāyasī's poetry. A work of art marks a special, consecrated place, in which the artist controls what happens, where the unseen and the unreal can be made visible. It sets a virtual stage for the artist, which is located at a fixed point in time and space, but can be used to show timeless and universal realities. The stage is a 'sacred' space, in the sense that it is marked off from reality. The cover of a book, the frame of a painting, or the titles at the beginning and end of a film fulfil the role of sectioning off this space. There is a parallel in the Indian context to the kind of framing that seems to be at work in *Padmāvat*, in the form of the *pūrvaraṅga*, the preliminary rites which are performed before the start of a play in Sanskrit drama. The rites mark the theatre as a locus where the creation of the world is re-enacted. For the duration of the play, the ritual restores the link between this world and the transcendent world.[42]

The prologue to *Padmāvat* is a large step away from the world of Sanskrit drama, but there is some similarity in the thematic intention and functionality of the framing initiated in this opening section. Besides the formal role of structuring the suggested performance of the poem by the poet and bringing together the various episodes of *Padmāvat* into a coherent narrative, the framework sets the thematic tone for the poem that it encloses, introducing the major themes and images that define the meaning of its narrative. In this sense it creates the world in which the story unfolds and presents its meaning. The following analysis and close reading of the prologue and the description of Siṃhal will show how Jāyasī implements this programmatic function of the opening stanzas, using and adapting the prologues of earlier Sufi premākhyāns and works within his cultural horizon.

In the layout and the thematic functionality of the stutikhaṇḍ, the premākhyāns in Avadhī show their indebtedness to Persian poetry, especially the maṣnavī.

In works as early as Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, the opening verses contain sections praising Allah, His creation, Muḥammad and the first caliphs, the patron of the poet, and the description of the occasion for which the poem was composed. Later poets developed this model further and added other elements, such as the reflection on the divine nature of poetry, the description of Muḥammad's ascent to heaven (*miʿrāj*), and the praise for the spiritual guide of the poet. An important aspect of the prologue in the Persian works is that it introduces the specific thematic register and the didactic tone of the poem. The prologues to the works of Niẓāmī have been very influential for the thematic development of the conventional introductions.[43]

The opening verses of the premākhyāns contain the conventional elements that can be found in several didactic Persian maṣnavīs, such as the cosmogonical images, the praise for Allah, the Prophet, the four guided caliphs, the patron of the poet, an explanation of the divine nature of poetry and a reference to the occasion for which the poem was composed. An element that occurs prominently in some Persian texts, but is absent in *Padmāvat* is a description of the ascent of Muḥammad (*miʿrāj)* on the 'night of the ascent' (*lailat al-miʿrāj)*, when he was taken to heaven to receive the instructions for the daily prayers (*ṣalāt*).

It would be wrong to suggest that the Indian Sufi poets emulated the Persian texts, as each of them implemented the model in a different manner. They integrated the prologue into the caupāī-dohā format that is used throughout the text. Compared to the Persian texts, the prologues in the Avadhi poems are more concise, restricting each topic to one or two caupāī-dohā units. The integration of this model marks the independent development of the Sufi romances. Instead of reading back the Persian examples into these texts, it is more productive to analyse the prologues of the premākhyāns from the perspective of their function in the thematic structure of these texts and as a tool to position the poems in a literary field.

The earliest example of a prologue according to the model described here can be found in Maulānā Dāūd's *Cāndāyan* (stanza 1-17). Earlier poets such as Dāūd and Quṭban, the author of *Mṛgāvatī*, just mention the conventional topoi, where later poets, such as Manjhan and Jāyasī, use the full thematic and rhetorical potential of the model. The images and phrases Jāyasī used in the prologue of *Padmāvat* can also be found in the stutikhaṇḍs of his *Akharāvaṭ* and *Ākhirī Kalām*.[44] In *Padmāvat* and *Kanhāvat*, Jāyasī extended the thematic functionality of the prologue, elaborating more on the role of the poet in his context. In *Kanhāvat* he adds the topos of the praise for a local ruler or nobleman who may have been a patron of the poet.

As will be shown in detail in a close reading of some of the opening stanzas and the description of Siṃhal, the prologue presents a catalogue of the themes and image systems that define the poem. This enhances the functionality of the prologue with respect to the framing described above, as it represents the space in which the story unfolds as a world that is governed by the thematic principles the poem wants to convey. The praise for both the worldly king as the Sufi pīrs in whose service the poet wrote his poem, in the opening stanzas of *Padmāvat*, introduces the themes that are particularly important in the tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī. Another section that is crucial in this respect is the description of Siṃhal.

In the case of *Padmāvat* and other Sufi romances the thematic marking of the space of the poem also has another connotation, which is described effectively in the analysis of the genre by Aditya Behl. He insists on the notion that the descriptive parts of the premākhyāns construct a world in which core concepts from Islamic theology and Sufi mysticism are represented as fully integrated into the Indian environment. Behl argues that the transformation of the Indian land- and cityscape into a place where the divine (in Islamic or Sufi terms) presents itself, that is effectuated in the poems, reflects the notion of the spiritual, and also political, conquest of the realm of popular religion by the Indian Sufis (2005, no. 1: 8, no. 3: 1-3, 16-18, 29-47). In line with the general slant of Behl's reading, this interpretation focuses mainly on the meaning of the poem in a 'serious' Sufi mileu. This does not mean that other thematic aspects did not also play a role in shaping these descriptions, which were intended for parts of the poet's audience outside or at the periphery of this context.

4.6.2 Reading the prologue

As has been argued here, the prologue of *Padmāvat* is a piece of poetic art in which the full semantic polyphony and richness of the work shine through. The following reading of parts of the opening brings to light how the poet constructs the various layers of meaning into this part of his poem. This close reading intends to complement the meaning of the verses in Sufi mystical speculation or doctrine with other semantic layers which tie *Padmāvat* to the interests that played a role in his social context. Thereby, the idiom of Sufi mysticism is seen as providing the key to a more complex reading that involves the various moralist subtexts that can be identified in the poem.

4.6.3 Cosmos and creation

The prologue of *Padmāvat* opens in praise of God, the Creator who created life, the world, light and the heavens.

> First, I praise that unique Creator, who gave life and created the world.
> He created the first shining light; he created the heavens for love of [the light].
> He created fire, air, water and soil; he created shapes in all colours from these.
> He created earth, heaven and hell; He created incarnations of various kinds.
> He created the seven islands of the universe; He created the fourteen parts of the world.
> He created the sun for the day and the moon for the night; He created the constellations and the strings of stars.
> He created the heat of the sun, the cold and the shade; He created the clouds and lighting that is in them.
>
> He who created all this in such a [magnificent] manner, that no other will be graced by it,
> Him I praise first, before I tell my profound tale.
>
> *Padmāvat* 1

The lines of stanzas 1-4 begin with the formula *kīnhesi* ('He created') followed by one of the elements of creation. The formulaic repetition can also be found in religious epics by Jain poets in Apabhraṃśa, such as Svayaṃbhū's *Paumacariu*. The first eighteen stanzas of that work start with '*paṇaveppiṇu*' ('having honoured') and praise the Jain saints (*tīrthāṅkara*). This parallel demonstrated that the Persian prologues were not the only source for the Indian Sufi poets. The Apabhraṃśa poems also provided the model for the caupāī-dohā format of the Sufi romances.

The first five stanzas describe and praise the creation of the universe and everything within it: earth, wind and fire, the planets and stars, the trees, rivers and mountains, and all living beings including humans. The fifth stanza concludes the description of creation with praise for God's generosity, which never diminishes and supports every living being:

> He to whom this world belongs is really a wealthy lord;
> He never ceases to give to everyone, but [even then] His treasury does not diminish.
>
> *Padmāvat* 5.1

The generosity of God is both material and immaterial. This is emphasised in the praise for the gift of life and food, which keeps all believers alive, but is also a sign of His presence which leads the mystic towards Him.

He provides enjoyments and food of many kinds; He lets everyone eat, but does not eat himself.
This is His food and drink, that He gives food and life to everyone.
All have their hope set on Him, in every breath they take; He does not depend on anyone and is 'beyond hope'.

He keeps on giving for ages and ages; but even when He gives with both hands His [assets] never diminish.
All that people give in this world, is given by Him.

Padmāvat 5.5-9

The dual, worldly and metaphysical meaning of God's generosity manifested in creation is concluded with a dohā that uses a connected pair of terms – '*āsa*' (hope) and '*nirāsa*' ('he who is beyond hope: who does not depend on anyone') – in which various meanings resonate. The terms often appear in nāth yogī and sant poetry, with a similar paradoxical meaning. In its mystical sense, it refers to the nature of God's presence in creation, which is both a beacon of hope, but also an indication of his primal nature, which means he is the source of creation itself. In the rest of the poem, the notion of dependency is used to qualify the love between Ratansen and Padmāvatī, which fits in with with the mystical use of the terms. In the context of popular devotion to the grave of the pīrs, hope and dependency stand for the devotee's gifts and prayer at the tomb of the saint, hoping to be blessed with the holy man's baraka.[45]

In a more worldly context, the generosity that is praised here as a sign of the divine can also be meant to address the patron of the poet, encouraging him to be like God and keep on giving 'even with both hands'. Very elegantly, Jāyasī combines the various connotations in his treatment of the conventional praise for creation and God's generosity, introducing the thematic coordinates of his poem.

4.6.4 The Creator, immanent and transcendent

The next section of the prologue describes the nirguṇ (without perceivable attributes) aspect of God. The poet uses images that resemble the phrases used by nāth yogī and sant poets to describe the paradox that God is '*alakh arūp abaran*' (invisible, without external shape, indescribable), but rules all events in the world, as is stated in verse 7.1. The paradoxes mentioned in stanza 6, 7 and 8 illustrate the dual, immanent and transcendent nature of God. The paradox conveys the notion that only mystical insight can lead to knowledge of God's presence. The 'solution' is described in the dohā of stanza 8:

> He is not attached to this world and not distinct from it; that's how He pervades everything,
> He is near for one who has vision; for the blind fool he remains far away.
>
> *Padmāvat* 8.8-9[46]

The image used in the dohā prefigures one of the key characteristics of the concept of love in *Padmāvat*. Jāyasī states the same notion in the concluding stanza of the prologue, stanza 24. The dohā can be read as a pointer to the essence of the story of Padmāvatī, who was near for the wise king Ratansen, but remained out of reach for 'Alā' al-dīn.

Verse 8.1 explains that the knowledge needed to perceive the divine in this world is contained in the ancient scriptures, including the Qur'an. This theme is continued in stanza 9, where the poet describes man as the goal of creation and the reflection of God's will. This divine aspect within constitutes the *maram*, the secret, referred to in the dohā of stanza 9.

> Only the old man knows the secret of youth; one cannot regain youth, no matter how hard one searches for it.
> A king does not know the secret of happiness; only the unhappy one knows it upon whom bad luck has descended.
>
> Only the sick know the body's secret; he who is happy remains unawares.
> God knows the secret of all while He is forever present in every body.
>
> *Padmāvat* 9.6-9

These verses introduce the theme of suffering or having a defect as a condition for gaining knowledge. The image of the old man who knows the secret of youth seems to point ahead to the epilogue of the poem, where the poet complains of old age and of having lost the chance to find liberation in youthful love (stanza 653). It also introduces the notion that sensual, worldly love like that between Ratansen and Padmāvatī is a manifestation of the love of God.[47]

Stanza 10 sums up God's indescribable deeds and thus continues to emphasize the notion that special insight is required to perceive the divine element within oneself. The last line of stanza 9 refers to a central element in Sufi mysticism, but it is also a familiar expression in nāth yogī and sant poetry.

The notion that the *maram*, the mystery of God, can be known through its emanations and the signs in the Qur'an, in the deeds of the Prophet, in the

divine soul of man, in absolute beauty and in other worldly phenomena, is a basic element in the monistic *waḥdat al-wujūd* school of Sufi mysticism.[48] Man is supposed to be created with the sole purpose of knowing his Creator, as he is the only created being that can know God. This announces the main theme of the poem, as this search for God requires all the things Ratansen practises on his quest: controlling one's animal lust, sacrificing the carnal body, and striving for insight into the divine within. The protagonist of *Padmāvat* fulfils the ideal of the 'perfect man', the insān-i kāmil, the mortal who has achieved a high spiritual status.[49]

It is part of the framing effectuated by the prologue that the poet presents himself as already endowed with knowledge of the maram, of which the audience is supposed to be ignorant. The notion of the insān-i kāmil that is projected on Ratasen can also be taken in a wider sense, referring to the ideal of moral integrity that is expected of any Muslim. In the context of *Padmāvat*, the notion of the apex of spiritual perfection can also be connected to the popular devotion to the tomb of a Sufi pīr. His magical power that is the result of his spiritual elevation is called upon to alleviate the sufferings of daily existence.

Another layer in the reference to this ideal is informed by the notion that the worldly ruler is the embodiment of the insān-i kāmil. From this perspective, the quest for the knowledge of the divine is a means to establish a legitimate form of worldly power. In Ratansen's voyage to Siṃhal and his trajectory to immortality, the poet holds up a mirror for a possible worldly patron. A hint to this connotation is given in the first verse of stanza 6, where Jāyasī describes God as the ultimate ruler.

> First I will describe this great king whose rule radiates from the beginning to the end.
>
> *Padmāvat* 6.1[50]

The idiom of Sufi mysticism provides the idiom for Jāyasī's praise for God as Creator and origin of the divine in each human. It is evident that he constructs this part using images and phrases from both Indian and Islamic sources that resonate with the various religious and worldly outlooks present in his audience. This eclectic approach sets the opening of his poem on its own artistic feet and introduces the main themes of the work in his own idiom. There is no apparent hierarchy in the connotations of the images he chose, which reflects the fluid boundaries between the parts of his audience, that comprised both the 'inner' and 'outer' circle of the Sufi dargāh, and worldly elites.

4.6.5 The Prophet Muḥammad

The praise for Muḥammad in stanza 11 is the next item in the conventional set of topics. The images with which Jāyasī describes Muḥammad are connected with the role of the Prophet in the events of the Day of Judgement, when he is expected to intercede with God, asking for redemption of the sins of his believers and for their access to paradise. The prominence of this theme in Jāyasī's days has already been discussed in relation to the poet's affiliation to the millenarianist movement of Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur.[51]

The praise for the Prophet and for the four caliphs refers to their strength and fighting spirit, which can be seen as a pointer to the notions of honour and service in battle, which are central to the second part of the poem. The deeds of the Prophet were the model for many of the heroic acts recorded in legendary biographies of Sufi pīrs. In *Padmāvat*, the combination of the Rajput heroism and the mystical quest reflects the topos of the 'fighting ascetic'. The martial aspect of the figure of the mystic can also be connected to the conquest motif mentioned by Behl as a prominent theme in the Sufi romances, as outlined above, in chapter 4.6.1.[52]

4.6.6 The praise for Sher Shāh

The stanzas that praise the sultan of Delhi, Sher Shāh Sūr, introduce the theme of kingship and the role of the worldly ruler with images that will reappear in many places in the poem. Praise for the *shāh-i waqt*, the ruler of the day, is present in all his works. There are no records of a connection between Jāyasī and Sher Shāh. Behl argues that Sher Shāh's rapid rise in wealth and power, through his many conquests of fortresses and treasures, made the dedication in *Padmāvat* more than a rhetorical gesture. Sreenivasan has indicated similarly that, for the Avadh elites who can be seen as worldly patrons of the poet, the rise of Sher Shāh was a real presence, which was witnessed with anxiety (2007: 47-48).

The sultan is praised with images that describe him as the maintainer of a divine world order. He embodies the ideal of the worldly ruler, who is both powerful and wise, as Salomon and Alexander, as described in stanza 13, lines 5-6.[53] In this praise, the Sufi poet holds up an ideal of kingship that makes any lesser ruler aware of the need for guidance by the mystical poet to achieve a similar perfection, which he or his dargāh could provide. The address to the sultan of Delhi and the emphasis on the perfection of power and religious knowledge announces the themes connected with kingship that play a role in his poem on Ratansen's quest for Padmāvatī and his struggle with the worldly ruler 'Alā' al-dīn.

The description of the physical beauty and of the benefit of the darśan of Sher Shāh in *Padmāvat* 16 suggests a connection with devotion to the Sufi pīr – the spiritual counterpart of the worldly ruler.

> Then, how can I describe this beautiful man; the whole world wants to see his face.
> God has made the [full] moon with fourteen digits; his beauty is even more brilliant than that.
> Sins vanish when someone gets a darśan [vision] of him; all people greet him reverently and give him blessings.
> He radiates heat like the sun high above; all beauty hides before him.
> This Sūr/hero is such a spotless man;[54] he is ten digits greater than the sun.
> One cannot look him straight in the face; everyone who sees him bends his head.
> His beauty grows a quarter day by day; God has placed this beautiful man high above the world.
>
> When he shines with the beautiful gem on his head, the moon diminishes while he grows.
> The whole world is longing for his vision; they stand ready to honour him.
>
> *Padmāvat* 16

The darśan of the sultan refers to the practice of the *dīvān-i ʻāmm*, the regular appearance of Islamic rulers in India in a dedicated room of the palace, with the purpose of presenting themselves to their subjects and deal with their requests.[55] The experience of the divine through a vision, a darśan, is a recurring motif in *Padmāvat* and Jāyasī's other works, where it describes this experience in various contexts.[56] The similarity between the images that describe the radiant presence of the sultan in *Ākhirī Kalām*, the darśan of God at the Day of Judgement, or the blinding vision of the beauty of Padmāvatī, can be seen as a reminder to the poet's worldly patrons of the connection between the divine origin of ideal worldly rule.[57]

Another congruence in imagery can be found in stanza 14, which describes the advancing army of the king in terms that echo the scene of the destruction of the world on the Last Day as Jāyasī depicted this in his *Ākhirī Kalām*. In *Padmāvat*, similar images reappear in battle scenes, to indicate that the worldly ruler is a mirror of God's rule in both its benevolent and its destructive aspects. The two aspects of kingship are exemplified in the opposition between Ratansen and ʻAlā' al-dīn.

As can be seen in stanza 16, all aspects of ideal kingship are contained in the metaphor of the sun. The word means here 'sun' and 'hero' and refers to Sher Shāh's clan-name (Sūr). The image of the sun offers Jāyasī various opportunities for comparisons that express the notion of kingship he conveys in his work.

> Sher Shāh is the sultan of Delhi; he warms the four corners of the world like the sun.
>
> *Padmāvat* 13.1[58]

> He made heroes bow in all nine parts of the world; all the people on the seven islands bow before him.
>
> *Padmāvat* 13.4[59]

The image of the sun introduces a prominent metaphoric scheme in *Padmāvat* which rests on the symbolism of the moon and sun as the lover and the beloved whose meeting represents the mystical union. This image is the basis for the representation of the protagonists and establishes the thematic meaning of their story. The image of the union of sun and moon is a prominent symbol in mystical theories of both Sufis and nāth yogīs.[60]

Stanza 17 extensively describes Sher Shāh's generosity. As has been described above, this theme connects the sultan of Delhi with the generosity expressed in God's creation, again underlining the divine origin of worldly power. The images used here point ahead to scenes like the shipwreck of Ratansen on his return from Siṃhal caused by his refusal to offer gifts to the ocean. In these scenes, detachment from worldly goods and attachments is emphasised as a major element in the attitude of the mystic.

4.6.7 The pīr and the dargāh

The next section of the prologue introduces the poet's spiritual teachers and the dargāh in which he serves. In chapter 1.3, the stanzas which praise Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Burhān al-dīn have been translated and discussed in relation with the references they contain to the religious background of the poet. His connection with the religious community of the Sufi centre enables Jāyasī to add a thematic element to this conventional element in the prologue. By extolling the spiritual authority of the pīr he not only legitimises his own spiritual status but also the revelation of the divine truth in his poem. By referring to well-known

figures in his environment, he connects the didactic message of his work with a source of spiritual power that was recognisable for a local audience. In view of the framing function of the prologue, this praise 'channels' the inspiration the poet received from his teachers, which itself goes back to the 'light of the Prophet', into the framework in which the tale of Padmāvatī is revealed.

The images used in this part of the prologue refer to concepts that also have meaning in popular devotion, such as the washing away of sins, the darśan, the guidance and the support for the needy. In his praise for his teachers, the poet juxtaposes these elements to concepts from the 'great' Islamic tradition, such as creation and the might of Allah and Muḥammad, embedding his local context in a larger religious framework. The stanzas that explain his own religious inspiration and the role of his preceptors contain important thematic markers for the rest of his story, such as the inspirational light of the pīr and the guidance on the rough mystical journey.[61]

Another important function of the praise for the poet's pīrs is that it introduces the theme of inspired guidance, which is manifested in *Padmāvat* in the radiant beauty of Padmāvatī, who eventually becomes Ratansen's internalised guru. It can be argues that the associating of the notion of guidance with the local charismatic figures, broadens its significance, including also the religious sensibilities in popular devotion to the Sufi saints. Images such as the crossing of the ocean in the boat of the pīr help to underline the relevance of the development of a religious and moral attitude that is based on the orientation on the divine essence within for a worldly audience as well (stanza 18.4-6; 19.8-9).

The praise for the pīr in *Padmāvat* echoes the verses of Jāyasī's earlier works. In *Akharāvaṭ*, the praise for the pīr emphasises the role of the spiritual guide as the keeper of the Islamic social order. The image of the pīr as protector of the needy and reliever of sins in *Akharāvaṭ* reappears in the description of the Day of Judgement in *Ākhirī Kalām*. The latter text also mentions the affiliation with the Mahdavī pīr Shaikh Burhān. *Kanhāvat* stands close to *Padmāvat* in time and in thematic intent, despite its different content matter. This proximity can be seen in the images used to describe the poet's silsila. The theme of the devotional love for Kṛṣṇa is introduced there by the use of words which refer to the world of bhakti, for instance when the poet refers to himself as a *dās* (servant) in the service of the guru.[62]

4.6.8 The inspiration of poetry

The praise for his spiritual teachers also provides the poet with an opportunity to disclose his own inspiration to write poetry.[63] In stanza 20, he describes how Burhān 'loosened his tongue' and endowed him with the ability to use the

divine gift of language, the Logos, to reveal the nature of the divine. The images of initiation in the stanza refer to the visionary nature of poetry, and can also be found in the prologues of other premākhyāns, such as that of Manjhan's Madhumālatī:

> He who has acquired knowledge by being absorbed in the highest truth really discerns the characters [words] of the mind.
> The letters of the mind are ambiguous and fathomless; only with a guru you will reach the shore.
> He who wants to see the characters of the mind has to give up his self by entering *sahaj*.[64]
> If you want the blessing of a guru or pīr, accept him and dispel contradiction from your mind.
> Any man can see the outward appearance; few discern what is hidden.
>
> God has made these two [kinds of believers] kings of the creation that steady the world
> The pīr Muḥammad Ghaus rises above both these wise men
>
> *Madhumālatī* 17

Manjhan describes how his initiation by his pīr Muḥammad Ghauṣ Gwāliorī (b. 1500) made him perceive the divine nature of language within himself. Similar images can be found in *Madhumālatī* 24-26, which describe the creation of the word and the subsequent evolution of man as an expression of the divine Logos.

> If the Creator had not made the word, how could one hear the story, full of rasa.
> In the first moment of creation the word descended from the mouth of God.
> In this beginning there was only the word 'Om', and after becoming good and bad it permeated the whole world.
> God made the word famous in the world, from the word man and beast became distinct.
> Everyone knows the tale of the world in which He revealed himself.
> No form was visible and no place was known,
> Through the word the Lord Gosāiṃ of the three worlds became revealed.
>
> *Madhumālatī* 25

The word came into the world as a priceless gem, through the word the guru can show his knowledge.
The lord made the four Vedas, and the word was revealed in the world.
The word came on earth from heaven, God sent the world his word.
When a thing achieved identity with a word, it came in the world in place of the word.
The first man became incarnated; when he returns he will become immortal in the four ages.
The word is a priceless jewel which I cannot describe,
God made the word thus that is has neither form nor outline.

Madhumālatī 26

The poet of *Madhumālatī* combines Indian concepts (rasa, the Vedas, the three worlds) to express the divine nature of the word that is central to Sufi poetry. The verses in *Madhumālatī* are a parallel to Jāyasī's treatment of this motif, in *Padmāvat*, in which he draws it closer to his own agency and to the thematic tone of his poem:

Jais is a pious place; it is there that I tell this poem.[65]
And I plead before the pandits; 'Repair my mistakes and add embellishments [to my poem].'
I follow behind all poets, but when the drum sounds, I come to the fore.[66]
My hart is a treasury in which there is a heap of gems; my tongue is the key to its lock.
It speaks with words as jewels and diamonds filled with rasa and the priceless nectar of love.
When the wound of love in separation is in one's words, tell me, what does he care about hunger or shade from the sun?
He changes his dress and becomes an ascetic; he is like a ruby hidden in the dust.

Muḥammad is the poet of love, his body is skin and bones.
Whenever people see his face they laugh at him; when they hear him, they weep.

Padmāvat 23

Jāyasī describes himself as a humble poet, who, despite his disfigured appearance, has the divine word (the ruby) inside his ragged mortal body (the dust), which will be revealed in his poem.[67] An interesting side to this image is the

notion that rubies of deep red colour are considered rare and therefore very precious. The connoisseur (rasika*)* will be able to discern this ruby and perceive the divine inspiration that is the rasa of the poem. The images of rasa and of the gems and jewels elegantly connect the phrases of the prologue with the metaphoric idiom used to describe the match between Ratansen (the jewel/ruby) and Padmāvatī (the diamond). This image is at the root of the dohā of stanza 24.

The image in verse 23.4, of the tongue of the poet as the key to the divine secret, is also used in Persian poetry. It can be found, in a similar form, in the introduction of Niẓāmī's *Makhzān al-Asrār*, and probably goes back to a tradition (*ḥadīṯ)* ascribed to the Prophet.[68] Jāyasī introduces here keywords and images that play an important part in *Padmāvat*, such as the gem and the jewel (Ratansen and Padmāvatī), the nectar of prem in his words, the wound of viraha, and the detachment of the ascetic.

Jāyasī and Manjhan exploited the full thematic potential of the topos of the reflection on the divine nature of poetry. They allude to phrases from prologues in Persian maṯnavīs but their texts illustrate that they are fully capable of expressing the divine nature of language and poetry in the Indian vernacular.

4.6.9 The one-eyed poet

The poet introduces himself, in stanza 21, as the poet with one eye, who amazes his audience with his vision.

> [The poet] has one eye, which is like a spotless mirror.
> All the beautiful people grasp his feet and look longingly at his face.[69]
>
> *Padmāvat* 21.8-9[70]

The choice of words of this dohā echoes images used to praise the Prophet. The spotless (*nirmal*) mirror of his eye stands for his spiritual status as a Sufi, who has 'polished' himself to receive divine inspiration. The partial blindness and deformity of the poet also appear in legends of his life.[71] There, the affliction is ascribed to smallpox, but it also underlines the poet's detachment. The same is indicated in the dohā of stanza 23, where the poet refers to his disfigured face. The distance from his audience that is the result of his deformity also supports his mediating role introduced in the prologue.

The reference to the four friends of the poet (stanza 22) is a parallel to the praise for the four caliphs who accompanied Muḥammad in stanza 12. All through the work, Jāyasī plays with the double meaning of his name to un-

derline the origin of his inspiration. This is especially productive in the dohās, such as in the last two stanzas of the prologue, where Jāyasī describes the nature of his poetry and sums up the main line of the story. These stanzas mark the transition from the meta-textual frame of the prologue to the plane of the narrative of Ratansen and Padmāvatī's love.[72] This transition is marked by the mention of the date of the poem and the synopsis of its tale. The reference to the date can also be linked to the notion of a suggested performance that characterises the prologue.[73]

The image of the bee and the frog contains an essential statement on the nature of Jāyasī's poetry. The image has meaning on different levels. It refers to the two sides of experiencing the rasa of poetry and of divine knowledge. The connoisseur of poetry will find and enjoy the deepest meaning in the words of the poet, even from a great distance. The ignorant fool will not grasp anything but the most basic features of the story. In the thematic structure of *Padmāvat*, the bee stands for Ratansen, who comes from far to catch the lotus and its scent; the foolish frog is the worldly king 'Alā' al-dīn, who sits on top of the world but cannot get to its treasures. The sharp comparison of the unknowing listener with a frog resembles the strong rhetoric of sant poetry. It might also contain a stinging reference to the worldly patron, who is willing to pay for a poem to show off his wealth and taste, but is not interested in the lessons the poem divulges.[74]

4.6.10 The description of Siṃhal

The stutikhaṇḍ has been identified as an important preliminary for the poet's 'performance', where the themes of the work are introduced. The lengthy description of Siṃhal can be seen as an extension to the prologue. It depicts the world in which his story is about to unfold and forms a catalogue of images and themes that matter in this space. In *Kanhāvat*, the description of Jais is an integral part of the prologue and contains the same items and images used in the portrayal of Siṃhal in *Padmāvat*.[75]

The description of the Indian city as an imaginary world where the story of the poem takes place is a poetical convention for which Jāyasī could have used a range of sources.[76] The lists of birds, flowers and other elements of nature in the description of the gardens of Siṃhal can also be found in works such as Abū'l Faẓl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. The extensive enumeration of these items confirms Jāyasī's knowledge of the Indian reality and its expressions in poetical works. It is possible that this has earned him the epithet '*muḥaqqiq-i hindī*', 'knower of Indian truth' awarded to him by the writers of taẕkiras.[77] The display of descriptive skill and factual knowledge was also part of the prestige of

the storyteller. Lengthy descriptions in dāstāns and other oral stories testify to the audience's taste for these displays of encyclopaedic knowledge.[78]

The description of the world in stanza 25 may well have been based on popular cosmogonical images handed down from the purāṇas, travelogues and geographical works. Jāyasī places Siṃhal Dvīp and its city in the centre of the universe, but does not associate it with the Laṅka of the Rām story. A possible background for this can be found in the ancient notion that Laṅkā/Siṃhal is the place where the first meridian passes through, which makes it the starting point for calculations of time and distance. Al-Birūnī refers to the designation of the city of Laṅkā as the centre of the world.[79] The imaginary Sarandīb in the legendary travels of Alexander and the heroes of the dāstāns may have inspired the choice for the location in which the divine manifests itself in the form of Padmāvatī.[80] It has been noted earlier how Jāyasī consciously distances himself from his sources, which may also have been the reason why his Siṃhal is like, but not the same as, Laṅkā or Sarandīb.

Siṃhal as described in the *Padmāvat* is an imagined, idealised place. Every element in the description has meaning in the thematic structure of the work. The basic metaphor in this passage is that Siṃhal is that of heaven on earth. An interesting intertext for the description of Siṃhal can be found in the last part of Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām*, where the poet describes how the believers enter paradise after the Day of Judgement and proceed to a palace where they have a darśan of a beautiful queen, sitting on a throne. After ascending this throne, the believers unite with this divine beauty. This powerful image connects the practice of darśan – a familiar form of devotion to Sufi pīrs – with the traditional Islamic belief in resurrection and the redemption of sins by Allah. This polyphony makes it a suitable background for the appearance of *Padmāvatī* as an embodiment of the divine and goal of the mystical lover's quest.

The conventional elements of the description, such as the gardens, the lakes, the markets and the palaces are all invested with the symbolism of Siṃhal as the heavenly city. Its paradisaical nature is revealed towards the end of the description. After taking the listener/reader through the city with its gardens and its markets in an almost cinematographic description, the poet arrives at the foot of the *axis mundi* that is the fortress.

> And then one nears the fortress of Siṃhal, how can I describe how it touches the heavens.
> Below it rests on the tortoise [Kurma] and the back of Vāsuki, from the top one can see the heaven of Indra.

The trench that lies on all four sides of it is so steep that one's legs begin to tremble; one cannot bear to look at it.
The sight of this impassable and unfathomable trench brings fear; if one should fall into it one goes down to the seven hells.
There are nine curved doors, [leading] to nine storeys; he who can climb all nine will reach the universe.
The golden bastions have studded turrets and look like a bolt of lightning filled with planets.
This fortress looks even taller than that of Laṅkā, it cannot be grasped as sight and thought halt here.

The heart cannot contain it; it cannot be held in one's sight, it stands tall like Sumeru.
How can I describe its height, what can I say of its circumference.

Padmāvat 40

The sun and the moon eternally orbit the fortress at a distance; if not, they would collide with it and their chariots would be made to dust.
The nine gates are made of diamonds; at each of them a thousand soldiers stand guard.
Five watchmen walk their rounds around them; the gates tremble as they stamp their feet.
At each gate lions are carved out; even kings are frightened and stop when they see them.
These lions are made with great craft; it is as if they roar and are about to attack.
They swing their tales and stretch out their tongues; even elephants are afraid they will roar and lick them.
There is a staircase made of golden rocks; its glow rises even above the fortress.

There are nine storeys and nine gates which have diamond doors.
One should climb them in four stages, he who climbs them with sat will scale them.

Padmāvat 41

This description of the fortress of Siṃhal is a good example of Jāyasī's thematic extension of conventional elements, as all metaphoric schemes used in *Padmāvat* converge in this praise for the fortress. Besides the parallel with the glorious citadel depicted in *Ākhirī Kalām*, this description uses the metaphorical representation of the body in nāth yogī theories, combined with the Sufi doctrine of the four stages of the mystical path.

The composite symbolism is the basis for the role of Siṃhal and the fortress in the entire first part of the story, which is emphasised in each of the relevant scenes in this part. In stanza 215, Ratansen stands before the gates of Siṃhal, anxious to reach the top of the fortress and meet its princess. Then Śiva (Maheś) appears and explains to the king the meaning of his quest, pointing out the secret entrance to the fortress to him. Maheś explains that the fortress should be conquered and mastered like the body of the mystic, using similar images as in this passage.

In this description, the poet interweaves the yogic imagery and the doctrinal topoi of Islamic mysticism. It demonstrates the poet's familiarity with the vocabulary of Indian ascetic traditions that is also found in nāth yogī and sant poetry. Thereby, the description can be seen to mark the integration of the imagination of Indian Sufis into their cultural environment.[81] The yogic idiom had become a religious *lingua franca* that was used by various devotional traditions. Through the transformation of the concepts from Sufi mysticism into this medium, the former became decontextualized from its original esoteric Sufi discource. Jāyasī's hybrid depiction of the conquest of the body, the four stages of the Path, the reference to sat and the ascent to a union with the divine being that is Padmāvatī – concepts that originate in the roadmap for spiritual development taught by Chishtī pīrs – made that these concepts acquired a broader meaning and could address religious experiences that were not exclusive to the inner circle of the Sufi dargāh.[82]

Another indication for a more general didactic functionality of the description of Siṃhal can be found in stanza 42 in the image of the water clock and the source of amṛt. These images contain a call to the heedless believers to start becoming aware of the importance of devotion, before the *gharī* of life (the bucket, or the hour, see also verse 42.9 quoted in chapter 4.1) is full and the time for finding the divine within oneself runs out. The image of the source of amṛt and the promise of eternal youth and health emphasise the goal of this pious ambition.

The address contained in this stanza can be interpreted strictly within the terms of Sufi doctrine as the equivalent of the credo 'die before you die', but it makes more sense to regard it as a more general call for religious self-

awareness. The call to the 'sleepers' is a common rhetorical device in the poetry of preachers of popular Indian religion, such as the sants who used similar images to 'wake up' the slavish follower of religious orthodoxy to find God within himself.

4.6.11 The bright light of kingship

In the imagined world of Siṃhal and Citor, where the story of Padmāvatī takes place, the figure of the king has a pivotal role. The description of Siṃhal emphasises his role as patron of ascetics and other religious figures that give his worldly rule a spiritual dimension. The many temples and *ghāt*s (piers) mentioned in stanza 30 convey the ideal of a king who is a good patron for the religious orders that live under his roof. This patronage also extends to the bard who can give the king's lineage more glamour by composing genealogies, which is referred to in verse 44.7.

In the same manner as in the stanzas of the prologue that praise Sher Shāh, Jāyasī describes the king's impressive and frightening army with its thundering elephants and fiery horses (45-46). This grim image forewarns the two thematic aspects of the scenes of violence and battle in the story. Firstly, it refers to the force of love (prem), which makes Ratansen storm Siṃhal and against which no worldly ruler has a defence (stanzas 239-259). Ratansen defies the elephants and horses, because his union with his beloved makes him immortal. Secondly, this violence represents the brutal force with which 'Alā' al-dīn storms Citor to conquer Padmāvatī, as well as the treachery of king Devpāl, which symbolises the dark forces related to the worldly attachment of the ruler.

Stanza 47 describes Gandharvsen as the head of his clan in his heavenly palace, with a household of padminī queens and his wife Campāvatī as the *paṭarānī*, the chief queen. This description evokes the ideal of the Rajput king and his network of alliances through marriage. This is an important template for the notion of ideal kingship and honour expressed in Ratansen's quest, his battle with the Muslim overlord and, finally, the jauhar of Padmāvatī on his funeral pyre. These images overlap with the description, in stanza 47 and onwards, of the king as cakravartin or insān-i kāmil, which prepare the reader for the two sides of kingship presented in the story.

The description of the king connects with the symbolism of the fortress as the body of the mystic that has to be conquered and controlled. Gandharvsen is shown in full control over his bodily functions represented by the roaring animals of his armies. His padminī queens represent the divine soul with which he has united. This mastery has made his palace the *axis mundi* that connects

the world with the heavenly spheres. In this respect, he is the example for the mystic who should make his body a stairway to heaven. This background drives the references to the cakravartin:

> The king is such a cakravartin that the four parts of the world fear him.
> Everyone comes to him and bows his head; no one can be his equal.
>
> *Padmāvat* 26.8-9[83]

The connection between the representation of Gandharvsen and his allies and the themes of the story lies in the images of the royal council (*sabhā*) presided over by the king who warms (but also scorches) the lotus like the sun – images that reappear later in the poem to describe how the sultan (the sun) comes to torment Padmāvatī (the lotus).

> A beautiful gem shines on their foreheads; their heads are all covered by a parasol.
> They are like lotuses that blossom on a lake; the mind is dazzled when it sees the beauty of the council.
> The air is filled with the sweet smells of betel, camphor and musk.
> In the middle is a throne like that of Indra; there sits king Gandharvsen.
>
> His parasol reaches the sky, he radiates heat as if he were the sun himself.
> The council opens up like a lotus on whose head this great might shines.
>
> *Padmāvat* 47.4-9

Conclusion

To conclude this reading of the prologue to *Padmāvat* and the initiatory description of Siṃhal, it can be argued that Jāyasī opens his work with the conventional topoi that are found in the genre of the Avadhi premākhyāns. These images contain an echo of remote traditions such as the Persian maṣnavī and didactic Jain epics in Apabhraṃśa. He turns these conventions into expressive poetry that has a complex rhetorical functionality, bringing together the different modes of religious experience in his audience around the axial figure of the pīr. The images used in the prologue reflect the devotional emotionality and respectful awe for the might of this holy man, prefigure the themes and moral attitudes depicted in the story the poet is about to relate, and embed these in the larger cultural framework of Islamic tradition. The polyphony in the images

of the prologue connects the doctrines behind the mystic's quest for divine knowledge with the prem and sat of Ratansen and Padmāvatī.

The prologue forms a meta-textual frame in which the poet projects a vision of a world 'at the other side' to a wide and composite audience, consisting of the mystical pupil at the dargāh, the devotee of the grave of the pīr, and the worldly ruler as patron of the Sufi poet. The projected vision shows an ideal that is difficult to fulfil in a world where one has to tackle the temptations of worldly attachment and the onslaught of a sultan like 'Alā' al-dīn. In his poem, the poet Muḥammad Jāyasī presents a vision that came to him through the inspiration he received from his teachers. In this vision he shows how the source of his inspiration – the baraka of his pīr – offers all sides of his audience hope of salvation from the dark ocean of existence.

The discourses contained in this vision address different parts of his audience within a single thematic programme. The prologue brings the images together in an integrated semantic structure that reflects the hybridity that pervades the different approaches to the divine in Jāyasī's cultural and social environment.

Notes

1. See Agravāl (1961: 21) where he describes the variations that occur in length of the lines of the dohās.
2. This dohā adds thematic meaning to the description of the water clock on the ninth floor of the palace of Siṃhal. The stanza is full of encouragement to strive for mystical liberation in the short span of mortal life.
3. The image implied here is that of the body as a lamp that burns on the wine of love. When you do not sacrifice yourself in its flame you cannot taste the liquor (love).
4. The *papīhā* bird calls '*piu*' which means 'beloved'. The dohā refers to the poet's own moment of initiation. He has earlier described himself as having only one eye and one ear. He gave up hearing and seeing on his left 'worldly' side when he heard the call of the beloved (*piu*) on the right 'divine' side. It relates to the message brought by a bird to Ratansen at Siṃhal of the suffering in separation of his first wife Nāgmatī.
5. Examples of this can be found mostly in descriptive or enumerating passages, e.g. in stanzas 59; 309-313; 358.
6. An example of this can be found in stanza 581, which is translated in chapter 5.6.
7. Gupta's edition of *Cāndāyan* (1967b) presents these headings in Persian as found in some manuscripts, which summarise the subsequent stanza. In his other editions of premākhyāns, the *khaṇḍs* are not indicated.
8. The image of the match between the gem and the jewel is dicussed in chapter 6.2.

9. This image probably refers to *Matsya-purāṇa* (2.1-19), where Viṣṇu holds the four Vedas during the deluge.
10. Jāyasī compares the process of the liberation of the divine soul from the body to the churning of curds, which produces butter that can be made into ghee. The burnt soul is like the raw milk that has been coagulated by heating it. The poet plays with the words *dadhi*, 'curds' and *dādhā*, 'burned, heated'. Being heated is the 'blessed' state of the soul who has already become detached by the penance for love. The ego is the *kāṃji*, the sour substance that makes the curd separate.
11. The parrot has a reputation as teacher of the 'science' of love, which explains Gandharvsen's objections. In some manuscripts, there is a stanza that suggests such an explanation. It is included in an appendix to Gupta's critical edition as 55a. In this stanza Padmāvatī complains that her youth is blooming but that she has no fitting spouse, which Hīrāmani promises to procure for her. See also Shirreff (1944: 41-42, n. 28).
12. The exact meaning of these 'two murders' remains obscure. One could be of Kāma and the other Satī, Śiva's wife and the daughter of Dakṣa who burnt herself to death when her father was excluded from the sacrifice. See also the notes of Agravāl on the 'two murders', where he compares the various interpretations in different editions and commentaries.
13. This refers to the sultan who will try to capture the moon (Padmāvatī). Rāghav Cetan is capable of performing magical tricks, such as making the moon appear next to the sun (stanza 446 ff.).
14. Or, 'that the bright beauty of Padmāvatī would be there to receive him'.
15. The image is not completely clear. Probably the poet refers to the *bera* and the *makoi* that look alike, but unlike the makoi, the bera has a thorn inside its fruit. The only test is to pick the fruit. Bera also means 'enmity'. See the comment in Gupta's second edition (1973: 530).
16. Gorā and Bādal seem to propose to take advantage of the meeting to capture the sultan. The meal he will get will then conform to the rules of civility in chess, which is referred to in the first ardhali of this line. Cf. Gupta's second edition (ibid.).
17. The images in this and the next lines refer to the double meaning of the word *lona*: 'salt', and 'charm', 'beauty' or 'goodness'. The intention is that the goodness takes away the poison, based on the practical assumption that salt can neutralise poison. In 559.4 and 5, the term indicates the correct honest attitude, which causes others to assimilate.
18. The snake swallows his prey and thereby 'melts' and becomes one with it.
19. This refers to a story of a Brahmin who is tricked by a lion to release it from his cage out of pity. Once set free, the lion attacks the Brahmin, who objects that this is no fair reward for a good deed. He wants the jackal to mediate, which the lion accepts. The jackal proposes that, to make things clear, both go back to their original positions. When the lion is back in the cage, the Brahmin locks the cage and fools the lion in return. See the notes by Agravāl (1961: 741).

20. See the translation of *Madhumālatī* by Behl and Weightman (2000).
21. The following stanzas are quoted from the critical edition by M.P. Gupta (1961). The Hindi text can be found in appendix 3.
22. These stanzas are quoted from the critical edition by Plukker (1981). See appendix 3 for the Hindi text.
23. P.L. Gupta's comments indicate that this refers to a story of a minister who committed a murder in a garden and was frightened when he saw the branch of a tree move, fearing that his crime was witnessed by someone (1967: 185).
24. Cf. *Mṛgāvatī* 110 ff.
25. Another interesting parallel of Ratansen's encounter with the ocean and the gift of the gems can be found in *Rāmcaritmānas*, where the Ocean assumes the form of a Brahmin and presents Rām with a gift of precious jewels after initially hindering his crossing to Laṅkā (Sundarkāṇḍ 58.4).
26. The motif of the dangerous sea journey and the shipwreck also feature in dāstāns on the travels of Alexander the Great, where they have a purely narrative quality and no thematic meaning. See: Southgate (1978). See also chapter 3.5.
27. See the translation of the poem by Darbandi and Davis (1984).
28. For an interpretation of this aspect of *Ākhirī Kalām*, see De Bruijn (1999).
29. On the use of this vocabulary and conceptual paradigm in literary analysis of Hindi literature, see De Bruijn (2009).
30. See chapter 4.6.8 below and also *Padmāvat* 108.1; 165.6; 179.1; 182.2; 271.1; 478.1.
31. See on the development of Indian poetics: S.K. De (1961); R. Gnoli (1968); and E. Gerow (1974).
32. On the aesthetics of Sufi poetry in Persian, see also: Schimmel (1982b and 1984) and Ritter (1927).
33. Another example is stanza 97, quoted in chapter 5.2.
34. Chapter 6.4 describes the role of the comparison with the sun and moon in the complex of images of light.
35. All of them are black animals.
36. See *Padmāvat* 11.2: प्रथम जोति बिधि तेहि कै साजी । ओ तेहि प्रीति सिस्टि उपराजी ॥
37. This aspect of the descriptions in Jāyasī's poetry has also been noticed by Seṭhī (1970: 244) and Śukla (1935[1924]: 150 ff) who ascribe this to Persian influence. Despite detailed analysis, their emphasis on the formal classification according to the poetics based on rasa and alaṁkāra, prevents a sound analysis of the thematic function of the descriptions.
38. *Padmāvat* 118.8-9: बरनि सिंगार न जानेउँ नखसिख जैस अभोग । तस जग किछौ न पावौं उपमा देउँ ओहि जोग ॥
39. This motif is analysed in the description of the poet as a mediator, in chapter 7.
40. In the edition of Gupta and Agravāl this part is called *upasamhār*, which Shirreff translates as 'epilogue'. Although the prologue is fully part of the poem.

41. See chapter 2.3.
42. The cosmogonical nature of the *pūrvaraṅga* rites is first suggested by Kuiper (1979).
43. See EI, s.v. Iran, vii. - literature; s.v. mathnawī and De Bruijn (1983: 185 ff).
44. *Akharāvaṭ* does not have a stutikhaṇḍ at the beginning of the work. Items that belong to the prologue, such as the praise for the pīr and the introduction of the poet, are found later on in the poem.
45. Tulsīdās, in his *Rāmcaritmānas*, uses the term '*garīb-nevāj*' (protector of the poor), to underline the notion of God as protector, which is also the epither of Mu'īn ud-dīn Chishtī, the celebrated pīr, as well as '*sahib*' (*Rāmcaritmānas*, I.13.4; 25.1; 28.3.). This location of terms with a disctinct Sufi connotation is remarkable, but it demonstrates the dialogic nature of the early modern devotional environment.
46. ना वह मिला न बेहरा अइस रहा भरपूरि । दिस्टिवंत कहँ नीअरे अंध मुरुख कहँ दूरि ॥
47. See chapter 1.2 for a discussion of the biographical aspect of this topos.
48. See: Schimmel (1985b: 147-266).
49. See EI s.v. insān kāmil and Schimmel (1981:134 ff).
50. आदि सोइ बरनौं बड़ राजा । आदिहुँ अंत राज जेहि छाजा ॥
51. See chapter 1.3.
52. See: Baily (1989), Martin (1982), Metcalf (1984), Ernst (1992) and Eaton (1978). Ernst argues that the warrior-Sufi in the Deccan described by Eaton (1978: 4-5) is probably a legendary figure. Eaton connects the warrior-Sufi with the concept of a 'frontier', where Sufis were an important driving force behind Islamisation.
53. This concept is behind the references to the two 'wise' kings Salomon and Alexander, in *Padmāvat* 13.5-6. These two were examples of the highest stage of existence for a pious man.
54. The expression used here is the same with which Jāyasī describes Muḥammad in stanza 11.1.
55. See on this practice and its relation with the architecture of Shāh Jahān's palace, the insightful article by Harit Joshi (2010: 57-67).
56. See for an analysis of this motif, chapter 6.5.
57. The image of darśan can be found in all of Jāyasī's works: *Padmāvat* 18.6-7; 19.7; *Akharāvaṭ* 27.1; 27.3; *Ākhirī Kalām* 9.3; 9.5; 9.7-8 *Kanhāvat* 5.6-8; 6.3.
58. सेरसाहि ढिल्ली सुलतानू । चारिउ खंड जस भानू ॥
59. सूर नवाई नवौ खँड भई । सातौ दीप दुनी सब नई ॥
60. See Millis 171 ff.
61. The images of light in Padmāvat form a metaphoric scheme that is based to a large extent on the concept of the nūr muḥammadī, the divine light that empowered Muḥammad and, through him, the Sufi pīr. See: Schimmel (1985a) and EI, s.v. nūr muḥammadī. See also chapter 6.1.
62. Garcin de Tassy referred to the poet as Jāyasī-dās (see chapter 1.1). He knew *Kan-*

hāvat, so he may have had this verse (*Kanhāvat* 5.8) in mind.

63. 'From him I received my talent; he loosened my tongue and I started to write poems of love.'

64. Sahaj is a yogic term for the state of mystical awareness.

65. In his second edition, Gupta adopts a reading for the second *ardhali* of this line that reads: *tahāṃ avani kabi kīnha bakhānū* (there I told this simple [*avarna*] poem). The humility seems to be incompatible with the divine nature of the poem. The self-depreciation of the poet refers to his poetical mistakes, not to the nature of the poem. The translation is based on Agravāl's reading: तहवाँ यह कब कीन्ह बखानू.

66. Agrāval connects this image with a military custom. The poet places himself in the 'rear guard'. When the large drum is struck, he presents himself at the front of the troops (1963: 26). It is also possible that is refers to the practice of the oral performer who accompanies himself on a drum.

67. The image of the gem that has fallen into the dust is a common topos, for instance in this poem attributed to Kabīr in the Bījak collection: हीर परा बजार में रहा छार लपटाय । बहुतक मूरख पचि मुये पारखी लिया उठाय ॥ (*sākhi* 171). A diamond has fallen at the marketplace, and lies there, covered with dirt. Many fools toll themselves to death, a tester picks it up and cashes in on it. See on the image of the gem below, chapter 6.2.

68. Bürgel (1974: 21) quotes a comparable image from Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-Asrār* (471-472): 'When poets [weighers of rhyme] elevate the word, they bring into it the treasures of the two worlds. A key to this treasure is especially under the tongue of the man who weighs his words.' He refers to Bertels (1962: 184 n.), who points out that the image goes back a *ḥadīṣ*: 'By God, under the heavenly throne is a treasure, the keys to which are the tongues of the poets.' Line numbers refer to the edition by Dastgirdī (1973).

69. This may be taken as an allusion to the dajjāl. In *Ākhirī Kalām* the poet describes how this figure can be recognised by his single eye. The poet plays with the paradox of the disfigured poet who may look like the anti-christ but bears divine truth within him.

70. एक नैन जस दरपन औ तेहि निरमल भाउ । सब रुपवँत पांव गहि मुख जोबहिं कइ चाउ ॥

71. See chapter 1, and the dohā of stanza 367.

72. See the translation of stanza 24 in the introduction.

73. See Pāṭhak (1976: 127 ff). Gupta and Agravāl also give variant readings for this line and discuss it in their editions.

74. Cf. stanza 11 of *Kanhāvat*, where Jāyasī describes the poet as a seller of jewels who has to find the right buyer (*gāhak*). The word can also mean 'he who know, understands'.

75. In *Kanhāvat*, the palace that is mentioned at the end of the description is that of Jāyasī's patron. In *Padmāvat* the image in 44.7, of the bards at the court, contains the same topos but situated within the story.

76. E.g. *Kādambari* of Bāna, where Ujjain is described, or, in Apabhraṃśa poetry, the description of the city in Abdul Rahman's *Samdeśarāsaka*. Most of the Sufi premākhyāns in Avadhi contain a similar description. A special case is the description of the city of Jonapura in Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā* which has different descriptions for the Hindu and Muslim areas, see Gaeffke (1977: 119 ff)

77. See above, chapter 1 and Rizvi (1978 vol. 1: 370).

78. See Hanaway (1971) Pritchett (1991).

79. See Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, transl. E. Sachau, vol. 1, 267, 301. Similar images can be found in other cosmogonies such as in *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*.

80. In Jāyasī's view, Siṃhal Dvīp and Saran Dīp are two different islands, while they are usually seen as the same (stanza 25.5).

81. Cf. the notion of transformation and conquest suggested by Behl, referred to previously in chapter 4.6.5.

82. See Digby (1970), who is critical of the 'mystical' meaning of such images.

83. अइस चक्कवै राजा चहूँ खंड भै होइ । सबै आइ सिर नावहिं सरबरि करै न कोइ ॥

Part 2

The first part of this study analysed the literary field in which Jāyasī operated, and the habitus embodied by the poet. It also described the social and cultural perspective that is projected on his version of the tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī. The present part takes a more text-immanent perspective and analyses the representation of key elements of the poem's thematic programme from within the poem. It starts by describing the exposition of the theme of love, which provides the thematical framework for synthesizing the mystical, political and moral message of the poem.

The subsequent chapter will deal with the use of metaphoric schemes such as that of light to support the thematic expression of the poem throughout the long and complex narrative. The schemes are an important tool for integrating content from various cultural traditions into a coherent thematic subtext of the narrative. The analysis will demonstrate how the notion of the divine light, incarnated in the world in the form of the beautiful Padmāvatī, connects different metaphors and concepts associated with vision and inspiration to address the various religious and worldly sensibilities in the poet's audience.

The third chapter will focus on the representation of the role and agency of messengers and mediators in the poem, in which aspects of the poet's own habitus are reflected. This analysis connects the text-immanent analysis of the poem's content to that of the literary field in which the work is created, which is the main mission of this study.

A poem *of* love

5.1 The representation of *prem*

In prominent passages, such as the prologue and the closing stanzas of the poem, Jāyasī underlines that *Padmāvat* is a poem on prem – love:

> Muḥammad is the poet of love; his body is flesh and bones.
>
> *Padmāvat* 23.8

> Muḥammad composed this poem and recited it; he who heard it has gained the pain of love.
> He put it together making glue from his blood; he moistened the [glue] of intense love with his tears.[1]
>
> *Padmāvat* 652.1-2

The image of the poet's blood holding together his composition characterises the representation of love in this work. It is not romantic affection, but love that is won by complete sacrifice for the beloved, in line with the concept of mystical love of the monistic Sufi doctrine as preached and practised in the Chishtī dargāh with which Jāyasī professes his affiliation in the prologue of his poems.

In this paradigm, worldly love is a vector for mystical love when directed at a person of extraordinary beauty, an idol such as Padmāvatī, who is a manifestation of the divine in this world. By sacrificing one's physical body for the love for this absolute beauty, the lover transcends mortal existence. He reaches a state of detachment in which his soul becomes liberated from his physical form and merges with the divine beloved. The death of the body is the final resolution, as it reconnects the soul, the divine essence within man, with its Creator.

The development of this love for the divine in the form of absolute beauty can be represented as a learning process, in which the lover is the pupil and the beloved the preceptor. Just like the relationship between guru and celā, or pīr and murīd, the pupil can only progress if he is prepared to abandon his worldly ties and surrender himself to his teacher. The first stage in this process is a direct encounter with a manifestation of the divine, in this case in the form of a beautiful woman. This encounter awakens the divine soul in the pupil and makes him feel the separation from the origin of the manifestation: God. In this stage of the process, the teacher is the guide on the way to the union with God. During this search, the teacher replaces the beloved and forces the pupil to direct his longing and surrender at his worldly guide.

In various stages, the pupil detaches himself from mortal existence and obtains more knowledge of the divine essence within himself. The final stage is complete self-effacement which involves a total sacrifice of one's individual identity, and brings the realisation of having become identical to God. This state of identification is what the famous Sufi martyr Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj referred to when he proclaimed: 'I am God (*anā'l ḥaqq*)' – blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox 'ulamā'.[2] This is the point where the love of the pupil transcends the worldly substitute for God's presence in the form of the teacher and is directed directly to Him. The pupil has died for this world and lives on in God. He can still live and act in this world but he has given up worldly gain and status, as these are irrelevant to his new identity. Death completes this process, and the resurrection on the Last Day will re-establish the primordial union of God and man.

This scheme is at the basis of many cultural representations connected with Sufi mysticism. It follows the monistic, Neoplatonic interpretation of the imagined path of the seeker of God through mystical love that has become a dominant paradigm in Sufism through the reformulation by Ibn al 'Arabī (1165-1240) that spread all over the Islamic world. Within a certain bandwidth, this scheme provides the thematic structure for all Indian premākhyāns by Sufi poets.[3]

The poet of *Padmāvat* emphasises the painful aspect of love and the sacrifice needed to reach the beloved. Vaudeville has argued that the concept of love in separation (viraha), which she sees expressed in *Padmāvat*, can be regarded as the equivalent of the 'ishq of Islamic mysticism (1962a: 351-376). It is evident that prem and viraha play a central role in the representation of the mystical quest. It has been explained in the first part of this study how the idiom of mystical love provides a thematic framework in *Padmāvat* that has a broader didactic and semantic range. The theme of mystical love is a recognisable carrier that connects the various cultural and religious sensitivities of

his composite audience, and also addresses the world of popular devotion and the interests of the poet's worldly patrons.

This broader semantic range is represented in the twofold image of love in the two parts of *Padmāvat*. The first part of the poem shows the mystic's quest and the blissful union with his beloved, while the second part shows a much darker aspect of love, as the moral and political truthfulness it represents is challenged by the sultan's lust and treason. The juxtaposition of the two aspects of love define Jāyasī's poem and extend the basic thematic framework of mystical love in the tradition of monistic Sufism. This is an important observation for a reading that emphasises the relevance of the poem for the field in which it was produced. The following analysis therefore tries to demonstrate how the representation of love is intertwined with that of sub-themes, such as truthfulness, longing during separation and service, to produce a rich semantic subtext for the story of Padmāvatī and Ratansen.

In a literary field where circulation and fluidity determined the transmission and reception of text, the theme of mystical love served various semantic purposes, depending on its location in culture and society. The interpretation of Sufi poetry in the Indian context has been very much focused on the doctrinal aspects of this material, as has been shown with regards to the reading by Millis and, to a lesser extent, Behl, in chapters 2.3. and 3.1. The symbolism and the Indian idiom of *Padmāvat* appealed to a 'localised' order like the Chishtī, but may not have struck the same chord in other contexts, such as the Sufi lineages that were more closely involved in administration, legal practice and politics, such as the Naqshbandīya. In these circles, the discourse of the mystical journey had a different semantic scope. It has been demonstrated also how the spriritual development of a mystical pupil could inspire political ideology, as in Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī*, in which the images of the path of the Sufi became an idiom for service in the hierarchical imperial structure of government.[4]

The reading of the theme of mystical love presented here is relevant for the context in which Padmāvat circulated, but does not represent an 'essential' reading of a Sufi romance that extends to other texts.

5.2 *Prem, sevā, sat* and their dark mirror images

The representation of love in *Padmāvat* is structured in three episodes: 1) the first encounter of the lovers and their final union in their marriage in Siṃhal; 2) the time spent in the heavenly place and the inevitable return to the world of Citor; and 3) the struggle against the sultan of Delhi, which ends with Ratansen's death, Padmāvatī's jauhar and the fall of the fortress Citor. This representation starts with the birth of Padmāvatī, which brings the divine into

the world in the form of light. This origin and her spectacular beauty make Padmāvatī a manifestation of the divine.[5] The only suitable match for her is the apogee of man, the insān-i kāmil that Ratansen is to become.

The first stage in the king's mystical journey is the vision of the divine, which he has when he hears Hīrāmani's description of Padmāvatī's beauty. The confrontation with the divine in the form of the beautiful princess makes him aware that his soul does not belong in this world and has its origin in heaven. The parrot hesitates to tell him about the princess and warns the king of the dangers on the path of love.

> Do not let your mind be dazzled by hearing of love; love is difficult and only shines when someone offers his head [for it].
> Love is a noose, he who falls into it cannot come free; many have given their life, but still the noose was not loosened.
> [The lover] has to bear just as much [forms of)]suffering as there are appearances of the chameleon; one moment he turns red, the next moment yellow, and yet another moment he is white.
> The female peacock [knows this and therefore] lives in the forest; with all her feathers she got caught in the snake-hunter's noose.[6]
> Again and again her wings get trapped in the noose; she cannot fly away and is a prisoner entangled [in the noose].
> Day and night she cries: 'I have died, I have died!'; out of anger over this she catches snakes and eats them.[7]
> This [noose] can be seen on the necks of the pigeon and the parrot; he who gets trapped wants to give up his life.
>
> The partridge on whose neck this noose hangs laments forever about his mistake.[8]
> But even when he shouts with all his might, the noose is still around his neck; when will he die and be released?
>
> *Padmāvat* 97

Ratansen is determined that he wants to take this difficult road and asks Hīrāmani to describe Padmāvatī.

> The king stood up and took a deep breath, he said: 'Do not speak such words that are without hope.'
> 'Love may well be difficult and hard, but he who plays this [game of] love can cross the two worlds.'

'The nectar of love is contained in that suffering; he who can endure the destruction and the dying will taste it.'
'He who does not sacrifice himself on the road of love, why has he come to this earth?'
'I now put my head on this road of love; do not push away my foot but make me your pupil and protect me.'
'Only he who has seen the gate of love can describe it; how can someone know its secret without having seen it?'[9]
'As long as I have not met my beloved, I will suffer; when I meet her, the pain of all my births will be erased.'

'You have seen her who is so unique; describe to me her beauty from her toes to the top of her head.'
'I trust that I will meet her as long as my Creator wants us to meet.'

Padmāvat 98

The king faints after hearing the nakhśikh description. When he awakens there is only one goal in his mind – to follow the path of love and go to Siṃhal Dvīp to find and marry Padmāvatī.

When he regained consciousness, an intense desire arose in him; he was like a fool who is woken from sleep.
He cried like a child when it comes in the world; 'Oh, I have lost that insight!'
'I was in the city of immortality, how did I end up here in the city of death?'
'Who gave me the blessing of killing me; he awakened my force, but took my soul.'[10]
'Why did God not let me sleep there where I was under the trees of happiness?'
'Now my soul is there and here is just my empty body; how long will it last without its soul?'
'When life is taken away by the hand of death, taking it away is all right; but [now] my soul is [left behind] alone.'

'The body of three and a half hand [the whole body] is like a lake in which the heart is the lotus.'
'[The flower seems] close to the eye, but when you stick your hand in [to pick the lotus] it turns out to be very deep.[11]

Padmāvat 98

Hirāmani guides the king on the dangerous crossing of the seven oceans that symbolises the various stages of detachment the pupil must suffer. The crossing puts the sat, the truthfulness and dedication, of Ratansen and his companions to the test. Those who have sat will reach the other side, those who have not will perish.

> He who has filled his heart with divine truth will reach the other side of the ocean; with truth in his soul even a coward becomes a hero.
> He loaded his boats with this divine truth and set sail; he who has this truth is carried on the wings of the wind.
> The divine truth is both amulet and provisions; he who fares with truth will reach the other side.
> With divine truth he saw everything, before and after; he saw all the crocodiles, fish and turtles.
> A wave arose that could not be beheld; it rose to heaven and fell to hell.
> The boats swayed and were battered by the waves; one moment they went under, the next moment they came up.
> The king bound divine truth in his heart; now he could carry mountains on his back.
>
> He crossed the salt-water ocean and came to where the ocean of rice-milk began.
> These seven oceans were connected to each other, but their waters remained separate.
>
> *Padmāvat* 150

Even before the king has met her, Ratansen's yoga lights the fire of love in Padmāvatī. Using the image of the awakening of the passion of youth (*joban*) in Padmāvatī, the poet depicts how the guru is equally affected by love for the pupil. When Ratansen arrives at the temple in Siṃhal, he begins to meditate using Padmāvatī's name as a mantra, arousing desire in Padmāvatī.

> Under the influence of the yoga of Ratansen, Padmāvatī fell into the power of love and was grabbed by [the pain of] separation.
> At night she could not fall asleep; it was as if someone had put seeds of *kevāṃc* in her bed.[12]
> The moonlight burned her, as did her garments and dress; the heavy feeling of separation burned her body.
> The night was relentless and lasted ages;[13] each moment that passed had the strength of a *yuga*.

She took the lute [hoping] that thus the night would pass; but the carriage of the moon halted to listen.
The woman then began to draw a lion;[14] such was the state in which she was awake all night.
[She said:] 'Where is the bee that will bring the juice of the lotus; let him return [quickly] like a fast pigeon."

That woman had become a moth because of the separation and wanted to burn herself in its flame.
'My beloved, when you are not deep within me like the ichneumon wasp,[15] who shall cool my body with sandal?'

Padmāvat 168

Only by completing the yoga of love, the lovers can unite and end the pain of separation. Hīrāmani arranges a meeting of the king and Padmāvatī, who goes to the temple to perform the pūjā for the spring festival. During this encounter Ratansen faints and Padmāvatī takes his soul with her. From that moment on the princess takes over the role of guru of the yogī-king from the parrot, and his love is aimed directly at her. Being her celā, the king can do nothing but rely on her guidance and sacrifice himself, in the hope of finding a new life in which he will be united with his beloved. He cannot reach her, as she is in the palace on top of the fortress of Siṃhal. When he calls at the gate as a wandering yogi and asks the hand of the princess for alms, he is sent away by her father's courtiers. The only way to reach her is by writing a letter in which he asks her to accept the celā's sacrifice, so that he can live on in his guru:

The messengers went away and did not return, the king said: 'It is taking several days now.'
'I still do not know what is happening in heaven; nobody comes back to give me any news.'
'I have no wings on my body and there is no wind under my feet; whose disguise can I take on to reach her?'
When he remembered her, blood filled his eyes and ran down his face; he cried and called for his intermediary, the parrot.
His tears of blood ran down in streams; they became like *bīra-bahuṭī*s [red insects].
He wrote a letter with his own blood; when the parrot picked up the letter, his beak became red.

> When he bound it round his neck, the ring around [the bird's] throat started to burn; how can the blaze that is ignited by separation be extinguished?
>
> His eyes gave the ink, his lashes made a pen; crying and crying he wrote the indescribable.
> The letter burned and no one could touch it; he laid it in the hands of the parrot.
>
> *Padmāvat* 223

Hīrāmani brings a positive reply from Padmāvatī, making Ratansen come alive again after being exhausted by the suffering of viraha.

> Even the dead will rise when they receive such a scent; his breath returned and his soul came back in his body.
> He awoke and saw how the parrot bowed his head; he presented the letter and told its message.
> He received the [word] of the guru with both ears; 'Pupil, she has shown herself favourable to you, go quickly.'
> 'She has made you the bee, she herself has become the *ketakī* flower; I am the messenger pigeon for you both.'
> 'She has given her breath to the wind and has her mind immersed in you; she watches the road [for your arrival] with her gaze spread out wide.'
> 'The way you set fire to your body, this has all been noted by the guru.'
> 'She has written: "Mount your deerskin and come quickly, I want to make your penance successful."'
> [Padmāvatī said:] 'Come, beautiful lord, your name lives in my soul.'
> 'In my eyes there is a path and in my heart there is a place for you.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 236

The acceptance by Padmāvatī completes the transformation of the pupil and makes it possible for him to give up his worldly identity. Ratansen can now enter the secret passage to the top of the fortress, shown to him by Maheś. He will nevertheless be noticed by the guards, which means the final self-sacrifice of the yogī.

> He took the path he had got by serving Maheś and went there [as if] he dived into the ocean.
> He went down into a deep and dangerous pool; it was as if he fell to the bottom.

Mad and blinded by love, he rushed ahead and did not heed anything that came before him.
Controlling his breath with his mind, he dived into it; it was [as if] guru Machindranāth[16] supported him.
When the pupil falls, the guru will not leave him behind; the pupil is like the fish, the guru like the tortoise.[17]
He was like a pearl diver who dives into the ocean; his eyes were open and were like burning lights.
He searched for the door to heaven; the diamond [doors] that covered it, opened.

The ascent through the channel in the fortress was curved; when he had climbed all the way up, daybreak appeared.
On top of the fortress there was a cry: 'Thieves have climbed up and are breaking in!'

Padmāvat 238

Ratansen is captured and brought to the stake. He has given up his life and lives on in his guru. Like the martyr Manṣūr, he laughs at the stake and is willing to die. He is saved when a bard intervenes and calls Hīrāmani to speak up for the king. The parrot explains to Gandharvsen that the yogī he is about to execute is in fact a king. Ratansen is released and marries the princess. The marriage to Padmāvatī and their lovemaking in their wedding night complete the union of the pupil and the guru. Ratansen's yoga is accomplished, he has given up his identity and has merged with his divine beloved.

At this point, the realisation of the divine essence has been completed. Ratansen has become the perfect man who relies on the reunion with his Creator after his death in this world, which makes him 'immortal'. Ratansen's marriage to Padmāvatī concludes the 'conquest' of the fortress of Siṃhal, which, in stanzas 215 and 216, stands for the mortal body in nāth yogī mystical theories.[18]

The second part of the story describes the couple's happy and comfortable sojourn in Siṃhal. In the second part of the story, love and dedication shows its most challenging side. The prelude to this is the description of the viraha of Nāgmatī, Ratansen's first wife, who is left behind in Citor and pines away in separation from her beloved. She represents the king's ties with the real world of alliances by marriage, which he abandoned when he departed for Siṃhal.

Nāgmatī's ordeal is described in form of a bārahmāsā, which is situated at the physical centre of the work, and provides a thematical *caesura* in the

work.[19] The bārahmāsā provides a dark mirror image of the description of the year of marital happiness for Ratansen and Padmāvatī. A bird brings a message from Nāgmatī to the king to persuade him to return to his family. The return voyage to Citor is not as arduous as the path of yoga which brought Ratansen to Siṃhal, but it has other hazards. The king discovers these when his ship, loaded with the wealth and gifts from Siṃhal, is wrecked in a whirlpool, leaving him empty-handed again and separated from Padmāvatī. When he sets out from Siṃhal, he prides himself on the wealth he was given by Gandharvsen and makes the moral mistake of garab – pride in worldly possession and power:

> Seeing these provisions, the king became proud; nothing else came in his view.
> 'When I will be on the other side of the ocean, who will be my equal in the whole world?'
> Possessions lead to pride, greed is the root of poison; when there is no generosity, truthfulness will also be far away.
> Generosity and truthfulness are like two brothers; when the one is no longer there, the other goes too.
> Where there is greed, sin is there to accompany it; the greedy one dies having collected the goods of others.
> For the perfect ascetic, wealth is like fire; once it burns in its flames, it gives warmth to another.
> For one, it is like the moon, for another it is like Rahu [who grasps the moon]; for one it is the water of life, for the other it is poison.
>
> Thus the king's mind flourished in the dark pit of sin and greed.
> Then the Ocean stood before him, taking on the form of a toll collector.
>
> *Padmāvat* 386.1-3;8-9

Ratansen ignores the toll collector's request for a gift (*dān*) and sets sail.

> The boats were filled and [Ratansen] set off together with the queen; the toll collector tested his truthfulness [sat] by asking for toll.
> One should not be greedy but give gifts; donations will bring merit and happiness.
> God says one should give away one's wealth as gifts; by giving there will be liberation and freedom from sin.
>
> *Padmāvat* 387.1-3

Ratansen is so focused on his possessions that he even boasts of the positive use of wealth:

> Hearing about the gift, the king was angry: 'Who has fooled you, you foolish toll collector?'
> 'He who has wealth as a companion is a real man; listen how many things come with wealth.'
> 'With wealth comes righteousness [dharma], *karma* and kingship; with wealth the mind is cleared and one can roar with force.'
> 'Because of wealth one can be proud if one wants; with wealth one can buy heaven and earth.'
> 'With wealth paradise comes within reach; when you have wealth the angels [*apsarās*] never leave your side.'
> 'Through wealth even the worthless becomes virtuous; through wealth the humpback becomes beautiful.'
> 'When one has wealth [buried] in the ground, one's face shines; with this in mind, who can give wealth away?'
>
> The Ocean said: 'Oh greedy one, do not hide this enemy that is wealth.
> No one can call it his own, it is a snake locked in a box.'[20]
>
> *Padmāvat* 388

Ratansen's greed and his refusal to pay the Ocean toll at the outset of the crossing are the cause of the dramatic crisis during the return journey. These events illustrate the reversal of the ascetic detachment of the mystical lover. The king became a yogī by denouncing his wealth and his kingdom, but at his return into the world he is encumbered by his possessions, which his new state of mystical liberation does not allow him to cherish. The crossing of the ocean and the loss of all his possessions makes Ratansen aware of the real values that he can take with him from his short stay in the heavenly place of Siṃhal.

After the shipwreck, Padmāvatī washes ashore on a beach, where she is found and taken care of by Lakṣmī – the goddess of wealth. Having heard Padmāvatī's account of the shipwreck, Lakṣmī tells her father, the Ocean, to look out for the husband of the poor queen. Ratansen has drifted onto a desert island where he realises that he has lost not only all his goods but Padmāvatī too, and is completely devastated. The Ocean, taking the form of a Brahmin, comes to him and sees the king's genuine repentance for his greed. He then

unites the king with Padmāvatī and gives them five precious gifts: the *haṃs* bird, amṛt, a tiger, a hunting bird and the philosopher's stone.

The gifts replace the worldly goods Ratansen lost during the shipwreck, but the essence of his re-entrance into the transient world is that he will now look at his possessions with the detachment of the mystic, the siddha. The shipwreck made Ratansen see that his only, priceless possession is his bond of love with Padmāvatī. The gifts from Lakṣmī (the goddess of wealth and commerce) and the Ocean (the eternal store room) substitute all riches of the 'real' world, which have no value for the mystic if they are without Padmāvatī – his source of immortality.[21] By gaining immortality through the yoga of love, Ratansen achieved the ideal of the mystic who can live in the world but is not dragged down by it. As a king and insān-i kāmil, he even surpasses the great king Alexander, who conquered the world but never found the water of life.[22]

In the reverse image of the tale of prem in the first part, Ratansen's sat is challenged by 'Alā' al-dīn's attack and treachery. By staying true to his sat, he achieves a hero's death on the battlefield that releases him from this world.[23]

The shipwreck prepares Ratansen for resuming his kingship in the earthly realm of Citor, where he has to deal with the dangers that threaten his existence and that of his people. His flaws of judgement, however, get him into trouble, as happens when he dismisses the deceitful Brahmin Rāghav Cetan and when he trusts 'Alā' al-dīn's word of honour.

Padmāvatī throughout the poem represents the pure and 'true' judgement. She rightly opposes her father when he wants to kill Hīrāmani. She perceives that a servant like Rāghav should be treated with caution to prevent him from serving the enemy. In the second part of the work, Ratansen has many traits of the naive heroes in the Persian dāstān, who need helpers to correct their mistakes. Padmāvatī is then like the 'aiyār character of the dāstān, who perceives the true nature of things and saves the king from danger.

The reversal of the story in the first part of *Padmāvat* is continued in the second part in scenes such as the fight between Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī. The affection of the two queens for Ratansen represents both the worldly and the transcendent aspect of love. Nāgmatī has always been suspicious of Hīrāmani as the messenger of Padmāvatī. Ratansen has to balance his role as consort of the divine princess of Siṃhal with that of husband to his first wife, who represents his alliances in the Rajput clan system. In both cases, love is a divine inspiration, and the king becomes a teacher who shows his wives that they should not fight but be united with him through love and devoted service (sevā).

A rumour reached the king's ears: 'The two [wives] Padmāvatī and Nāga[matī] are fighting with each other.'
[He thought:] 'These two, the dark and the fair one, are equal; when they die, where can I find such a pair?'
The king went to the garden and started to cool down the two inflamed ladies.
[He said:] 'She who has once understood her husband's mind, how can she fight with another woman?'
'Nobody else will have this insight: sometimes it is night, sometimes it is day.'
'The sunlight and the shade are the two colours of the beloved; let these two remain united.'
'Stop fighting both of you and realise this: serve, and there will be a reward for your service.'

Muḥammad [says:] 'You are like the two rivers Ganges and Yamunā, it is destined that you meet.'
'Both of you should serve him [Ratansen] together and enjoy happiness.'[24]

Padmāvat 445

Jāyasī depicts Rāghav Cetan, the Brahmin adviser to the king, as an ambiguous servant and the negative counterpart of Hīrāmani. He becomes a victim of Padmāvatī's divine beauty when he catches a glimpse of her and is robbed of his soul. When Ratansen is dismayed by the Brahmin's services, he expels him from his court. Rāghav plans revenge and tells the sultan of Delhi about the beautiful *padminī* of Citor in the hope that he will go after the fabulous queen.

Through his encounter with Padmāvatī, Rāghav receives an initiation in love, but his deceitful nature makes him the opposite of a true mystic. He abuses his powers and in his advice to 'Alā' al-dīn he represents everything that the Sufi poet wants to warn his patron for.[25] Instead of invoking love through the description of Padmāvatī's beauty, he engenders passion and lust in 'Alā' al-dīn.

Where the army of yogīs went to Siṃhal and conquered it with the sacrifice of their souls, 'Alā' al-dīn rushes to Citor in a campaign in a rage to have it all. Worldly power is 'Alā' al-dīn's strength and at the same time his weakness, because it will not bring him the spoils of war he hoped for. The description of the advance of 'Alā' al-dīn's army emphasises the apocalyptic connotation of the battle:

> Thus night fell suddenly during the day; the sun had gone down, the moon rode his chariot.
> The birds of the day, who were picking [food], flew up and fled; those of the night came up and started to graze.
> The lights of houses lighted the world; travellers who were on the road stayed at their waypoints.
> The lotus [of the day] had closed and the night lotus opened, the *cakāi* [bird] was confused as he was suddenly separated [from his beloved].
> The army went on and filled [the world] in such a way that only the front guard found water; the rear guard had only dust.
> The earth was uprooted, the ocean dried up; not a single tree remained in the forest.
> The mountains, hills and mounds all became mud; where even elephants disappeared, what happened to the ants?
>
> All the people, their houses lost in this mud, wandered around searching the dirt.
> Well now, [the houses] will only come in sight again when they have been shaped anew [from the dust].[26]
>
> *Padmāvat* 510

In the first part of the story, love was depicted as prem or *prīti*, which both refer to an emotional kind of love. When Padmāvatī takes leave of Hīrāmani (stanza 58), Jāyasī uses the term prīti to describe the intimate bond between the bird (the soul) and his master (the body). This is not seen as inferior to prem, as Jāyasī uses the word 'prīti' to describe God's love for Muḥammad as the cause of creation (verse 11.2). In the second part of the poem the positive emotion of love and the beneficent pain of viraha, which made the lovers long for union, have turned into negative concepts.

Viraha is now also felt by Padmāvatī, when Ratansen is captured and held hostage by the sultan. She has to bear the separation and stay true to her sat, fending off false messengers and deceitful opponents who try to take advantage of her loneliness.

> The oysters of her eyes filled with the pearls of her tears; they kept on pouring down, her body wasted away.
> The padminī is like a precious jewel with a diamond; without her beloved the girl is worth only a shell.
> The gem [Ratansen] has gone, taking away all her light; her golden body has become a glass bead.

[She says:] 'I drown in the deep ocean of suffering; who but you, my beloved, will bring me ashore.'
'Separation presses on my heart like a mountain; the water of my youth cannot bear its weight.'
'Only the separated knows that water can burn; even stone burns to ashes [in this fire].'
'How can I attempt to get you [back], my love, and extinguish the burning fire?"

'In which direction should I search for you, oh lord, where can I find you?'
'I cannot find you by searching; yet, you dwell in my heart!'

Padmāvat 653

The harassment by fate and the enemy make it hard to uphold the bond of love. This is represented most clearly in the scenes which follow Ratansen's capture by 'Alā' al-dīn. The sultan pretends that he wants to negotiate, but his intention is to enter the palace and see Padmāvatī. His plan succeeds: he manages to see the queen in a mirror when he is playing chess with Ratansen. Ratansen accompanies him to the camp and is then taken hostage. The sultan demands the queen of Citor in exchange for his release. Ratansen is held in a dark pit and guarded by an African soldier.

The darkness of this warden and the sombre prison are mirror images of the brightness of Siṃhal. The king is separated from the divine light of Padmāvatī in this subterranean world and reaches the extreme low of worldly existence. The penance he undergoes in this prison is the reversal of his yoga for love. This negative image ends in the jauhar at Ratansen's funeral, following the king's heroic death, which completes the union of the lovers and releases the mystic's soul from his mortal body.

5.3 Love as *sevā*

The analysis of the representation of love in *Padmāvat* shows that Jāyasī follows the conventions of the mystical romances, presenting the sacrifice for worldly love as a symbol for the mystic's transcendence of mortal existence. His representation is far from a monologic representation of the Sufi concept of mystical love. It shows how the spiritual ideal can guide one through the adversities of worldly existence. This significantly extends the semantic range of the notion of love that is represented in *Padmāvat*.

Jāyasī connects the concept of prem, mystical love, to various sub-themes that play an important role in the story and in the message it conveys. The poet

emphasises that prem is intimately connected with devoted service (sevā). In verse 18.9 of the prologue of *Padmāvat*, Jāyasī introduces the theme by describing himself as a *bānd*, a servant, in the house (meaning the dargāh*)* of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr.[27] Despite the conventional nature of this description, it sets the tone for the inspiration behind the concept of service he presents in his poem.

The sevā Jāyasī describes is of a sacred nature because it is inspired by love. Through service to the teacher, a pupil progresses on the road to spiritual development. The notion of celā's service to the guru is a crucial element in the representation of love in *Padmāvat.* Ratansen reaches his goal by sacrificing his ego in the fire of love and thus merging with his guru Padmāvatī, which is described as a form of sevā.

This kind of service applies to all, in every stage of life and in every social position. It provides mortal man an opportunity to be united with God in this life. By intertwining the notions of service and love, the poet implies that all forms of sevā in this world are sacred, as long as it is performed with self-sacrifice, devotion and truthfulness. Just as love is depicted from both a positive and a negative perspective in *Padmāvat*, the representation of service also shows how it is abused, especially in a worldly context. Ratansen reached his spiritual goal by serving Padmāvatī as a yogī of love, yet he is forced by sultan 'Alā' al-dīn to serve a worldly overlord. The illegitimate demand of the sultan, who wants Padmāvatī as a sign of the king's submission, makes this an example of dishonourable service.

When the king is taken captive and held in a dark pit, the poet shows another aspect of service – the dedication of the loyal allies Gorā and Bādal, which brings about the king's release from captivity. The poet presents the two heroes as examples of the yoga of the warrior, who is ready to sacrifice himself, as was the yogī Ratansen. In a parallel motion to that of the king's ascetic quest, they leave home and hearth to fight for their lord. Bādal even leaves behind his young bride.

The two heroes pretend that they will bring Padmāvatī and the other women of the palace in palanquins to the camp of the sultan and bribe the guards to let them in. Once inside, the soldiers hidden in the palanquins jump out to rescue their king. Gorā performs the martial counterpart of Ratansen's sacrifice for love by dying as a hero while he covers for the king's escape. Jāyasī describes his death in great detail, not only to satisfy the adventure-loving audience, but also to imply that this kind of sevā – the dedication of the ally – is morally equal to that of the mystical lover.[28] The sacred nature of loyal service is also emphasised in the roles of other messenger characters in the story, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

5.4 The virtue of *sat*

Another notion that plays an important role in the moral ideal that Jāyasī presents in his poem is that of sat – truthfulness. The word can be connected with the Sanskrit words '*sattva*', meaning 'essence' and '*satya*', 'truth', 'goodness'.[29] In *Padmāvat*, sat is the innate moral ideal that every man should follow, regardless of his status and religion. Prem and sevā converge in the notion of sat, as it indicates the moral nucleus in man, in which the divine essence is located. In *Padmāvat*, the moral ideal of sat is given a special meaning by representing it in the figure of the Rajput warrior who becomes a yogī for love, which brings in a range of cultural connotations which are particularly relevant in the poet's context, such as the sevā to his allies and overlord, and the ideal of the ascetic warrior.

In the first part of the poem, sat is primarily connected with the dedication of the lover on his way to the beloved, using the inner divine essence as a compass on the road to mystical knowledge. It makes makes Ratansen endure the hardship of separation and detachment.[30] Having returned to Citor, sat is depicted as a force that keeps Ratansen from giving in to 'Alā' al-dīn's dishonourable demand for Padmāvatī. The notion of sat is also relevant for Padmāvatī's role in the second part of the poem, in which she endures penance and viraha when Ratansen is taken hostage, and is tempted to break her sat as 'Alā' al-dīn and Devpāl try to persuade her to leave Ratansen and come to their court. The final proof of her sat is her self-immolation on Ratansen's funeral pyre, which makes her a satī.

The notion of sat is integral to the representation of mystical love in *Padmāvat.* The moralist connotation of this concept provides a crucial subtext to the representation of love. It extends the idiom of the Sufi doctrine with a broader meaning that comprises both worldly and religious morals. This extension structures the story in many ways, as its various parts and episodes all centre around the representation of various aspects of truthfulness.

5.5 The passion of *joban*

In the representation of love, the poet emphasises two related emotional complexes: the youthful passion and longing for erotic love, and the painful separation of lover and beloved. While the former seems more appropriate in the context of worldly poetry, it is explicitly presented in *Padmāvat* as a complement to the typical desperate longing of the mystical lover. By connecting the two, the poet connects the colourful and intensely emotional idiom of poetry on the longing of young, unmarried girls in the traditions of popular poetry with topoi from mystical romances.

While 'joban' literally means 'youth' or 'youthfulness', Jāyasī uses its connotation in mystical doctrine, where it stands for the short blossom of mortal life, which provides a limited window for discovering the divine through worldly love and setting out on the journey of spiritual development. Once youth is over, the chance of an afterlife in heaven is lost. Viraha, the pain of longing and separation, is intimately connected with the opportunity to reach the mystic's goal. It symbolises the budding erotic feelings connected with youthful passion. In folk genres such as wedding songs, songs of separation, or *virahagīts*, this arousal of sexual longing is ascribed to young girls. The love they seek is real passion, which may or may not happen in married life. They have only a short time to enjoy their puppy love before their marriage with a husband they have never seen locks them into a life in their in-law's household. The mystical love represented in *Padmāvat* refers to a love outside the social fabric, which kindles genuine passion.

With the description of joban and viraha, Jāyasī taps into a rich and colourful idiom that gives him plenty of opportunity to play with poetical elements from popular genres and to connect these with the overarching theme of mystical love, exploiting the parallel between the girls' brief spell of freedom and the mystic's short chance at spiritual happiness. This notion is illustrated in scenes such as the spring outing of Padmāvatī and her girlfriends to the lake of Siṃhal. They bathe, discuss their future marriages and play a game with their necklaces (*hār*, meaning both necklace and loss, defeat). This is the game of genuine love and refers to the dangerous play of mystical love, for which the lover has to put his life at risk.

> Playing games, they went to the Mānasar lake; there they stood at its shores.
> Seeing the beautiful lake, the girls rejoiced in their games and said to Padmāvatī:
> 'Hey, Queen, be aware that staying with your family will only last for four days.'
> 'As long as your father will be your lord, play today while you can still enjoy it.'
> 'Tomorrow we will go to our in-laws; where will we be and where will there be a lakeside [like] this?'
> 'When will coming here be in our hands [again]; when will we be able to play together again?'
> 'Our husbands's mothers and sisters will take our souls with their scorns; our strict father-in-law will not let us go out.'

'My dear beloved is superior to them all, but what can he do [against] them?'
'Will he keep me in happiness or suffering; how will my life be?'

Padmāvat 60

'Understand the game and play it together; let the necklace not fall into another's hands [double meaning: let there be no defeat (*hār*) by the hand of another].'
'Play on this very day; when will [the chance] come again; when the game is over, when will anyone get to play [again]?'
'Oh, woman, the game is blessed which is played with the rasa of love; how can domination [by a husband] go together with agreeable comfort.'

Padmāvat 63.5-7

The desire for love and the longing for a suitable husband on the part of Padmāvatī increases as the season for arranging her marriage approaches. The girls go to the temple to worship and pray for a good match. The first encounter with Ratansen takes place at the temple where the king is meditating as a yogī. The advent of the spring festival unleashes in Padmāvatī the full force of joban. Her desire is so strong that her wet nurse has to warn the princess to constrain herself until she will meet her true match, and convert her longing into the devoted service of the perfect wife, the satī, to her husband. She instills in her the virtue of restraint, which is the counterpart of Ratansen's yoga.

'Padumāvatī, you are a wise and intelligent woman, not even the ocean can equal you, oh Queen.'
'The rivers flow and enter the ocean, but tell me, when the ocean is restless, how can it be contained?'
'At this moment your heart is still a lotus bud; a bee will come that is your match.'
'Take the stallion that is youth firmly in your hand; do not let it run wild.'
'Youth is like a rutting elephant; check it with wisdom, like [the elephant driver] holds it in check with his hook.'
'You are still a girl, you have not played the game of love yet; do you know how much suffering it can cause?'
'You can look up at the sky and it will come down; the sun [your husband] will not come in your hand just by looking at it.'

'Endure the pain of love until you meet your lover.'
'Be like the oyster in the water of the ocean who does penance for a drop of the *svāti* rain.'[31]

Padmāvat 171

Her [Padmāvatī] eyes rolled like wheels in four directions; the wet nurse saw that they could not be kept within their sockets.
She said: 'Oh girl, when love arises, remain firm in your truthfulness; do not let your heart waver too much.'
'When truth [sat] keeps watch in one's heart, there will be no harm; even when a mountain will fall not a hair will be bent.'
'When a satī burns out of love for her husband, the fire will be cool because truth is in her heart.'
'When the moon that is youth reaches its full appearance, the spark of separation will set it ablaze.'[32]
'The yogī who can tame his breath, he is a true ascetic; the longing woman who can subdue her passion, she is the true virtuous wife [satī].'
'Spring has come and the gardens are blossoming; all the girls go to the temple of the deity.'

'Go and take the spring with you; appease the god with your worship.'
'In this world one gets a soul by birth, a lover is only won through service.'

Padmāvat 173

The theme of youth that passes and takes with it the chance of meeting the divine within oneself, is referred to in various places in the poem, such as in stanzas 616-620, which describe the bride of Bādal who is left alone on her wedding day as her husband has to fight for Ratansen. She is desperate because she cannot enjoy the freedom of youth anymore, although her marriage is not yet consummated. This image of the young widow is a common topos in Rajput legends. If her husband is killed in the service to his lord, she will become the ideal satī who dies a virgin on the funeral pyre of her husband. Jāyasī also evokes in this scene the strength of the sevā of Bādal, who prefers the risk in battle instead of the comfort and enjoyment of married life.

A similar image is presented at the end of the story, when 'Alā' al-dīn has taken Ratansen hostage and Padmāvatī pines away in separation. The rival king Devpāl sends a messenger disguised as one of Padmāvatī's old girlfriends,

who warns her that she is wasting away her youth by remaining true to Ratansen. If she would join Devapāl's court, her youthful desires would be fulfilled. Padmāvatī does not give in and discovers the true nature of the impostor (stanza 587 ff.). Jāyasī's description alludes to the popular depiction of the fickleness of male lovers in folk poetry.

> Put on your necklace and dress your body; do your hair!
> Enjoy yourself when you enter the ten days of youth!
>
> *Padmāvat* 591.8-9

> 'Oh girl, do not feel like that, as long as you have youth, you can have a lover.'
> 'A man is a lion, to whom does he belong; he eats one and his face [already] looks at the next one.'
> 'It is as if the water of youth diminishes day by day; the bees hide themselves and geese appear.'[33]
>
> *Padmāvat* 593.1-3

> 'Where will you get this passionate youth; it comes riding on an elephant with a black parasol above his head [black hair].'
> 'When youth is gone, "old age" appears; without youth you would be tired wherever your are.'[34]
>
> *Padmāvat* 594.1-2

The poet connects the erotic and the mystical connotations of the loss of youth by describing himself in the closing stanzas of the work as an old and wise man who remembers the youth he has lost. This 'old age' of the poet may refer to his physical state, but is more likely a thematic reference to the notion that one should not let the chance of liberation through love slip away. In a worldly sense, he is nearing the end of his life, which gives him a position to admonish and teach his audience. As a mystic, he has gained the wisdom of one who has found the love of God during his lifetime, which makes him old, yet wise.[35]

> Muḥammad [says:] 'Now old age has come, the state that was youth has gone.'
> (...)

> 'As long as youth is your companion, you live; thereafter, you come in someone else's hands, which means death.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 653.1, 7[36]

5.6 *Viraha*: The painful longing for love

As indicated by Padmāvatī's wet nurse in stanza 171, the arousal of love comes with the painful longing of viraha. In *Padmāvat*, this burning pain affects both the lover and his beloved. The motif of viraha is present in various episodes, such as that of Ratansen's quest for love (223), the suffering of his wife Nāgmatī, Padmāvatī's waiting for the return of Ratansen from captivity (589), and the sorrow of the young bride of Bādal who is left alone on her wedding day (616-620). The image of the suffering woman who is waiting for the return of her husband is a favourite topos of early modern vernacular poetry of Northern India, and developed into a fixed element in the Sufi premākhyāns in Avadhi. The bārahmāsā of Nāgmatī in *Padmāvat* is the most well-known passage of this poem and uses images from folk poetry on the theme. Descriptions of viraha in bārahmāsās are found in early Rajasthani texts, such as the dohās of *Dholā Mārū* (Vaudeville 1962b) and the *Bīsaladevarāso* by Nālha (edited by T. Agravāl, 1962). Dāūd's *Cāndāyan* contains a bārahmāsā that describes the viraha of Lorik's wife Mainā.[37] The suffering of the women in the Sufi premākhyāns stands for the soul's longing to be reunited with its Creator while being trapped in the mortal human body. The buring of the fire of viraha is a projection of the lover's wish to sacrifice his body and thus set his soul free. In Jāyasī's poem, this longing arises at the first encounter of the lovers, or, in the case of Nāgmatī, when Ratansen does not return from his quest. Nāgmatī complains in the dohā of stanza 341 about Hīrāmani who has taken Ratansen away from her:

> 'Why have you taken away the partner of the *sāras* bird;[38] why did you not kill its female?'
> The woman has withered away and become a skeleton; the fire of separation has hit her.
>
> *Padmāvat* 341.8-9[39]

In the sources on which the Sufi poets drew, the images of viraha also had a social connotation. If her husband does not come home, a widow has no one to protect her from the whims of her in-laws, and is regarded as just another

mouth to feed. This anxiety intensifies the emotional impact of the image of viraha. In stanza 356, the lonely woman complains also of material discomforts, such as the fact that there is no one to take care of mending the roof or repairing the damage of the seasonal rain and wind.[40]

The separation and the threat of social exclusion makes the women perform the equivalent of yoga: they cannot bear food, they take off their fine clothes and jewels, they loosen their hair like a widow or a female ascetic (see stanzas 348, 350, 351). Jāyasī describes how Nāgmatī waits for a year but loses her mind because of the separation and wanders through the forest to ask the birds for news of her husband (stanza 359). Her viraha is so strong that it burns the whole forest including all the birds who hear of her distress. Nāgmatī asks a bird to convey a message to her husband:

> 'Please describe this suffering to him, so that he will feel the pain when he hears it.'
> Who is there to be like Bhīma who supported Draṅgapati;[41] who wants to bring [this message] to Siṃhal?
> 'While my lover has gone away as a yogī, I am pining away as a separated woman (*biyogī*) and have become like an [ascetic's] violin.'
> 'He has blown his horn and met his guru; I have become ash and he has not even come to collect it.'[42]
> 'He who comes and tells me a story about my husband, I will serve [him] all my life like a sandal.'
> 'I have become [thin] like a rosary remembering his virtues; even now he has not returned as if he has flown away on his deerskin.'
> 'On the instruction of the guru called viraha I have made my heart a begging-bowl; my soul subsists on air alone.'
>
> 'My bones are dried out and have become like a lute, but all the strings are broken.'
> 'From every hair on my body this tune rises [to the bird:] "Go and spread word about this distress of mine."'[43]
>
> *Padmāvat* 361

Jāyasī mentions the ascetic aspect of the restraint of joban and the endurance of the suffering of viraha, using the idiom of service (sevā), as in the dohā of stanza 173 cited above. This service involves total detachment from mortal existence, waiting for the return of the husband and union with the beloved.

Just as has been shown above for the other concepts of sevā mentioned in *Padmāvat*, this service is a powerful force that drives the actions of the characters in the poem. Ratansen could not resist Nāgmatī 's call to come home. The only good reason for ignoring this claim is a service of a higher order, such as fighting for the overlord. This is what Bādal explains to his young bride when he has to fight for Ratansen:

> Bādal said: 'Oh, woman, let go of my waistband; when a man has to go a woman should not hold his waist.'
> 'Oh, elephant-gaited woman, now that you come with the wedding party, I have to go there where my lord is.'[44]
> 'Until my king is set free, heroism suits me, not love.'
> 'Women and land are servants of the sword; they belong to him who conquers them with his sword.'
> 'He who has a sword in his hand has a solid fist; when there are no testicles there is no mustache and no beard.'[45]
> 'As there is a mustache on my face I will risk my life and topple the throne of Indra for my lord.'
> 'A man does not yield when he has given his word; it is like the tusk of an elephant and not like a turtle's neck.'
>
> 'You are a weak woman with a simple mind; anyone who is knowledgeable in these matters, understands this.'
> 'When men have the rasa of heroism [*vīrarasa*], love [*śṛṅgārarasa*] is not suitable.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 618

The female perspective on love in Jāyasī's representation of joban and also of viraha can be seen as an effort to communicate with an audience outside the Sufi dargāh. The devotion to the graves of the Sufi pīrs was, and is, for a large part performed by women, who come to the shrine to pray for a good husband, a healthy son or a cure for an ill child. The descriptions of the pūjā of Padmāvatī and her girlfriends, but also that of the suffering and despair of the *virahinī*s in *Padmāvat*, reflect the religious expectations of these female devotees.[46]

Indian Sufi poets fully integrated the polyphonic image of the lonely woman who longs for the return of her lover in their poetry, as it expressed an important tenet of Sufi doctrine, but also resonated with the intense emotionality of folk poetry. Jāyasī uses these connotations to extend the thematic and

rhetorical imapct of his representation of love in *Padmāvat*.[47] Padmāvatī's complaint, when she is waiting for the return of Ratansen from the prison of 'Alā' al-dīn, exemplifies the semantic richness of viraha*:*

> Padmāvatī was sorrowful without her beloved; she was withering like the lotus flower without water.
> 'My beloved had a profound love for me, but he has gone to Delhi;[48] he stayed there without thinking [of me].'
> 'Nobody ever returns from that Land-of-no-Return; who can I ask, who will bring a message?'
> 'He who goes there, stays there; he who comes back from there does not know [what is there].'
> 'My lover has gone the impassable road to that place; he who goes there does not return.'
> When she cries it is as if she draws water from a well and lets it stream from the overflowing buckets that are her eyes.
> 'Oh, my lord, without you I have become like the rope that has fallen into the well; please come for me and pull me out!'[49]
>
> She pours out the full buckets of her eyes, but still the fire in her heart cannot be extinguished.
> Some moments her life comes back but the next moment it departs again.
>
> *Padmāvat* 581

5.7 Love and sacrifice

The depiction of viraha as a burning fire follows the conventions of popular poetry, but also connects the theme of love with the notion that Padmāvatī, the object of Ratansen's longing, represents the divine light. This connotation connect images of light to the thematic complex of prem and sevā. The blazing fire of viraha shows its violent aspect in the divine light embodied in Padmāvatī. This fire purifies the lovers Ratansen and Padmāvatī by burning their mortal bodies, but when their desire is not fulfilled, the fire threatens to destroy the world (stanza 205-208). This destructive power reflects the might of God, who is the origin of the divine light that instigates the fire. This destructive power is alluded to in the prologue of *Padmāvat*, in the dohā of stanza 6. It is also mentioned in Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām*, where the fire and deluge on the Last Day are the complement of God's loving and providing force.

Ratansen's defiance of the destructive fire of viraha is a sign that his pu-

rification makes him mighty and invulnerable to worldly opposition. This is demonstrated when the king stands before the gates of Siṃhal and causes concern to Gandharvsen and his counsellors, who point out that there can be no victory in the fight with the yogī, because he is intent on dying in battle (239 ff).

The apocalyptic nature of love is displayed in various places (205 ff; 363; 180). When a bird takes Nāgmatī's message of viraha to Ratansen in Siṃhal, he leaves a fiery trace.

> The bird took the message with him; a fire arose that began to destroy Siṃhal.
> Who can come in the way of this fire of separation and stop it; its smoke becomes like black clouds.
> Such flames broke loose from it that the whole sky was filled; like shooting stars they all fell back on earth.
> Wherever the earth burned, alkali arose; may no one be burned by separation!
> Rāhu and Ketu caught fire and Laṅkā was set ablaze; the sparks swirled up and fell on the moon.
> As the bird flew over the ocean, it wept loudly; the fish started to burn and the water became brackish.
> The trees in the woods burned as did the oysters in the water when he came closer to Siṃhal Dvīp.
>
> On the shore of the ocean he sat down in a tree.
> All the while he had not delivered his message, he had neither thirst nor hunger.
>
> *Padmāvat* 363

The readiness to sacrifice oneself for love is a prominent element of prem and sat in the first part of *Padmāvat*. In the second part, a more martial aspect comes to the fore in the siege of Citor by 'Alā' al-dīn. Under these adverse conditions it still is an emanation of the divine light and guides Ratansen. For his ally and devoted servant Gorā, the sacrifice in battle for his lord marks the divine nature of his service. Against overwhelming odds, he and his men rush into battle without fear of dying, to cover the return of Ratansen to Citor.

> Like moths they rushed towards the fire; when one dies the others also give their lives.
>
> *Padmāvat* 632.4

The most prominent sacrifice is the jauhar of Padmāvatī and Nāgmatī on Ratansen's funeral pyre, which establishes their permanent union in love. It constitutes Padmāvatī's ultimate sevā to her husband as a satī, and brings her back to heaven, where here light originated from. The sacrifice terminates the story and the short presence of the divine in this world.

The jauhar of Padmāvatī combines the cultural idiom of the Rajput warrior with the mystical symbolism of *Padmāvat*, connecting the notion of the sevā of the warrior with the mystic's quest for union with God. Padmāvatī is both the satī, the idealised queen of the Rajput king who faithfully preserves the honour of the king's household, as well as the divine idol, the object of mystical love. In Rajasthan, places where a jauhar has taken place are marked as sacred sites and are places of worship and pilgrimage. In mystical symbolism, this act consolidates the union with God across the boundary of death, as expressed in verses 650.5-6 (see below).

The jauhar in *Padmāvat* is staged as a re-enactment of a wedding ceremony. This reflects the concept of the wedding as the metaphor for the mystic's merger with the divine. In popular Indian Islam, this notion is enacted in the main religious festival in a dargāh, the '*urs*, the celebration of the death of the founding saint and his 'wedding' with the divine beloved in death. The celebration marks a momentary connection between this and the next world. Taking part in it enables the devotee of the dargāh to project his own desire for an encounter with the divine onto the example of the pīr who established this union, which is the basis for his miraculous power, his baraka.

The jauhar of Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī combines a doctrinal as well as an devotional, emotional outlook on this rite, which makes it a fitting conclusion to the polyphonic representation of love in Jāyasī's poem.[50]

> Padmāvatī donned a new silken sari and she went as the partner of her beloved.
> The sun was hidden, it had become night; the full moon had become the moon in the *amāvas*.[51]
> She loosened her hair and laid off her strings of pearls; it was as if all the stars fell down at night.
> When she bared her head, the red *sendur* powder[52] fell down; it was as if the dark world was set ablaze.
> [She said:] 'On this day, oh lord, I want to embrace you and go with you.'
> 'The *sāras* [bird] cannot live when it is separated, how can I live without you, my beloved.'
> 'I will sacrifice myself and have my body scattered, after having become ashes together [with you] I will not come back.'

'I will end my life as a moth in the lamp of love.'
'After having made sacrifices on all four sides of you, I will embrace you and give up my life.'

Padmāvat 648

As the custom of jauhar prescribes, both of Ratansen's wives, Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī, sacrifice themselves on the pyre. Padmāvatī represents the light; Nāgmatī – the dark one, the snake – stands for death and the dark side of existence. Their sacrifice resolves this opposition; they are equal as lovers of Ratansen, representing both his mystical quest and worldly life.

The queens Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī are both famous as satīs whose truthfulness was great.
They both mounted the bier and sat down on it; they could behold paradise.
Everyone, even kings who now sit on their throne, will sit in the end on this bier.[53]

Padmāvat 649.1-3

The pyre was constructed and many pious gifts were presented; [Padmāvatī and Nāgmatī] again rounded it seven times.[54]
The first round took place when they married; now they perform the second one and depart with [their husband].
The bed was placed on top of the pyre; the two lay down and embraced their beloved's neck.
'Oh dear one, while you were alive you embraced us; now that you are dead, oh lord, do not leave our neck!'
'Dear husband, the knot [of marriage] you tied to last for ever will not be loosened.'
'What is the meaning of this world? Everything that exists will be annihilated. You and we, oh lord, will be partners in this world and the next.'
They embraced him and the fire was ignited; they were burned to ashes but they did not flinch.

They passed away, red with the love for their beloved, and also the sky glowed a fiery red.
He who comes up, must go down; nobody stays in this world.

Padmāvat 650

The setting of the divine light concludes the story. What rests is the dusk and darkness of 'Alā' al-dīn's conquest of Citor and the jauhar of the other ladies of the fortress.[55] Jāyasī describes this departure of the divine light with the ambivalent phrase *'citor bhā islām'* ('Citor has become Islam(ic)'), which has been the topic of various speculations. Ahmad (1963: 475) interprets it as an 'anti-Islamic finale', which is supposed to express the poet's sympathy with the Rajputs. This view on the poem reads the opposition between the Rajput king and the Muslim sultan as that between a 'Hindu' and a 'Muslim', projecting a modern, politicized perspective on these religious identities represented in the text. It fails to see the moralist dimension, which has been emphasized in the present analysis, in which the sultan wins Citor but does not gain Padmāvatī, the objective of his conquest. Jāyasī characterises the sultan not specifically as a Muslim, but from a moralist perspective, as a worldly ruler who is blinded from wisdom by his lust. Ratansen has followed the path of the mystical lover and thus gained a moral highground, plus the 'immortality' symbolized in his union with Padmāvatī and the intertext of Alexander's quest for the water of life in the background.

Still, this moralist reading alone does not provide a satisfactory meaning for '*citor bhā islām*'. Sreenivasan quotes Behl's inventive reading of the verse from the unpublished draft of the latter's study of the genre of the Avadhi Sufi romances, in which Citor is taken as a pun on the Hindi words '*cit*' and '*ur*', 'mind' and 'heart'. The destruction of the fortress would then stand for the annihilation of the 'domain of the heart and mind' and the final union with the divine. Sreenivasan follows this interpretation and adds that the victory indicated here stems from the Sufi's self-claimed superiority over both the local elites who may have supported the poet, as well as over the sultanate who patronised the Sufi silsilas. In this reading, the Rajput king stands for the Sufi's ideal of transcendent orientation, whose spiritual trajectory is interwoven in a very sophisticed manner with the confrontation between secular and spiritual governance in the poet's immediate context. In this view Jāyasī speaks both from his own position as that of his spiritual patrons (2007: 58-60).

Although Sreenivasan and Behl are correct in noting the political subtext of the religious ideal presented by Jāyasī, which is also argued for in this book, they do not completely solve the riddle of 'citor bhā islām'. The problem does not lie so much in whose victory this indicates – it is obvious that Ratansen is shown to have kept the moral upper hand by remaining true to his queen and his valour as a Rajput king – as in the use of the incongruent word 'islām'. This term, or its derivative 'muslim' is not attested anywhere else in Jāyasī's poems, even though some, such as *Akharāvaṭ* and *Ākhirī Kalām*, have a pronounced

'Islamic' tone and theme. The term does not fit the polyphonic mix of religious idiom used by the poet. He often uses the word 'dharma' to indicate the true faith, which would, in Arabic or Persian be indicated with the word '*dīn*'. Stanza 651 is the place where the allegorical 'kuñjī' stanza is inserted in some manuscripts, which casts some doubts on whether this dohā is original.

Another problem lies in the claim to superiority on the part of the Sufi suggested by Sreenivasan and Behl. In chapter 7, the analysis of the role of messengers demonstrates the poet's mediating agency as a crucial element in his habitus, which implicates the subtle balancing between dependency on his patrons and the freedom to speak the truth. There are many references to this in the descriptions of characters such as Hīrāmani or Rāghav Cetan. The poet is backed by the prestige of the Sufi silsila, but he is a mediator, not a defender of their cause. Besides, Behl's reading of Citor as 'cit' and 'ur' comes close to the allegorical equations proposed in the 'kuñjī' stanza, which have been shown to represent a rather scholastic, and definitely posterior interpretation of the poem.

Because of the problems that are left unsolved in the readings suggested by Ahmad, Sreenivasan and Behl, a more mundane interpretation is worthy of consideration. In view of the fact that *Padmāvat* reaches out to a mixed audience, and that the Sufi 'ideology' presented in the poem has a wider thematic meaning than that of the mystical dimension of Islam, the expression '*citor bhā islām*' may also have been used in its most literal sense – the end of the conflict was that Citor was conquered and had become '*dar ul islām*', land where Islam reigns. This does not preclude the more emphatic connotations proposed by Sreenivasan and Behl, but it seems more in line with the mediator's modesty and tact to imply those rather than spell them out. Even within this literal mode there is room for literary play, as '*islām*' can also be taken as a pun on the meaning of the word in Arabic, 'voluntary *submission* to God'. This would make the verse a more refined and heteroglossic way of stating the political status of Citor in the poet's and his audience's own time. This would certainly appeal to an audience of not particularly mystically inclined Muslim devotees of the tombs of the Sufi saints.

The verse closes the tale of Ratansen's love for Padmāvatī and gives the poet the chance to round up his rhetorical framework in an epilogue. It seems fitting that he marks the transition to 'reality' by a rather factual statement, which has a rhetorical rather than a thematic function.

Conclusion

The analysis of the representation of love in *Padmāvat* demonstrates how this theme provides the thematic axis of the poem. The expression of prem provides hooks for sub-themes, such as sevā, sat, joban and viraha that widen the semantic scope of the poem and make it more than a monologic mystical romance.

The description of both the joban and the viraha of the female lover emphasises partial aspects of the overarching concepts of prem and sevā. The latter two converge in the sat of the male protagonist king Ratansen, who has to prove his truthfulness both as a yogī of love and as a Rajput warrior. Padmāvatī's love and service come together in the ideal of the satī, which makes her an example of loyal sacrifice. The raging force of viraha is a prelude to the ultimate sevā in the jauhar of the two queens of Citor.[56]

This image of love addresses a broad range of cultural and religious sensitivities. The emphasis on sevā speaks to both the Sufi pupil as well as to the devotee who worships the grave of the pīr in the hope of obtaining his blessing and baraka to face life's challenges. The representation of the king's sevā, his yoga for love, his generosity, detachment and loyal sacrifice, present a moral example for a worldly audience. Prem, the love of and for God, is the experience with which the Sufi pīr transcends mortal existence. This is conveyed in the story of Padmāvatī and Ratansen, in which prem, sevā and sat prevail over the darker forces that govern this world.

Jāyasī's tale of love remains a coherent semantic whole because the subthemes hinted at in the description of Ratansen's spiritual development through love are well integrated into the structure of the work, with the clear intention of presenting a polyphonic representation of this theme. This thematic coherence characterises Jāyasī's poetry with the effect that it cannot be seen as a derivative or an emulation of the various genres referred to in the poem. Its coherence converges in its functionality in the literary field, where it served the interlocking interests of local Sufis and worldly patrons.

Notes

1. मुहमद यही कबि जोरि सुनावा । सुना जो पेम पीर का पावा ॥
जोरी लाइ रकत कइ लेई । गाढ़ी प्रीति नैन जल भेई ॥ (reading का for गा in the first line). The image contains a pun on the practice of writing. The poet made his blood the red ink that is used for the headings and the dohās in some manuscripts. His tears provide the liquid for dissolving the ink.

2. References to Ḥallāj can be found in *Padmāvat* 124.4: पँथ सूरिन्ह कर उठा अँकुरू । चोर चढ़ै कि चढ़ै मंसूरू ॥ 'On this road the gallows [stakes] rise like twigs, a thief will mount

them or Manṣūr.' and in *Padmāvat* 260.6: जस मारइ कहँ बाजा तूरू । सूरी देखि हँसा मंसूरू ॥ 'When the trumpets sounded for the death [of the king], he looked at the gibbet and laughed [like] Manṣūr.' References to Manṣūr are common in the description of the dissolution (*fanā'*) into God. Manṣūr is also often mentioned as an example of a fearless pīr who puts his life at risk in the challenge to worldly authorities. See this motif in *Padmāvat* 239.5, where Gandharvsen is warned of the yogī's route to heaven, through the gallows. See on the historical and religious backgrounds of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj: Massignon (1922).

3. See for a description of Sufi mystical doctrine: E.J. Gibb (1900-1909 [1958-1963] vol. 1: 15 ff.); Schimmel (1985b: 191-214, 396 ff).

4. See Streusand (1989).

5. See the translation of lines from stanza 50 in chapter 6.1.

6. The peacock eats snakes and therefore gets trapped in the snake-noose. Having learned from her eagerness, she retreats to the forest. The king is warned not to get trapped in the noose which caught the peacock. The word *nāgavāsī* (Skt. *nāgapāshika*) is also a general term for a noose. The peacock's mistake makes the connotation of the snake hunt likely.

7. Another example of the use of poetical syllogism, see chapter 4.5.2.

8. The call of the partridge is believed to sound like '*dokhu*', 'pain'.

9. Note the emphasis on the darśan, which opens the way to God. Hīrāmani, as a companion of the princess, can describe his darśan to the king.

10. The intertext of Jāyasī's own texts is interesting here: in *Kanhāvat* (60-61) Kaṃsa sees Kṛṣṇa in his dreams. When he wakes up his soul is robbed, only his empty body remains as a foreboding of the end of his reign. Similarly, Kṛṣṇa's soul is taken away when he falls in love with Candrāvalī and becomes a yogī (108). *Ākhirī Kalām* has the same motif: on the Last Day, the souls of all the living are taken away by the death-angel Azrael (stanza 20).

11. The lotus stands for the divine soul within the body. Hearing about Padmāvatī has made Ratansen realise its presence. The image is also found in yogic representations of the development of mystical awareness (*sādhanā*).

12. *Mucuna pruriens*, a medicinal plant with stinging seeds.

13. Literally, 'was like a *kalpa*' (1000 *yugas)*.

14. To frighten away the night.

15. The wasp lays its eggs inside the body of other insects, eating the carrier from within. It is a symbol for the union of the guru and the pupil, who has to become one with the guru in order to be born again. The verse also has an erotic subtext.

16. A famous guru in the nāth yogī tradition. It is meant here that Padmāvatī supports Ratansen like a guru would do with a pupil.

17. The notion is that the fish is quick and agile and the tortoise the symbol of stability.

18. See chapter 4.6.10 and the translation of 215-216 in chapter 3.4. An interesting parallel can be found in Tulsīdās's *Viṇaya-patrikā* (58), which describes Laṅkā as the fortress of dharma. See the translation by Allchin (1966: 125 ff).
19. The sadṛtuvarṇan (stanza 332-340) and bārahmāsā (stanza 341-359) episodes are turning points in the work. Based on this structural symmetry M.P. Gupta rejected many additions to the second half of the work found in manuscripts. Jāyasī had an eye for form in his works. In his *Akharāvaṭ* the verse praising his pīr is also in the middle of the work. This two-tiered composition represents a virtual universe with Siṃhal as its centre. In Muslim cosmogony, Siṃhal is often represented as the place of an *axis mundi*.
20. The ambiguous praise from the mouth of Ratansen alludes to the praise for the generosity of a patron in stanza 17 of the prologue, see chapter 4.6.6. The scene here also serves to remind a patron of the need for generosity.
21. In Niẓāmī's version of the Alexander story, the king returns from the Land of Darkness (ẓulmāt) without the water of life, but he does get a stone that can be weighed against all other worldly riches. In the Alexander dāstāns similar precious objects are mentioned as compensation for the loss of the illusion of finding the *āb-i ḥāyāt* (water of life). See Southgate (1978: 32-33, 56-59).
22. Cf. stanza 493, where Ratansen replies to 'Alā' al-dīn's threats by challenging him to act like Alexander, who died without having found amṛt. See the translation quoted in chapter 3.5.1.
23. The dāstāns portray Alexander only as a legendary hero, without the mystical connotation of the failed quest for the water of live.
24. Note how Jāyasī steps into the story and addresses his characters directly. This address is part of the rhetorical framework in which the poem is embedded. See chapter 4.6.
25. Ratansen's response is sacrifice for the sake of sat, as described in verse 512.1. This situation is a mirror image of Gandharvsen's reaction to the approaching army of yogīs at Siṃhal (stanzas 217 ff).
26. This image refers to the cycle of existence, in which the dust of the trampled houses will provide the material for new life. Parallels of this image can be found in the description of the destruction of the world on the Last Day in Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām*.
27. See the translation of this stanza in chapter 1.3.
28. The appreciation of the martial aspects of the poem has been an important driver in the popularity of *Padmāvat* among North Indian elites. See also chapters 1.4 and 2.4.
29. A similar polysemy is present in the Arabic word *ḥaqq*, with the exception, perhaps, of the meaning 'goodness'.
30. E.g. the translation of stanza 150 above, in chapter 5.2.

31. A traditional image from folk poetry. The oyster is in the water but only forms a pearl when it receives a drop of the svāti rain.
32. The moon and moonlight are supposed to be cool and to dampen passion; now even the moon is set alight by viraha.
33. A pun on the appearance of gray hairs, the white gees, when the black bees disappear.
34. The fear of the loss of the chance at mystical love in old age is in the mystical symbolism of *Padmāvat* also the drive behind the search for amṛt which gives eternal joban.
35. This meaning of old is also present in the word pīr, which basically means 'old man'.
36. 653.1: मुहमद बिरिध बएस अब भई । जोबन हुत सो अवस्था गई ॥; 653,7: तब लगि जीवन जोबन साथाँ । पुनि सो मींचु पराए हाथाँ ॥
37. See for a description of the genre of the bārahmāsā in North Indian poetry: Vaudeville (1965).
38. The *sāras* is an image of faithfulness because it always stays with its partner.
39. सारस जोरी किमि हरी मारि गएउ किन खग्गि । झुरि झुरि पाँजरि धनि भई बिरह कै लागी अग्गि ॥
40. The words of this stanza have a double meaning. Nāgmatī calls out for her husband in one reading, and in the other complains of the decaying house which lets in the rain and wind.
41. The reference to a king Bhīma is unclear and probably does not refer to the hero of the *Mahābhārata*. See: Agravāl (1961: 441).
42. This image refers to the ritual of the collection of the ashes after a cremation.
43. The rosary, the bowl and the lute are all the symbols of the yogī. Nāgmatī is now the '*biyogī*', the 'separated one'.
44. This verse plays with the double meaning of the word *gavan* (*gaun*), meaning both the taking of the bride to the house of the husband for the first time as well as 'departure, going'.
45. Which means: a woman.
46. The most elaborate festival in any dargāh is that of the '*urs*, the worldly death of the pīr, which is imagined as a wedding with his divine beloved. The female experience popular Islam is also expressed in bridal songs to the Prophet. See Schimmel (1974: 8; 1985b: 603 ff – 'Das Weibliche Element im Sufismus'.)
47. The female perspective on prem and sevā can also be found in *Kanhāvat*, where the *gopīs* are described as exemplars of love for the divine Kṛṣṇa. See also Pandey (1995).
48. There is a double meaning here: 'he has come loose', from Hindi *ḍhilanā*.
49. Note the symmetry in the imagery with the description of Ratansen in his prison that is a deep pit (stanza 576 ff).

50. The rite of jauhar made a deep impression on Muslim authors who described the campaigns of Jalāl ud-Dīn and ‘Alā’ al-dīn Khiljī. In his *Khazā‘in al-Futūḥ*, Amīr Khusraw describes a jauhar during the siege of Citor by ‘Alā’ al-dīn (translation by Habib 1931: 49).
51. The moon in conjunction with the sun, or the moon on the last day of the dark half of the month, which is almost invisible. It refers to Ratansen, the sun, who has gone, and the moon, Padmāvatī, that does not shine in the absence of the sun.
52. The red powder in the parting of her hair is a mark of her married status.
53. Agravāl has the reading *beṃṭhihi* (‘they will meet’). It is not clear whether it is a misprint or an altenative for Gupta’s *bhaiṭhihi*, which makes better sense.
54. The circumambulation of the fire at the wedding ceremony.
55. See the translation of stanza 651 in chapter 3.7.
56. See: 361.5, 618.4 and 640.6.

The metaphoric scheme *of* light

The passages quoted in this study testify to the expressive quality of images in *Padmāvat*. The poet rejoices in showing his poetical skill and knowledge of a range of cultural traditions from which he draws his material. Despite the fact that this sometimes leads to lengthy and detailed inventories, he takes great care in connecting the descriptive passages to the theme of his poem.

An important tool in this respect is the use of metaphoric schemes that connect sets of images throughout the poem and structure them around a central motif that has an intrinsic relation with the theme of the work. Conventional images are given a twist so that they cohere with this theme. The thematic congruence infuses the descriptive passages with a rich, multilayered meaning. The poet often uses the multiple possibilities for vocalising Persian script to juxtapose different thematic readings of one line or stanza.

The present chapter demonstrates how the images of light in *Padmāvat* form part of such a metaphoric scheme. It will show how the notion that Padmāvatī's beauty brings the divine light to the world inspires a number of associated images, such as those of gems and jewels, of the lotus and the sun, and of the sun and the moon. The notion of light as a sign of the divine is also expressed in repeated images of vision and insight, and in the many references to darśan as a purifying experience.

6.1 Dawn of the divine light

In the prologue, Jāyasī indicates how God made the divine light manifest with the creation of the world, and bestowed it on Muḥammad as a sign of His love. For the Sufi mystic, this lamp makes the path to God visible in the darkness of the world. The poet describes how his own pīr Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr (stanza 18) passed on this light to guide him on his path to knowledge of God. This concept is the basis for Padmāvatī's appearance in the poem, whose radiant beauty makes her a manifestation of the divine light in the world that guides the yogī

of love. By seeing this beauty, the lover perceives his own divine soul and sacrifices himself for love.[1] The metaphoric scheme constructed around the image of the divine light is introduced in the prologue in the first stanza of the poem:

> First I praise that one Creator, who gave life and created the world.
> In the beginning He made the light shine, and out of love for it He created heaven.
>
> *Padmāvat* 1.1-2

The role of the divine light in the creation of the universe is a topos that can also be found in the prologues of the Persian maṯnavī and in most Indian Sufi premākhyāns. With this opening, the poet 'recreates' the world around the appearance of this light, which is enacted in the birth of Padmāvatī.

Further on in the prologue, in stanza 7.1, the Creator is described as invisible, but permeating the whole world, being both transcendent and immanent. This introduces the notion that vision and insight is needed to perceive the divine. The insistence on the visual aspect of the religious experience develops the notion introduced in the first stanzas of the prologue, that the divine presents itself in the form of light.

> That Creator is invisible, without form and indescribable; He acts through everyone, everyone acts through Him.
>
> *Padmāvat* 7.1

The dohā of the next stanza elaborates on the notion that one has to *see* Him in the correct manner in order to understand His nature.

> He is not joined to anything, nor does he exist separately; that's how he pervades everything.
> For the one with vision he is close; for the blind fool he is far away.
>
> *Padmāvat* 8.8-9

The image of light as a manifestation of God's affection for his creation appears in the praise for Muḥammad, whose prophethood is the most tangible proof of the divine presence in this world.

> He created this one spotless man; his name is Muḥammad, and he is brilliant like the full moon.
> First, the Creator made the light; out of love for that he created the world.
> He lit a lamp and gave that to the world; thereby it became spotless, and the path became visible.
>
> *Padmāvat* 11.1-3

These lines identify the light mentioned in the first stanza of the poem as the 'nūr muḥammadī', the 'light of Muḥammad', which plays an important role in Sufism and in popular Islamic devotion to the figure of the Prophet. In this popular devotion, Muḥammad is seen as a saintly figure whose role extends beyond the account of his life in the traditional sources. This devotion partly overlaps with the popular cult of Sufi pīrs, in which the baraka of the saints is also seen as a 'radiance'.[2]

The lines cited here also introduce images that play an important role in the poetic idiom of the poet, such as that of the brilliance of the full moon, and that of the lamp that makes the path visible. The poet connects these images around the light of the Prophet as a sign of God's love for man. In this manner, he connects these conventional images to the metaphoric scheme of light that prevails in his poem.

The image of the lamp returns in Jāyasī's praise for his own pīr, Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr (stanza 18), which indicates the latter's spiritual power was inspired by the nūr muḥammadī introduced in stanza 11. Similarly, this applies to other figures whose power is described as a bright and supernatural radiance, such as the worldly ruler. The association of the might of the king with the divine light is behind the puns on the word '*sūr*', in the praise for Sher Shāh, which has the double meaning of 'sun', 'hero' and was also the family name of the sultan of Delhi (stanza 13-17). It also expresses the notion that kingship is bestowed by God, which is described in stanza 6. The worldly king's radiance is therefore also a sign of God's presence. This aspect of kingship is alluded to in the description of Gandharvsen's rule in Siṃhal (stanzas 45-46).

The images of light in the praise for Allah, the Prophet, the king and the pīr thus introduce the metaphoric scheme that is a thematic backbone for the poem. The description of the chain of transmission of the divine light from heaven to the world in the prologue prepares the stage for the appearance of Padmāvatī as the embodiment of this radiance. The transition of the light from

heaven to the world of the narrative is embedded in the description of the heavenly splendour of the city, its fortresses, palaces, and its king and queen, which indicate that it is the only suitable place for the appearance of the beautiful Padmāvatī. Jāyasī describes her birth as the descent of the divine light into the world.

> (…)
> That light was first made in heaven; then it became the jewel on her father's head.
> Then the light came into the body of her mother, and was very much honoured in her womb.
> In the same way as her womb became fuller, her heart began to radiate more with light every day.
> As a light that shines through a thin garment, so this light began to show itself in her heart.
>
> The palace was made of gold and it was fully wrapped in silver.[3]
> That jewel that was in heaven has now appeared to light up Siṃhal Dvīp.
>
> *Padmāvat* 50.4-9

6.2 The ruby, the diamond and the jewel

Within the metaphoric scheme of light, the poet brings sets of related images together under a single thematic notion. Images of gems and jewellery appear throughout the poem, in various contexts. The connection with the divine light lies in the notion that gems are pieces of raw matter that become precious by diffracting or reflecting light, which they seem to carry within them. Thereby, they symbolise the notion that the mystic carries the divine soul within himself and needs to prepare his body through penance to make this come out, just like the gem that needs to be cut and polished to be radiant.

The image of the match of the jewel and the diamond is the basis for the names of the characters in *Padmāvat*. Padmāvatī literally means 'she who is like a lotus'. She is often described as a lotus which turns towards the sun, the king. Her association with light is expressed by equating her with the diamond, the *padārth*, which is believed to be created when the rays of the sun hit the philosopher's stone.[4]

> When the sun dallies with the philosopher's stone, the rays converge and then the gem called diamond is made.

> The brilliance of this diamond [Padmāvatī] was even greater than [such a gem]; a spotless jewel has been born as a match for her.
>
> *Padmāvat* 52.5-6

The word padārth has several meanings: firstly, it contains a reference to Padmāvatī and Ratansen, '*pada*' and '*ratha*'; secondly, it is a philosophical term meaning 'principle'. The meaning 'diamond' is probably derived from the philosophical connotation, indicating that is the essential stone, the most precious entity. The image of the rock that is converted by light into a diamond is taken from the practice of the purification of gold through alchemy, which is often referred to in nāth yogī poetry to describe spiritual purification (Dasgupta 1962: 193 ff.).

The diamond is pure light, having apparently no matter. Therefore it symbolises the mystic, whose goal it is to leave the mortal body behind and merge with the divine light. This ideal is at the root of the image of Padmāvatī as a perfect diamond, destined for a union with another spotless jewel (*ratan*). Jāyasī uses the word *ratan* here, which means 'jewel', but can also mean 'ruby', although in other places he uses *manik* for 'ruby'. The red colour of the ruby refers to Ratansen's role as a mystical lover and ascetic. Just like the diamond, the jewel, or the ruby, is a piece of inanimate material that is brought to life by the light beamed into it by the sun. Unlike the diamond, which is supposed to be clear and glittery by itself, the ruby is often treated with heat and polished to make it shine brighter when lit by the rays of the sun. Their union in a perfect ornament is already predicted at the occasion of Ratansen's birth.

> Ratansen was born into this family; he is a jewel and on his forehead glows a brilliant gem.
> This jewel is destined to be united with the diamond in the *padik* ornament,[5]
> and then there will be a radiance like that of moon and sun.
>
> *Padmāvat* 73.4-5

The image of the union of diamond and jewel (ruby) represents the essence of the story of the love between Padmāvatī and Ratansen. Jāyasī puts this analogy in 'Alā' al-dīn's mouth, when he visits the fortress of Citor pretending to come to negotiate, but secretly planning Padmāvatī's capture:

> He spoke a lot of forgiving, and smiling gave the king [Ratansen] betel. After having laid his hand on the jewel first, he wanted to take the diamond [too].
>
> *Padmāvat* 566.8-9

The image of Padmāvatī as a diamond in which the divine light is manifested is further developed by comparing her body as the fitting of the purest gold. The purity of the gold prevents the divine light from touching impure, worldly matter.[6] The king's penance for love are like the heating and polishing of the jewel to bring out the divine light beamed into it. It prepares the gem for being fitted next to the diamond, just as it makes him fit to be Padmāvatī's husband.

The image of finding and judging gems is referred to in the role of Hīrāmani, who found the ratan to go with his master's padārth. He explains how he found a suitable lover for her.

> 'He occupies his father's royal throne; his name is king Ratansen.'
> 'How can I describe the fortunate and brilliant land where such a shining jewel was born!'
> (...)
> 'When I saw that jewel [Ratansen], a desire formed in my mind; this gem should be the partner of the diamond.'
> 'This sun is truly the match for the moon; therefore I described you to him.'
>
> 'How far apart are the jewel [pearl] in the sea and the gold on the Meru-mountain?'
> 'If God has predestined the union of these two, they will meet by whatever means.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 177.1-2; 6-9

The parrot's message ignites the fire of love in Padmāvatī. Still she hesitates, as she wants to be sure that the jewel the parrot is talking about is not an ordinary piece of glass.

> A golden fitting[7] does not desire glass; it will only shine if there is a jewel in it. Only the jewel setter knows the secret of the jewel; he will only set the stone when it is such a [perfect] diamond.
>
> *Padmāvat* 179.5-6

Hīrāmani's name is also an indication of his association with shining stones, as it can be translated literally as 'rosary of diamonds'. His most precious gift is his learned speech, which he spreads like pearls from his ruby-like beak.

> Padmāvatī kept a parrot; he was a great pundit and his name was Hīrāmani.
> God gave the bird this light; his eyes were gems, his beak a ruby full of pearls.
>
> *Padmāvat* 54.5-6

This image indicates that Hīrāmani's words, when he tells Ratansen of Padmāvatī's beauty, are also a manifestation of light. Through the glow of his pearl-like speech he transmits the divine light that is manifested in the princess's beauty. In this role, the parrot is like the guru, or the Sufi pīr, whose guidance is also described as a shining light.

In the complex image of Padmāvatī and Ratansen as diamond and jewel destined to be brought together in one ornament, Jāyasī brings together various references, such as the yogic practice of alchemy and the Sufi concept of mystical purification. These connotations revolve around the image of the divine light that shines in Padmāvatī and that of the arduous process of attaining mystical enlightenment through love. Most of the images used are conventional, but Jāyasī's contribution lies in the skilful juxtaposition of images from Indian and Islamic sources, integrating those through their association with the image of light. The symbolism of the images of gems is also implied in the names of the characters of *Padmāvat*, which places them at the heart of the poem's thematic structure.

6.3 Padminī, the lotus-woman

The metaphoric scheme of light is also the structuring principle behind the images that describe Padmāvatī as a lotus flower that opens to the light of the sun and attracts the bee, which comes to obtain the divine rasa within. It is a powerful and multilayered image in which the poet makes concepts from nāth yogī and Sufi mysticism overlap.

The name of Padmāvatī refers to the notion that she is a padminī, a woman of the highest class of women. Her body is therefore made of the purest gold, so that it can contain the divine light. This connects the notion of worldly beauty as a reflection of the divine and goal of the mystic's quest, with the Indian classification of women. He adds to this the connotation of the lotus flower, and the bee as collector of rasa and the symbol of the fickle lover from Indian vernacular poetry. Another element in this semantic stack is the image

of the *mānas* lake as the place where the lotus resides, which is often found in the religious idiom of the nāth yogīs to indicate the location of the mystical experience within the yogī's body. The poet connects these images from different cultural backgrounds by means of the central metaphor of the incarnation of light in Padmāvatī. This complex of images is introduced at the end of the prologue and reappears in various other places in the work.

> The bee comes from the forest to inhale the smell of the lotus.
> The frogs sit next to it, but will never obtain it.
>
> *Padmāvat* 24

The goal of the mystic's quest is equated with finding the divine rasa within himself, which is near for the knowledgeable bee, but out of reach for the foolish frog.

Another image that is often used is that of the yogī of love as a bee who goes from flower to flower to find nectar. He needs to discipline himself through the yoga of love, to give up his roaming and stay with the one flower that contains the true rasa. The fickleness of the yogī also comes up during Ratansen's and Padmāvatī's wedding night (stanzas 310-312). She blames the king for behaving like a yogī, who roams around like the bee. Ratansen answers that he is like the bee that goes to the *ketakī* flower, which has a thorn inside its cup, on which the insect impales itself. This is a variation on the notion of the bee as an image of the mystic and emphasises the yogī's sacrifice.

The image of the bee's quest for nectar is connected to that of the light by the notion that the sun needs to warm the flower to make it produce nectar. The sun makes the lotus open and gives the bee access to its rasa. Jāyasī locates the blooming of the lotus on receiving the divine light in the mānas lake of nāth yogī mysticism. This complex is alluded to when Ratansen and his companions reach the Mānasar lake at Siṃhal where the lotus resides, and have a first vision of the goal of their arduous journey.

> They came to the seventh sea, the Mānasar; he who had been courageous in his truthfulness [sat] obtained a thousand *siddhis*.[8]
> Seeing the pleasing beauty of the Mānasar the excitement in their hearts unfolded like a lotus.
> The darkness had gone away and the ink of the night had disappeared; the dawn broke and the rays of the sun broke through.
> All the companions [of the king] called out: 'Astu, astu [It is he, it is he!],[9] God has opened the eyes of us who were blind!'

> As the lotus flower blossomed there, their bodies also began to smile; like bees their eyes started to enjoy its flavour [nectar].'
> The geese smiled and enjoyed themselves; they picked up the gems, pearls, and diamonds.
> He who comes here after having completed such penance and yoga [as Ratansen did], his hope is fulfilled and he experiences the enjoyment of pleasure.
>
> The bee who has his mind fixed on the Mānasar comes to it and enjoys the nectar of the lotus.
> The woodworm, who does not have this courage, eats dry wood.
>
> *Padmāvat* 158

This description is a good example of Jāyasī's technique of juxtaposing images from different backgrounds to achieve a polyphonic representation of the poem's theme. It does not emulate a monologic nāth yogī representation of mystical insight, but weaves together various images connected with the theme of light. The darkness of the passage over the ocean stands for the dark existence without knowledge of the divine soul, when there is no enlightenment by the guru. It is contrasted with the brilliant flash of joy in the moment of the vision of the divine and the opening up of the lotus flower by the appearance of the sun. This allows the bees to reach the rasa of the lotus.

The image of the geese picking gems brings back the theme of the stones as containers of light.

In nāth yogī theory, the mānas lake is the place where the female energy, represented as the *kundaliṇī* rises up through the spinal cord, to meet its male counterpart in the *sahasrāracakra*, the 'lotus cakra' at the base of the skull. This representation of the body as a microcosm in which the cosmic process of the mystical union takes place, is the basis for Jāyasī's description of the fortress of Siṃhal in stanza 40.[10] Hīrāmani's description of the fortress of Siṃhal to Ratansen is based on the yogic image of the location of the mystical union.

> 'The lake is the sky, the lotus is the moon, and with her are the lilies that are the stars.'
> 'You are the sun that comes up; when a bee comes, the wind brings it the scent [of the lotus].'
>
> *Padmāvat* 160.8-9

On the other side of the hill, in the palace of Siṃhal, Padmāvatī is also afflicted by love and waits like the lotus for the coming of the bee.

> 'The lotus in that other wood will receive its bee; who will bring it to me and extinguish the fire in my body?'
> There was such a fire in the limbs of her lotus body that her heart became pale because of the pain of love.
>
> *Padmāvat* 169.3-4

Hīrāmani informs Padmāvatī of the prince Ratansen he has brought to Siṃhal in the guise of a yogī.

> You are a young girl, rasa [the enjoyment of love] belongs to you like the scent to the lotus.
> Therefore I made the sun shine and brought a bee to meet you.
>
> *Padmāvat* 178.8-9

In this representation, Padmāvatī is the lotus woman who is pining for the rays of the sun to open. Ratansen is the sūr (sun/hero) who will warm her and make her open her petals, so that the bee can get to the rasa. Her separation from the sun makes her wither away and burn with the fire of viraha. Jāyasī uses this perspective in the description of the difficult separation of Padmāvatī from Ratansen, which appears in several places in the narrative, such as when Ratansen is taken captive after breaking in to the palace of Siṃhal. Padmāvatī's girlfriends tell the devastated princess that her lover has come.

> 'Oh Padminī, you are a lotus bud; the night has gone and morning has broken.'
> 'Even now you do not open your folded petals, when the sun has come up in the world.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 250.8-9

Padmāvatī is so distressed by viraha that she wants Hīrāmani's advice.

> The moment the wet nurse Puraïni[11] heard this she ran and quickly brought Hīrāmani.

It was as if the doctor brought medicine that revived the dying patient.
Hearing his greetings, the woman opened her eyes; the pain of separation made her speak like the cuckoo.[12]
As the affliction of separation grew in the lotus, her saffron-coloured heart became paler.
'How can the sprout of love grow on that lotus, when the sun is eclipsed during the day?'
'Oh Puraïni, [by bringing Hīrāmani][13] you have taken away all the pain that formed a shadow over the lotus bud.'

Padmāvat 252.1-6

The meeting of Ratansen and Padmāvatī concludes the first part of the poem, where the poet uses the image complex of lotus, bee and sun to tie the events in the story to the main metaphoric scheme of light. This association brings a thematic coherence to the wide range of poetic images from different backgrounds. The images build a rich, multilayered fabric, weaving the mystical idiom of sants, nāth yogī poets and Sufis. The images taken from other traditions and their 'native' connotations are thus fully integrated into the poem's own semantic structure.

6.4 Darkness and light, sun and moon

The second part of *Padmāvat* is in many ways the opposite of the first, as it shows the darkness of existence in a world where it is hard to maintain the detachment required for sat and prem. The images of light that are used in this part reflect this thematic shift. A good example of this is the change in the meaning of the image of the lotus that comes to the fore when Nāgmatī and Padmāvatī have a fight over who is the king's favourite queen. All the positive notions of the lotus presented in the scenes of love are turned into scorn (*nindā*) by Nāgmatī, the dark woman, who is in many respects the reverse image of the fair Padmāvatī.

'Hey, lotus, do not boast that the sun has come up for you; when he will touch your roots, the water [of your lake] will be dirty.'
'The bees circle about like your eyes; they have come out of desire for your rotting smell.'
'Fish, turtles and frogs are your companions; ducks and birds stay with you day and night.'
'All the birds that have come to you have taken on the bad smell of the water.'
'Even if one washes a thousand times the smell cannot be rinsed off.'

'When you rise like the bright moon, there is a spot on your face as if you are touched by a sweeper.'
'Between you and me there is a difference like night and day; the death of the moon is in the hands of Rāhu.'

'What should I say about that beloved who placed coal on me?'
'You have trusted his play and won [him], and I have lost!'[14]

Padmāvat 441

Jāyasī shows how the whole image complex of the lotus and its consorts, the bees, and the birds in the mānas lake are inverted into negative images. He adds to this the image of the relationship between the moon and the sun, which is another important set of images connected with light in the first part of *Padmāvat*. Padmāvatī personifies the poetical topos of the moon, being a reflection of the divine light. In yogic theories, the union of moon and sun is a favourite symbol for the impossible mystical union. This image is referred to in various places in the first part of the poem.[15]

When the sun and moon have become united in the loving union of Ratansen and Padmāvatī, they return in the description of the rivalry between 'Alā' al-dīn and the king of Citor. In the prologue, Jāyasī introduced the image of the ruler who is like the sun, in praise of Sher Shāh (stanza 13). He can illuminate but also scorch his people like the sun. In the second part of *Padmāvat*, the negative aspect of worldly rule colours the description of 'Alā' al-dīn as 'anti-sun' who tries to take the place of Ratansen, the good sūr.

The turning point in the thematic meaning of the union of sun and moon is the scene in which Rāghav Cetan makes the moon appear during the day by means of magic (stanzas 445 ff). If the Brahmin can displace the moon so easily, the union of sun and moon (Ratansen and Padmāvatī) is in danger. Ratansen expels Rāghav for his deceit, which forces him to seek patronage from 'Alā' al-dīn by telling him of the moon-like beauty of Padmāvatī (stanza 472). The sultan decides he wants to have her and lays siege to Citor.

The representation of these events is based on the same symbolism of the light used by the poet in the first part of the poem, but now the moral polarity of the images is reversed. The sun that rose and went to conquer the fortress of Siṃhal now comes up in the form of the sultan 'Alā' al-dīn. His ascent causes a darkness like the destruction of the world at the Last Day (stanza 505 ff), or like the darkness of the black forest Alexander entered in his search for the water of life.

A darkness spread that resembled [the darkness that came] when Alexander went into the *kedalī* forest.[16]
One could not distinguish an outstretched hand; people began to light torches.

Padmāvat 509.8-9

He does not come for a union with the moon but wants to eclipse the latter with his dark, worldly lust. The contrast between the armies of the sun and the moon is the basis for many of the images of the battle for Citor (stanzas 515, 520). The light of the sultan is now the blinding glare of the sun that reflects off his iron-clad army. 'Alā' al-dīn hears about the deployment of the army of Ratansen and advances with his army.

'Today I will destroy you, moon; no other royal parasol remains in the world.'
Like the sun with thousand parts he spread his rays; the moon and all the stars went into hiding.
Because of the iron [armour] the army advanced like a mirror, it was as if the sun were visible in every body.

Padmāvat 520.3-5

Ratansen (the moon) sees the might of this army and decides that he cannot fight the sun during the day. He withdraws to his heavenly fortress like the moon at the break of day and comes out for battle at night, when he can successfully attack the sun.

The day has ended and the sun has gone back to his quarters; night has fallen and the moon has risen in the sky.
The moon [Ratansen] put up his royal parasol and appeared; he scattered stars to all four sides.
The stars rose in the sky and began to shine; meteors broke loose and could not be extinguished when they came down.
Pieces of rock fell like lightning; when one rock struck another rock, it fired sparks.
Bullets fell and they let mortars[17] roll down which pulverised everything as they came down on all sides.
A rain of coals came down and started to flow, it hammered like hail and could not be extinguished.
The Turks did not turn away from the fortress; when one died, another came to the fore.

The arrows of the king fell down; nobody could turn his face towards him.
The whole night the army of the *shāh* was on its feet, till the morning came.

Padmāvat 523

6.5 The experience of *darśan*

Another important aspect of the metaphor of light in *Padmāvat* is the perception of the various aspects of the divine radiance in the poem. The concept of the incarnation of the divine light in Padmāvatī as a sign of God's presence is crucial in Jāyasī's own religious inspiration and central to the thematic structure of the poem. Therefore, the act of beholding this light is mentioned in many places and scenes in *Padmāvat*, where the encounter with the divine through darśan constitute turning points in the narrative.

The visionary element in religious experience is problematic in orthodox Islam. Sufi theory acknowledges that severe penance can evoke visual experiences of the divine, but even Muḥammad is described as never coming face to face with God on his ascent to heaven to receive the faith. The orthodox ban on depictions of Allah or Muḥammad in Islamic tradition testify to this hesitation. Jāyasī's preference for a visual experience of the divine should therefore be related to the prominence of darśan in the popular devotion to the Sufi pīrs. Through darśan at a saint's tomb, the devotee enters into direct contact with the divine and can access the saint's baraka. Similarly, darśan is a crucial element in Hindu devotional practice.

For Jāyasī, darśan was not an 'alien' element, but an inspiring moment of encounter with the divine, which can be traced throughout his poetic work. In *Akharāvaṭ*, the central position of the pīr is the dominant theme, so darśan of the spiritual guide features prominently in the poem. The most intense integration of the Indian notion of the visual experience of the divine and Islamic religious concepts can be found in Jāyasī's work on the predictions of the Last Day, *Ākhirī Kalām*. There he describes how Muḥammad pleads with God for access to paradise for the believers. At that point, he desires a darśan of God and refuses to set foot in paradise before his demand is fulfilled. Suggesting that man could have a direct vision of God is a strong statement for an orthodox Muslim believer. The Prophet's demand is the projection of the poet's own religious inspiration, which he describes as a darśan of his guru (see stanza 18).

Hearing this command, joy came in their hearts; they got up in one motion.
The community of all the men and women that were in the created world
watched intensely.

An apparition [darśan] became visible for everyone; no one was excluded from the sight of Him.
There was a bright flash that made lightning look pale in its brightness.
The moon and the sun, the gems and diamond and the rubies and pearls were hidden, so much light there was.
That coloured light that cleared the mind with its shine, came and covered everyone with one blow.[18]
One became spotless through seeing His form, and one's own shape merged with His shape.

No one has ever seen Him in this way.
Muḥammad said: 'After seeing this sight [darśan], the people were awed in many ways.'

Ākhirī Kalām 51

In *Padmāvat*, the visual encounter with the divine is transferred to the vision of Padmāvatī's beauty, which leads to the 'conversion' of all the characters who experience it. The flash of her beauty robs the souls of the lovers Ratansen and 'Alā' al-dīn. The former falls into the stupor of the yogī of love, the latter is filled with raging lust. When the Brahmin Rāghav Cetan is caught unawares by a vision of Padmāvatī as he goes to meet her, he instantly loses his soul as a result (stanza 451).

The confusing effect of the darśan of the beautiful princess can be found in the scene at the Mānasar lake, where Padmāvatī and her friends go to bathe and play (stanza 65). Jāyasī in this scene uses the figure of speech which is known in Persian poetry as the *zabān-i hāl*, describing the events from the perspective of the lake as if it were an active character in the scene, which accounts for the unusual and vivid description of the experience of darśan. The lake sees how the girls enter its water and play a game in which they pass on a necklace under water. When it falls into the water, the unlucky girl has to dive for it. In its desire to see the girls, the lake holds the necklace, forcing the girls to dive for it.

The lake said: 'I got what I wanted: she has come here and touched me like a philosopher's stone of beauty.'
'By touching her feet I have become without sins, I have obtained beauty by looking at [her] beauty.'
'The fragrance of the *malaya* wind has touched my body; this became cool and

the heat went away as it was extinguished [by that wind].'
'I do not know who brought this wind; I got into a blessed state and my sins disappeared.'
At that moment the necklace came quickly to the surface; the girlfriends grabbed it and the moon [Padmāvatī] smiled.
The lotuses opened, seeing the streak of the moon; everyone who looked at her there obtained the same beauty as hers.
Everything got the specific shape they wanted, it was as if everything had become a mirror for the moon-faced [Padmāvatī].

Those who looked at her eyes became like lotuses and their bodies became pure water.
Those who saw her smile became like geese [haṃs];[19] the light of her teeth became like that of diamonds.[20]

Padmāvat 65

Conclusion

The analysis of the various sets of images related to light, such as the beauty of Padmāvatī, gems and jewels, the lotus and the bee, and the sun and moon, illustrates Jāyasī's use of metaphoric schemes. The poet uses this tool to imprint a thematic coherence on the various episodes of *Padmāvat*. The notion of the incarnation of the divine light in Padmāvatī is at the centre of this scheme, inspiring all related sets of images.

The images discussed in this analysis show how Jāyasī's constructs poetic material from different sources into elaborate, polyphonic descriptions. The metaphoric scheme brings this diverse material together to make it express a consistent and coherent thematic notion. The notion of the divine light that is central to *Padmāvat* refers to an important concept in monistic Sufism. Jāyasī's expresses this by using images from yogic sources, such as the lotus and the sun and the moon, and a range of other images. The poet does not import this material as a monologic semantic element, but infuses it with a new meaning that is relevant for his poem. The material he uses is part of a circulation of cultural signs, in which it is reinvested with new meaning as it is picked up in a new context.

It would be wrong to project too fixed a meaning on the yogic or the Sufi idiom Jāyasī uses to structure the representation of the appearance of the divine light. The skilful juxtaposition of this material into a composite literary fabric serves to contextualise the various images of light that circulate in the

poet's cultural environment. In the tale of Ratansen and Padmāvatī, these images come together in a coherent thematic structure that has a specific meaning in the field in which the poem functions, but is not necessarily meant to be valid in other contexts.

A central element in the metaphoric scheme of light is the visual experience of the divine through darśan. The prominent role of this practice connects the religious attitudes expressed in the poem to the world of popular Islamic and Hindu devotion, where seeing the divine is the most intense and emotional experience. Through the association with darśan, the divine light is brought home to the poet's and his patrons' own cultural environment.

Notes

1. The same association inspires the image of the moth and the candle (verses 168.8-9; 94.2; 178.4; 246.8-9; 648.8-9*)*.
2. Schimmel (1981: 123 ff) describes how images of light became associated with the Prophet and developed into a major symbol in Sufi mysticism. She mentions the various interpretations of the 'light Sura' of the Qur'an (Sura 24: 35), the role of the concept of light in mystical theories of early Sufism, and its representation in Sufi poetry.
3. The 'palace' is Padmāvatī's golden body, which contains the divine light. In her mother Campāvatī's womb, she is covered with silver. See also verse 164.3, which mentions the golden temple and references to her golden 'colour', such as in verse 327.7. Stanza 51 mentions the purification of gold by removing the surrounding silver as a metaphor for the birth of Padmāvatī out of the mother Campāvatī. Images from alchemy are often used in nāth yogī poetry. See also: Agravāl (1961: 59).
4. This image also has a background in Sufi theories. It is based on the Hellenistic notion of the stages of existence, in which lifeless matter is at the lowest rank, while man is seen as the apex of creation because of his divine soul. The two ends of the scale meet in the rock with a 'soul' in the form of the light. See: Schimmel (1985b).
5. With the union of the gem and the diamond in this breast-jewel Jāyasī indicates that Ratansen will eventually live in the heart of Padmāvatī. The *padik* is a precious ornament worn on a necklace on a woman's chest, which is richly set with gems and diamonds and is also used to mount the fastening of the necklace.
6. See stanza 50, cited above.
7. The *kaṃcan karī* is a golden jewel made in the shape of a flower bud, in which a gem can be fitted (Agravāl 1961: 204).
8. Siddhi is the spiritual power obtained by doing yoga.
9. The Sanskrit form '*astu*', meaning 'let it be so', as a general expression of content

and joy, can also be read as a Persian expression '*ast u*' 'It is He [God]!', indicating the first direct encounter of the mystic with the goal of his journey to God. See also verse 274.1 and 638.6.

10. See chapter 4.6.10 and also Behl (2008) for a comparison of representation of the mānas lake in *Padmāvat* and in Tulsidās' *Rāmcaritmānas*.

11. Also the name of a lotus.

12. The kokilā who calls her partner.

13. See also the vivid description of the pining away of the lotus when the sun is away, in Nāgmatī's bārahmāsā (stanza 354).

14. Nāgmatī's 'loss' is not her own fault. In stanza 442 Padmāvatī explains that she has conquered the whole world with her beauty and her splendour. The only threat to her comes from the attacks on her sat.

15. E.g. stanzas 111, 197.

16. Gupta adopts, in his second edition, the reading '*kajali*' which is found in some manuscripts (1973: 491). This means 'lampblack', which seems to be a pun on the *kadalī* or *kedalī* forest, which is known from nāth yogī stories as the place for retreat for siddhas. The wordplay alludes to the land of darkness (ẓulmāt) where Alexander went in search of the water of life, a fitting image for 'Alā' al-dīn's vain quest for Padmāvatī. See also Gaeffke (1989).

17. The word '*kolhu*' is used for an oil press. It could be that Jāyasī had a missile or grenade-like weapon in mind that was hollow like the mortar of a press. See Agravāl (1961: 682).

18. Śukla's edition of *Ākhirī Kalām* has a different reading that makes the verse less opaque: सो मनि दिपें जो कीन्हि थिराई । छपा सो रंग गात पर आई ॥. 'That jewel that is so stable in its light, it covered itself and that colour [of the flash] came on its body.' (1935: 291)

19. This is a play of words which relies on the words *haṃsat* 'smiling' and *haṃs* 'bird'.

20. Note that the effect of this darśan is comparable to the one described above in the *Ākhirī Kalām*, in the sense that it leads to a merging of the beholder and the object of vision.

The messenger

The narrative of *Padmāvat* is situated in various locations, each with a different thematic connotation. In this landscape guides, intermediaries and messengers, such as Hīrāmani and Rāghav Cetan, travel from one place to the other to inform their patrons and connect the spheres of action in the story. Being go-betweens, the mediating characters are outsiders, who give advice, but are not involved in the action themselves. In this respect, they have a lot in common with the poet and his attitude towards his audience and possible patrons. The present analysis explores the thematic polarity of the various realms in which the story is located and the role of the intermediates who connect the various spheres of action.

7.1 The locations of the story

The two main areas in which the first part of the story takes place are introduced in the episode in which Hīrāmani is expelled from Siṃhal Dvīp and taken to Citor by a Brahmin merchant. In the second part, the action takes place in Citor and the city of Delhi, where sultan 'Alā' al-dīn reigns. In both parts, these places constitute opposite regions, far apart in geographical and thematic sense. Ratansen, Padmāvatī and 'Alā' al-dīn each belong to either one of these places. The messengers and other mediators, who guide the dangerous journeys between them, do not belong anywhere and are by nature 'transitory' characters.

The spatial layout of the world represented in *Padmāvat* reflects the opposition between the sphere of worldly existence and the realm of mystical love.[1] These are clearly separated and it takes insight and spiritual development to cross over from one region to the other. This is represented effectively in Nāgmatī's lament when Ratansen is in Siṃhal, in the form of the bārāhmāsā. She belongs to Ratansen's worldly habitat and needs a messenger to convey her suffering to him. The king can only make the return voyage by losing all the

wealth he obtained in Siṃhal.[2] Only his love for Padmāvatī keeps him connected with that heavenly place. The king's transition from Siṃhal to Citor, as well as his return from his being captured by 'Alā' al-dīn, are celebrated with elaborate rituals of welcome, described in great detail in stanzas 422 and 639.

The notion of parallel but unconnected spheres of action is present in other scenes too, such as that of Ratansen's arrival as a yogī in Siṃhal, where he waits at the temple of Mahādev for a meeting with Padmāvatī. Hīrāmani then describes the fortress of Siṃhal as an unreachable place and the relatively small distance that separates the king from Padmāvatī as an impassable divide. The lovers can only meet in the temple, halfway up the mountain of the fortress (stanzas 161-163). Hīrāmani's mediation establishes a connection between the two places.

In the second part of the poem, Citor is the fortress where Padmāvatī resides, while Delhi remains outside the radiance of her divine beauty. The divide between these two places indicates the difference between Ratansen's inspired kingship and 'Alā' al-dīn's worldly rule. This thematic divide is at the root of the scenes that describe Ratansen's captivity and the sultan's attempt to lure Padmāvatī to Delhi. She cannot reach her husband and does everything to receive news of his condition (see stanzas 581, 600 ff). In this setting, the messengers are not beneficent mediators but devious emissaries of 'Alā' al-dīn and Devpāl. They disguise themselves or use magic to appear as a wise *yoginī* and persuade Padmāvatī to join the 'other' side. The only positive mediation in this part is the liberation of Ratansen by Gorā and Bādal. The escape back to Citor turns out to be a dangerous crossing, which claims Gorā's life. This episode is in many ways a mirror image of Ratansen's quest to Siṃhal. The soldiers hidden in the palanquins are dressed as women, where Ratansen used the 'disguise' of a yogī to achieve his goal on his mystical journey. The 'escape' frees his soul from the prison of worldly existence, just as his quest for love did.

Structuring a story around the opposition between different locations and the voyages between them is a common element in oral storytelling formats, such as that of the Persian dāstāns. In the tales of Amīr Ḥamza, the 'other' world is the land of Qāf. Once transported there by a fairy's magic, the hero has a hard time getting back, for which he needs the magic of his companion, the 'aiyār. Similar motifs are present in the tale of Alexander the Great's sojourn into the land of the fairies.[3] These themes can be seen as background for the depiction of Ratansen's stay in Siṃhal, where he was held 'captive' by Padmāvatī.[4] The magic involved in his 'transportation' is the yoga of love taught to him by his guru Hīrāmani, who resembles the 'aiyār character.

7.2 Messengers and mediators as servants

By staging his poem in a world of opposite realms, Jāyasī used a familiar narrative framework. This layout emphasises the role of messengers and mediators, who stand in-between the various locations, guide the characters on their journeys and mediate between the different parties.

In the paradigm of Sufi mysticism, the pīr or guru is the most prominent messenger, who guides his pupil on the basis of his own experiences on the 'other' side. In the process of mystical love, he serves as an object for the love of his pupil in the first stages of his journey. Guiding and mediating are important aspects of the parrot Hīrāmani's role in *Padmāvat*. His knowledge of mystical love comes from his nature as a bird and his experience of the divine beauty of Padmāvatī. While he is involved in the action of the story, he remains an outsider to the world of humans.[5] Where the other characters in the story faint at hearing a description or a short glimpse of her beauty, he is not affected by it, even though he spent a long time in her presence. He can relate his wisdom to others and point out to them the dangers of the mystical path, while remaining the unattached pundit who is performing a service to his patron without getting involved himself.

The independence of the parrot also allows him to criticise his patron and be a stern moral guide. This aspect of his role comes to the fore in the episode in which Hīrāmani offends Nāgmatī, by stating that her beauty is no match for that of Padmāvatī of Siṃhal. Ratansen hears of the quarrel and asks the parrot to tell the truth. Jāyasī uses the king's speech to elaborate on the various meanings of truthfulness (sat).

> The king said: 'Parrot, speak the truth; without truth one is [light] like a ball of cotton.'
> 'Because of words of truth, your beak turned red, if there is truth, faith [dharma] goes with it.'
> 'The whole world is bound together by truth, Lakṣmī [good fortune] is the servant of truth.'[6]
> 'When there is truthfulness, one can get success through courage; [only] he who speaks the truth is called a "man".'
> 'Because of her truthfulness, the satī widow arranges the funeral pyre; when it is lit on four sides, it burns by means of [her] truthfulness.'
> 'He who upholds the truth will traverse the two worlds; he who speaks the truth is dear to God.'
> 'He who destroys faith, abandons truth; what does he have in mind that he ruins truth?'

> 'You are a wise pundit; you never speak untruthfully.'
> 'Say this truthfully to me: who is incorrect in this matter?'
>
> *Padmāvat* 92

This is Hīrāmani's cue for reminding the king that he also had to defend his sat when he escaped the wrath of Gandharvsen, and for starting his description of Padmāvatī's beauty.

> 'Oh king, I may die while I speak the truth, but my mouth will never utter an untruthful word.'
> 'With that truthful conviction I have left the palace of the king of Siṃhal Dvīp.'
> 'Padmāvatī is the daughter of that king; God has created her as a moon that has the scent of a lotus.'
>
> *Padmāvat* 93.1-3

It has been shown in chapter 5.2 how the notion of serving (sevā) and truthfulness (sat) are essential thematic concepts in *Padmāvat.* The messengers and mediators in the poem are examples of these virtues. Their independence is the source of the knowledge they provide to guide their patrons on their dangerous journey. They are dependent on their patron, but their service is that they teach and guide from an independent position. Their relationship is comparable to the classical nexus between king and Brahmin. A 'contract' of sevā obliges the king to support the Brahmin and keep him free from worldly involvement. This support allows the Brahmin to maintain his ritual purity and perform his sacred service.[7] Similarly, the service of a guru like Hīrāmani is based on his independence and his being an outsider.

The complexity of the position of the counsellor regarding the worldly ruler is presented most clearly in the role of the bard Mahāpātra. When Ratansen is captured while breaking into the fortress of Siṃhal and is led to the stake, a court poet from his retinue of yogīs speaks up in his defence, angering Gandharvsen. The role of the bard is probably based on the character of the court poet in Rajput courts, who composes panegyric poems on the king and his lineage.[8] The bard explains that the yogī he captured is the king of Citor.

> The king [Ratansen] cast down his eyes; then the Dasauṃdhi[9] bard could not bear it any longer.

He said, taking a dagger in his hand: 'A man should not remain locked up in a basket.'
'Kṛṣṇa killed Kaṃsa after becoming angry; does a flute fail to sound, when it is blown by a dumb man?'
When Gandharvsen became angry the bard stepped forward and faced him.
While all the kings and princes saw him standing there, he blessed [the king] with his left hand.[10]
[He said:] 'Gandharvsen, you are a great king; I am an incarnation of Śiva; listen to my words.'
'The yogī is like water, you, oh king, are like fire; it is not proper for fire to fight water.'

'The fire will be extinguished by the water; oh king, you should understand that.'
'[The yogī] who stands at your door with his begging bowl, give him alms and do not fight him.'

Padmāvat 263

The bard warns the king to keep his anger in check, because the gods and the nāth yogīs and siddhas are on his side and will not hesitate to come to his rescue. On speaking these words, a host of deities and saints appear in Siṃhal to defend the bard.[11] Gandharvsen replies angrily that he, the greatest king, fears nobody, which prompts the bard to warn him of the danger of vanity, reminding him what happened to Rāvan of Laṅkā.[12]

When the bard went up to him [Gandharvsen] and bowed before him, the king became angry.
[The bard said:] 'A bard is a part of Śiva, kings employ them to keep themselves in check.'
'A bard anticipates his death [in his service]; who could be angry with him?'

Padmāvat 267.1-3

Angered by this address, Gandharvsen asks the bard why he risks his own death by defending the captured yogī. The bard explains that he does not fear death, and praises his patron Ratansen.

'When you ask the truth, king Gandharvsen, I will tell you the truth, whether I will be struck by lightning or not.'
'Why should the bard fear death; in his hand is a dagger, he can thrust it into his own stomach and kill himself.'
'In Jambu Dvīp there is this place Citor; the great Citraseni is its king.'
'This Ratansen is his son; the lineage of Cauhān never wavers.'
'He is steadfast with his word like mount Meru; he does not flinch, even when he confronts the whole world.'
'The Sumeru of his generosity never diminishes when he gives; he who once asks him will never ask another.'
'For him I raise my right hand; who else is such that I would greet him in that manner?'

'My name is Mahāpātra, I am his daring beggar.'
'The [true] messenger speaks honestly, even when he causes anger by doing so.'

Padmāvat 268

Mahāpātra then calls Hīrāmani to convince Gandharvsen of Ratansen's identity. The bird explains that he brought Ratansen as a service to his lord, because he is a match for Padmāvatī. He implores the king to recognise the value of this sevā and not to punish him, like king Vikram did with the parrot that brought him the fruit of immortality. According to Shirreff, this refers to a story in which a parrot named Hīrāmani brings a 'fruit of immortality' (*amarphal*) to its master. It is planted in the royal garden and, when the tree bears fruit, one falls down and is licked by a poisonous snake. The fruit is offered to the queen, who has it tested by a dog, which drops dead immediately. The queen orders Hīrāmani to be killed. Later, the gardener's wife has a quarrel with her husband and is so desperate she wants to kill herself by eating this poisonous fruit. She takes a fruit from the same tree and eats it. Instead of dying, she becomes young and beautiful again. Then, king Vikram is informed and repents that he wrongly accused his faithful servant. Shirreff gives no source for the story. It is not mentioned in *Vaitāl Pacīsī*, the most well-known collection of stories on Vikram.

The second part of the poem, which tells of the battle for Citor, contains examples of messengers whose service is self-interested and whose advice can ruin a king. This negative side of guidance and counsel is announced in the image of the deceitful rākṣas in the ocean near Siṃhal. He promises to guide Ratansen on his return to Citor with Padmāvatī and ships laden with goods, but

leads them to a whirlpool (390-399).[13] The false messengers who attempt to persuade Padmāvatī to leave her husband demonstrate the danger of untrustworthy servants.[14]

Having a malicious counsellor is a risk, as punishing him is not without consequences. He can easily change sides and seek patronage from a rival. Rāghav Cetan knows how to guide and deceive his patron. Like the merchant who brought Hīrāmani to Citor, his poverty forces him to seek employment with worldly patrons.[15] When Jāyasī lets the Brahmin describe his predicament, it is as if he speaks about his own poetic art, criticising those who write poetry for worldly gain.

> The words of Rāghav, which seemed streaks of gold, appeared to be brass when their colour was tested.
> There was an order from the angry king: 'How can I kill him, I shall expel him from the country.'
> Then this thought thundered in Cetan's mind: 'He is a [true] pundit who sets his mind on the Vedas.'
> 'He is a [true] poet who makes a poem on the truth of love and is not prepared to tell falsehood for truth.'
> 'I have served the false, crystal gem; where is that pure gem that can take away my poverty?'
> 'The poet who wants a fortune is a fool; as long as Sarasvatī [poetic genius] is there, how could Lakṣmī [wealth] be with him?'
> 'Poverty, which is the companion of poetry, wrecks the mind like the sharp thorns that accompany the flower.'
>
> 'The poet is the pupil and God the guru; like the oyster [the pupil] waits for the drop of svāti rain.'
> 'He who is [like] a pearl diver in the ocean, why should he be dependent on [another] man?'
>
> *Padmāvat* 449

7.3 Mediating the morals of service

The prominent role of characters in *Padmāvat* who serve their masters as messengers, guides and go-betweens marks the importance Jāyasī attaches to the notion of disinterested, 'sacred' sevā to a patron. It has been demonstrated above that it is vital for the counsellor to remain detached from the interests that drive his patrons, even if he is dependent on them. The examples of the

bard, the parrot and the Brahmin counsellors show the dilemma between the servant's spiritual and moral autonomy, which allows him to serve his patron and speak the truth, even if this means pointing out the master's imperfections, and his dependency on the support and patronage of worldly rulers.

Another aspect of the service of messengers and mediators that comes to the fore in the episodes cited here is the power these characters have at their disposal, despite their subservience and dependence. This power comes from their knowledge of religious, magical or supernatural matters that remains hidden for the worldly patron. They risk their lives, trusting on their spiritual status and the support of magical forces, such as the bard Mahāpātra who summoned fierce ascetics to his defence, reminding the worldly ruler of the mystic's might. As a last resort, the servant can shift his allegiance when there is no recognition for his knowledge, which is what happened to Hīrāmani and is also the course taken by Rāghav Cetan.

The mediating characters in *Padmāvat* can be seen as *alter egos* of the poet, whose exposition of the morals of service and mediation refers to Jāyasī's own agency as a mystical poet who serves worldly and spiritual patrons. The affiliation with powerful figures in his dargāh provides him with an autonomous spiritual status, but he follows the habitus exemplified by the servants in his poem, who survive by selling the 'gems' of their wisdom.

The expounding of the morals of service in *Padmāvat* reflects in various ways the delicate balance between worldly and religious interests of the Chishtī dargāh, which defined the literary field in which the poet operated. Besides being a place where mystical pupils were trained according to the founding saint's precepts, the Sufi centres also had to manage the devotion to the pīr's tomb. The dargāhs derived part of their income from patronage by worldly elites. In order to maintain their spiritual independence, while at the same time being involved with worldly politics, required at least keeping up the appearance of a transcendent orientation. This created the space for the agency of mediators such as the Sufi poets who, like the mediating characters in *Padmāvat*, can cross over to the plane of worldly affairs, without being spiritually affected by it. Their service consists of presenting an ideology for maintaining a precarious moral authority in worldly matters, based on the inspiration by the spiritual charisma of the Sufi pīr.

The rhetorical structure of *Padmāvat* reflects the two planes on which the poet operates. In the prologue of his work he initiates a sacred space where his poem is being unfolded. The poet moves in and out of this sacred space in verses in which he directly addresses his audience in the 'real' world, such as in the prologue, in the concluding stanzas and in some of the dohās.

The sacred nature of the mediation protects the servant's integrity and gives him immunity to advice, even protecting him from his patron. The core of the message he brings to a worldly patron is that, even in a subservient position, the alliance with the spiritual guidance of the Sufi pīr provides moral superiority. In the tale of Padmāvatī and Ratansen, the sevā of mystical love safeguards the moral integrity of the Rajput king, even when faced with the dishonourable conduct of his overlord sultan 'Alā' al-dīn. The poet shows how the idiom of service has meaning in both the paradigm of mystical enlightenment as in worldly politics. In his *Padmāvat*, he shows himself the skilled mediator between the two sides of the concept, which in itself constitutes the sevā that defines the habitus of the mystical poet.

Throughout the present study of Jāyasī's poetry, the contextual relevance of this reading of *Padmāvat* is emphasised. Although the dilemma between worldly attachment and spiritual status is a fundamental theme in Sufi poetry and in the history of Sufi silsilas, the way it is presented in *Padmāvat* should primarily be related to specific conditions that defined the poet's position and the valorisation of his art. His use of the idiom of mystical love projected on the tale of the Rajput king who resists being stripped of his honour in the service of a new overlord, struck a particular chord with Jāyasī's local patrons. It has already been analysed how the theme of the Rajput warrior Ratansen and his queen Padmāvatī and the story of the siege of Citor reflected a cultural and political predicament with which local elites in the poet's context could identify.[16] The challenge to the independent authority and status of local rulers was an issue, as new players such as Sher Shāh emerged and a new political order was gradually forming, with the sultan of Delhi in a prominent position.

The legitimation of worldly rule provided by the association with spiritual leaders was not a privilege of the Indian Sufi centres. Also bhakti and nāth yogī sects competed for influence at local courts in exchange for grants of land or other forms of patronage. *Padmāvat* presents an example of loyal service that is adapted to this hybrid environment as it encompasses the idioms of yoga, viraha and bhakti in its representation of the ideal ruler. It emphasises the integration of the Indian Sufi congregations in the field of popular religion and worldly interests.

While the immediate contextual relevance of the concept of service presented in *Padmāvat* seems evident, it is part of the mystical poet's craft to balance the worldly value of his art with a transcendent orientation. The representation of mystical love in *Padmāvat* carefully maintains this double validity. The mediating characters of this poem combine moral attitudes and notions of service that combine practices from the patronage of literature and

mysticism of worldly rulers from the Persianised Islamic court culture with dilemmas of the Indian king and his Brahmin counsellor. Jāyasī successfully identified the logic of the literary field by making the legitimation of worldly rule the main theme of his poem. It was at the heart of the tensions in the political structure of his time, before the new constellation of the Mughal empire emerged. In a more abstract sense, it provides a perfect background for demonstrating the value of guidance and support from the spiritual power of the Sufi pīr, both for the ruler and his subjects.

The poet himself formulates the dilemma between detachment and worldly fame in the dohā of stanza 652, near the end of his poem. He locates the agency of the mystical poet in the exchange of fame, which is beyond the grasp of the 'market'.

> Nobody has fame for sale in this world, and nobody can afford to buy it.
> Let he who reads this story remember me with only two words.[17]
>
> *Padmāvat* 652.8-9

The expression 'two words' invites various readings. It must be assumed that Jāyasī intended these, as an expression of the polyphony of his art.

Notes

1. In the allegorical interpretation of *Padmāvat* proposed by Millis, which is based for a great deal on the kuñjī stanza at the end of the poem (see chapter 2.3), the regions of Citor and Siṃhal represent the body (*tana*) and the heart (*hiyā*), which is supposed to correspond with the concepts *nafs* and *qalb* in classical Sufi theory (Millis 1984: 129).
2. In stanza 197, Ratansen and Padmāvatī are compared with the sun and the moon, whose natural locations are now reversed: the king comes from the West to the lady in the East. Verse 274.6 also mentions the opposition Siṃhal-Citor as that of East vs. West.
3. See Southgate (1978:76 ff.).
4. Nāgmatī states this in the bārahmāsā, as she complains that the king has fallen into the hands of the '*nāgari nāri*' the 'woman of the city', which is Padmāvatī (verses 341.1-3).
5. He explains the logic of his loyalty, his sevā, when he has to leave Padmāvatī because of Gandharvsen's anger at his teaching (stanza 56).
6. Jāyasī suggests that it is only through adherence to sat, meaning both truthfulness

and faith in God, that the patron can increase his wealth. Predicting wealth and prosperity for the patron is also in the interest of those who claim to be the dispensers of sat.

7. See Heesterman (1985: 111-112) on the function of the Brahmin as royal priest in the ancient Indian concept of kingship.

8. Sreenivasan (2007: 65-117) describes the important role of the court poets and chroniclers in spreading versions of the padminī tale in Rajput court literature. Many of them were Jains, which may be referred to in the name of the bard in *Padmāvat*.

9. A specific title for bards, which probably indicates a caste name.

10. Greeting with the left hand is considered an insult.

11. An interesting intertext for this scene can be found in Muḥammad's plea to Allah during the final judgement to let all believers enter paradise, in Jāyasī's *Ākhirī Kalām* (31 ff). This parallel indicates that Jāyasī connects the roles of the Prophet and Fāṭima with that of the bard. Both can challenge the highest authority on the strength of their own righteousness and divine support.

12. See stanza 266 quoted in chapter 3.7.

13. See also chapter 3.7.

14. For an analysis of the messenger motif and the predicament of patronage of poetry in early Persian poetry, the echo of which may have been an inspiration for the Indian Sufi poets, see Beelaert (1996:40-50).

15. See chapter 4.3 for the description of the flaws that drive the merchant from Siṃhal to hunt for birds.

16. See chapter 1.4 and Sreenivasan's analysis of the political background of the emergence of the padmini theme in vernacular poetry (2007: 51-52).

17. See appendix 5 for a discussion of the various interpretations of this expression.

Conclusion: Jāyasī *and the* literary field

The final paragraphs of the previous chapter summarise Jāyasī's proposition of service to a mixed audience in and around the Sufi dargāh. They conclude a contextual reading of his work, which aims to interpret this as much as possible from the perspective of the religious and social context in which it is composed. The first part of this study describes in detail the historical background of the poet, the history of the transmission of his poems and the location of his work in a vast and varied literary context. The second part connects the expression of crucial literary structures and themes in the poem to the information on the literary field in which the poet operated.

The primary goal of this reading is to avoid the shortcomings of earlier interpretations of Jāyasī's work, especially those that developed in a milieu that was influenced by nationalist ideologies at the beginning of the twentieth century. In an attempt to construct a literary history, the Islamic identity of the early modern Sufi authors was interpreted in the light of the developing 'divide' between Hindu and Muslim communities. The prominent role of the Sufi authors in establishing a tradition of narrative poems in the vernaculars did not fit in with the desired image of the literary history of modern Hindi. It was made acceptable by projecting an idealist syncretism on the Sufi poems. Through the historiographies of modern Hindi literature and the critical editions, this decontextualised reading of the thematic programme of *Padmāvat* has long influenced the perception of the Sufi romances in Indian literature. Jāyasī's poetry is syncretic in the sense that is it hybrid, heteroglossic and polyphonic, because his context was. It does not reflect the idealist syncretism of Hinduism and Islam suggested by earlier interpreters.

This book proposes to disengage Jāyasī's composite literary idiom from the opposition between 'Hindu' or 'Muslim' identities. It demonstrates how the poet enriches the evocative power and semantic polyphony of his poem by referring or alluding to a wealth of Indian and Persian material from both oral

and written sources. He did not emulate these traditions or models, but constructed a literary ideolect that addressed the particular hybrid outlook of his audience in and around the Sufi centres to which he was affiliated. He thereby connects the world of profound mystical contemplation with that of more orthodox Islamic piety, and that of popular devotion to the Sufi shrines by devotees from various communities.

The last chapter of this book shows how Jāyasī is very careful to place himself in an independent, intermediate role, which offers his patrons in his poem an example of the legitimation of worldly power through spiritual elevation. He conveys this message as a mediator between the interests of both worldly and spiritual powers, which both define the literary field in which he worked. He is very anxious to maintain a distance from both sides, which is represented in the poem by the comments and moral admonitions in the sidelines of his poem.

8.1 Circulation of culture

The combination of the religious and political significance of Jāyasī's poetry has also been recognised in recent interpretations, by Behl and by Sreenivasan. The former insists on the role of the Sufi romances in marking the 'conquest' of the domain of popular religion in North India, overcoming established players, such as Indian bhakti and yogī sects. The poems celebrate the Indian environment as a location fit for a tale of divine love according to Sufi doctrine, in an Indian lexical and cultural context. Sreenivasan points at the political significance of Jāyasī's choice for a Rajput warrior who becomes a mystic as protagonist of his poem for local Indian elites, possible patrons of the Sufi centres to which the poet belonged, who see themselves confronted with the rise of Sher Shāh.

The analysis presented in this book demonstrates that the thematic complexity of *Padmāvat* and the mediating position of its poet resists reduction to either a purely religious, mystical or a purely political reading of the work. It shows how Jāyasī extends the semantic scope of the Sufi idiom and its 'translation' into Indian images from nāth yogī theories towards a moral general moralist message that has relevance in both a religious and a worldly context.

The notion that religiously inspired texts function in a social context with real political interests, as has been shown in the case of *Padmāvat*, challenges existing classifications of early modern literature in the Indian vernaculars, which are primarily oriented at the religious outlook of texts and the association of poets with devotional movements. The reading of *Padmāvat* in this book positions Jāyasī's poetry against the background of the transforma-

tion of Indian Sufi centres into 'multifunctional' religious institutions with various social roles. Also the spread of copies of manuscripts of *Padmāvat* or of texts based on its theme to various worldly and religious contexts suggests a much wider relevance of his poetry than was previously perceived.

Besides the extension of the societal relevance of the poem, the analysis of its hybrid imagery brings to light the remarkable thematic plasticity of the material the poet took from various literary and oral traditions. With great display of poetic creativity and skill, Jāyasī stacks various layers of reference and allusion on the key images in his poem. An interesting example is the way he refers to the structural parallel between *Padmāvat* and the Rām story and draws in familiar tropes from the latter tradition to highlight important themes in his poem, twisting the familiar meaning of these elements.

The poet places his own tale in a space that is contiguous with but never overlaps with that of neighbouring traditions such as Persian poetry, Rajput epics or yogic doctrines. He decontextualises the material he uses and infuses it with the thematic of his own poem, presenting a familiar image in a new light and thus inspiring and 'startling' his audience. This use of literary and oral material supports the notion that cultural symbols and practices in the early modern environment do not have a fixed, essential meaning, but form part of a 'circulation of culture'. They move around with the movement of ideas and people, crossing boundaries between communities and change meaning as they are adopted in new contexts. This thematic plasticity is at the heart of Jāyasī's poetry, but can be assumed as a common characteristic of most early modern genres in the North Indian context.

8.2 The perspective of the literary field

In this book, the relationship of Jāyasī's poetry and his social environment is described in terms of the model of the literary field, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. This model describes the social space in which the production and valorisation of art or literature takes place as an exchange of various forms of capital that represent the forces and interests of the various agents in this environment. Bourdieu developed this model to explain the difference between the values ascribed to literature and art in nineteenth-century Parisian salons, and that of the poor but independent artist. Bourdieu's model is particularly suited for describing the hidden, implicit mechanisms that are active in the ascription of values to cultural products, which only become explicit in the conversion of cultural capital into economic or political values. This justifies its application in the context of early modern Indian Sufi centres, far removed from the salons of Paris.

In Jāyasī's context, the spiritual charisma of the Sufis exerted its influence on the field in various ways, in dealings with lay patrons, the competition with other religious movements, and in the management of the popular devotion of the tombs of the saints. The prestige of Sufi pīrs was to a large extent an implicit and 'invisible' force, but it played a crucial role in the exchanges with wordly patrons. Local elites supported the Sufi centres because of their spiritual status by donations or land grants, and expected support of legitimation of their rule in return. The exchange between these various agents and the conversion of 'spiritual' capital defined Jāyasī's position in this environment. It created what Bourdieu labels as a 'habitus', a general orientation and programme for action that conforms to the 'logic' of the field, but is embodied by each individual agent in a particular manner.

Jāyasī's role in this field is to convey the charismatic power of his pīrs, which is fuelled by the divine light for which God created the universe, in the tale of mystical love. There, it is converted into an example of the power of guidance by spiritual teachers and of the benefits of 'enlightened' worldly rule. In a very real sense, he presented the association with local Sufis as a source of legitimation for the Rajput elites of his days whose honour and 'sat' was challenged by the rapid rise of the power of Sher Shāh, the sultan of Delhi.

Jāyasī created poetry that conforms to the logic of these conditions. Its functionality is not spelled out explicitly, but is there to see for those who are initiated in the logic and the 'rules' of the field, as is hinted at in *Padmāvat* in the references to the connoisseur, who will obtain the rasa, or the jeweller who will spot the ruby in the dust of the market place.

A great benefit of the use of the model of the literary field for an analysis of the thematic programme of *Padmāvat* is that it only takes into account the agents and their interests in the immediate context of the poet, at a defined moment in history. This prevents the projection of categories and agendas from outside this situation, which has been the pitfall of many earlier interpretations of Jāyasī's poetry. It also forces one to objectify the interests of the agents involved in the field in terms that are not defined entirely by their religious identity. This is particularly productive for describing a situation where the exchange of worldly and spiritual values and the competition for charisma and economical resources involved all religious and social communities. The circulation of cultural practices and products that has been outlined above as the background for the composite nature of Jāyasī's poetry takes place in this literary field where religious identities are not the only, and often not the most important denominator of its agents.

The use of a theoretical model to define the outlines of the social context of the poetry of has been useful to distinguish the crucial elements of his proposition to his audience. It is equally important to fill in these outlines with historical details on the various persons and institutions and their roles in the poet's context. The picture of this environment presented in this book is far from complete in that respect. It relies on recent research into the history of Indian Sufi orders and on the development of local political centres, but can often not penetrate deep enough into the details of the local milieu that defined Jāyasī's art. It would be very valuable if more could be said about the functioning of his poetry in Sufi centres and, especially, of the way it was perceived and valorised by worldly patrons. Who were those local elites, what was their religious interest and how did the exchange of values take place in reality? Can we put more names on the local patrons of the poet, or put more history behind the names mentioned in the poems?

The same goes for the various milieus in which Jāyasī's poetry was transmitted in the form of manuscripts or adaptations. Apart from the general observation that the heroic aspect of the work won out over its mystical content in later reception, there is only limited insight into the details of the milieus in which it was received. Shantanu Phukan's analysis of the context of the Rampur manuscript is probably the only extensive description of the reception of the text in a Persianate milieu. While this book has shown some of the main drives behind the ongoing popularity of *Padmāvat*, more research is needed to position the reception of the Sufi romances in that of the literary field of early modern Indian literature. Aditya Behl's pioneering comprehensive analysis of the social and cultural meaning of the genre of the Sufi premākhyāns and of early Indian Muslim poetry, based on a range of lesser known sources, such as the *Laṭā'if-i Quddūsī,* is an important step in this direction, and deserves a posthumous publication.

Refining the picture of the meaning of Jāyasī's poetry in relation to its social and cultural environment should not be done in isolation, but be closely integrated with the study of other early modern traditions, bhakti, sant, Sikh or otherwise, which to a large extent share a common cultural space. It can only be hoped that the assessment, in this book, of the value of the 'ruby' that is Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* provides inspiration for the further exploration of this fascinating literary field.

Manuscripts

A. Manuscripts (16) mentioned in M.P. Gupta's first critical edition (1952) with some added notes and reference numbers based on a recent study by the present author of some of the texts.

1. (Gupta *pra.* 1): 218 folios; complete; Persian script; 48 illustrations; 26 x17 cm; date: 1107 H/1696 CE; India Office Library (Persian cat. 1018) Mss.Hin.B.11. It is profusely illustrated with full page and small miniatures.
2. (Gupta *pra.* 2): 216 folios; complete; devanāgarī script; well written; date: saṁvat 1818 (1761 CE); in possession of the library of Śri Kāśīrāj.
3. (Gupta *dvi.* 1): 338 folios; complete; date: 1142 H/1729 CE; script unknown; Edinburgh University Library.
4. (Gupta *dvi.* 2): 180 folios; complete; Persian script, 1114 H/1702 CE, India Office Library (no.1819) Mss.Hin.B.10. Contains ten extra folios with *bhajans* (devotional songs) which have been included into Gupta's edition (1952) as *Maharī Bāīsī*.
5. (Gupta *dvi.* 3): 186 folios; 23x16 cm; complete; Persian script; date: 1109 H/1697 CE; copied by Rahīmdād Khān. India Office (no.1975) Mss.Hin.B.9. Later corrections have partly rendered the original text unreadable.
6. (Gupta *dvi.* 4): printed with Urdu translation; published 1323 H/1905 CE. Probably copied from a manuscript.
7. (Gupta *dvi.* 5): published in 1870 by Naval Kiśor Press. Printed from manuscript.
8. (Gupta *dvi.* 6): complete; Persian script; date uncertain (1153 H?); King's College Library, Cambridge University. Now in Cambridge University Library, coll. Pote no. 55.
9. (Gupta *dvi.* 7): 167 folios; almost complete; kaithī script; date:

1198 H./saṁvat 1842 (1785 CE). In possession of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

10. (Gupta *ṭr.* 1): 213 folios; 21 x 18 cm; Persian script; complete with later additions; date uncertain (early eighteenth century?); India Office (no 3130?) Mss.Hin.B.7. Many corrections have made the original unreadable.
11. (Gupta *ṭr.* 2): 211 folios; 26 x 15 cm; Persian script; date: probably seventeenth or eighteenth century; India Office (P.2459) Mss.Hin.B.8.
12. (Gupta *ṭr.* 3): 340 folios; 30 x 20 cm; complete; devanāgarī script; some folios have been bound wrong and there are some double stanzas. It has 340 illustrations; scribe is Thān Kāyath of Mirzapur who added four dohās and the colophon. Date: eighteenth cent. India Office (no 2471?) Mss.Hin.C.1.
13. (Gupta *ca.* 1): Persian script; date: 1194 H/1780 CE; made in Kartārpur, Bijanaur. In possession of Gopal Candra Simha, Lucknow.
14. (Gupta *paṁ.* 1): 166 folios; 23 x 13 cm; complete; Persian script; date uncertain (1136H?); it was made in the vicinity of Lucknow; there are many corrections by a different hand than the original text. India Office Mss.Hin.B.12. (No.107 in the catalogue by Alfred Master.) Master dates it at the 38th year of the reign of ʻĀlamgīr according to the colophon which would give the date 1696 CE. There is a slight problem with Gupta's references to this manuscript, which he regards as a very important source for the text of the *Padmāvat*, as they do not always agree with the manuscript as I saw it in London. One example: the stanza 16 he refers to is not present in the manuscript in this form. Also the manuscript is slightly larger than Gupta indicates (1952: 7). This manuscript is a valuable source for the early tradition of the text, which is corroborated by the later finding of other early manuscripts, the readings of which stay close to those in this document.
15. (Gupta *ga.*): devanāgarī script; complete; date: saṁvat 1858 (1801 CE); location: Haragāṁv 'in private possession of dr. Jagesaraganja'.
16. (Gupta *kha.*): Unknown place of origin; Urdu script, in possession of Kalbe Mustapha Jāyasī.

B. Agravāl (1961) used the following manuscripts for a comparison with Gupta's readings:

17. Maner Sharīf Library, Paṭnā; a manuscript in Persian characters, with several texts by Jāyasī, Burhān, Sādhan and Bakśan. See the description of this manuscript by Saiyid Hasan Askari (1953: 12-40), who dates it as seventeenth century.

18. Bihar Sharīf, Paṭnā, 1136/1724, made in the fifth year of the reign of Muḥammad Bādshāh.

After Agravāl finished his edition and it was still in print, new manuscripts were brought to his attention. He did not collate them completely, but perused them to compare them with his own text. He published the result in appendices to his edition. The manuscripts involved were:

19. Rāmpur, Rājakīya Pustakālay, Hindī vibhāg, saṁ.6. The manuscript contains *Padmāvat*, some dohās, poems in Hindī, Persian and Arabic, *Kahārnāmā*, colophon. The script is mostly in the Arabic style, fully dotted and vocalised. There are Persian translations under the words of Jāyasī. Copied in Amaroh in 1086 H/1675 CE by Muḥammad Śakir, pupil of 'Abd ul Qadīr Jilani, in the khānqāh. The manuscript has six dohās more than Gupta's edition.
20. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares, 1258/1842; contains very good readings of difficult parts of the text, indicating that the scribe had knowledge of the language of the work he copied. The date of composition of the poem is given in this manuscript as 927 H. Contains only five dohās more than Gupta's text (Agravāl 1961).

C. Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library
3 manuscripts in *kaithi* script, purchased by the library in 1780. Only L2 has a date: saṁvat 1743 (1686 CE). Described by de Jong in his catalogue of the 'Academie' collection. Texts are incomplete.

L1. Acad 250: 370 folios; incomplete (vs.1-294.4 in Gupta's edition) 20-29 are missing.
L2. Acad 251: incomplete; two different hands; saṁvat 1743 (1686 CE), fol. 1-447 contains the text of *Padmāvat* until stanza 631 in Gupta's edition; after that follows *Madhavānalakāmakandal* of the poet Alam. The text of *Padmāvat* contains many of the added verses mentioned in Gupta's edition.
L3. Acad 252: incomplete; undated.

D. Kaithī mss used for the edition of Sudhākar Dvivedī and Grierson (1896-1911: 3). The following information is taken from: *Annual Report for the search of Hindi mss.* 1900 -.

1. No. 54: kaithī script; 174 folios; 10 x 5¾ inch; scribe is Bābu Kṛṣṇa Baladev Varmā; Kaisar Bāgh, Lucknow. Copied in 1747 (*sattarah sai saitālīs*).

2. 1901 No. 24: kaithī script; 8½ x 5½ inch; 18 lines per page; 1771 *ślokas* (stanzas); date: saṁvat 1879 (1822 CE).
3. 1901 No. 25: kaithī script; 9½ x 5½ inch; 19 lines per page; 2076 ślokas; old; incomplete; date: saṁvat 1758 (1701 CE); place: Vaitalagarh; scribe: Krishna Brahman Baruva ke Dube Harirām putra.
4. 1901 No. 53: kaithī script; 167 folios; 9½ x 6¼ inch; 18 lines per page; 3757 ślokas; incomplete; incorrect; date: saṁvat 1842 (1785 CE); scribe: Davalāl Kāyasth Basoṁdi; place: Manje Shahar, Salempur Pargānā.

E. Other manuscripts, not used in any edition:
From: *Pracīna hastalikhit poṭhiyoṁ kā vivaran*, vol. 1-4, vol. 5. Bihar Rāṣtrabhāṣā

1. Pariṣad, Paṭnā, 1964, Vol. 4, p. 22; no. 363; *Padmāvat*, no scribe known, date: *saṁvat* 1881 (1824 CE); 308 folios; complete; 10,5 inch x 7 inch, devanāgarī script.
2. Mentioned by Agravāl (1961: 49): *Khoja Report, 14, traivarṣika vivaraṇa*, 1929-31, p. 62: a ms of 1801, which gives the date 927 H. as date of the composition of *Padmāvat*.

London, India Office Library:

3. Add. 5594, incomplete *Padmāvat* of Jāyasī in kaithī script, date 1743? Catalogued as '*Padmāvat* in Gujarātī Hindī'.

Oxford:

4. Bodleian Library, S.C. 22971, Ouseley 196; 191 folios; nasta'līq script; title on cover: *Qissa-i Padmavat (a poem)*. Date is given in colophon as the (1)21th year of the reign of Ālam Shāh. If this was to indicate Shah Ālam II, it would mean 1780. The manuscript has a large number of interpolated verses, compared to more compact manuscripts (755 stanzas in total. It is well written and fully vocalised.

Paris:

5. Bibliotheque Nationale, Fonds Indien no. 189, (Fonds Gentil no. 32), catalogue of A. Cabaton, p.125, no. 828; 23,5 x 14,5 cm; 332 folios; 20 illustrations; date: 1719 CE. This is the manuscript Théodore Pavie used for his article on the Padmani story in *Journal Asiatique*. Each stanza has a heading in Persian which made him think it is an adaptation from a Persian original.

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Appendix 1: Adaptations and translations (notes on p.355)[1]

Dakkhinī:

1. *Pem-nem* by the poet Hans Blumhardt describes this as a Dakkhinī version of the story of Ratansen and Padmāvatī, made at the court of Ibrahīm Shāh in Bijapur in 999/1592. (Blumhardt 1899: 57, no. 83, Add. 16880), which is doubtful. A copiously embellished and illustrated manuscript is in the British Library and is the only source of the work. The illustrations are very skilfully made and portray a prince with a small portrait of a lady in the place of his heart, making visible the concept of their union in love.
2. Abidi (1962: 11) mentions a prose version in Dakkhinī by a S. Muḥammad ʻIshratī, made in 1110/1698.

Persian:

1. *(Qiṣṣa-yi) Padmāvat*, by Mullā ʻAbd al-Shakūr Bazmī (his real name: Shaikh Shukr-allāh 1001 H/1592-93 CE – 1073 H/1662-63 CE) of Karj in Gujarat, who dedicated the work to the emperor Jahāngīr (Ethé/Edwards 1903-1937, nos. 1582, 1583). The version of Bazmī was composed in 1028 H/1619 CE, which makes it one the oldest evidences of the reception of the theme of *Padmāvat*. The copy in the India Office is dated 1780 – much later than the oldest *Padmāvat* sources. The text is a compact but complete version of Jāyasī's story containing the marriage of Ratansen and Padmāvatī in Ceylon and the later events at Citor. In the last folio, the manuscript of the India Office has a verse in Hindī written in the same hand as the rest of the text but in larger characters which reads:

लिखा रहै सहस बरस जौं न मिठावै कोइ ।
लिखनहारा बापुरा गीगू मिटी होइ ॥

What is written in this manner, no one can erase[2] that in a thousand years, the writer is a poor fellow, his head will become dust.

The same verse can be found on the cover of the *Padmāvat* manuscripts Hin.mss B10 and B11 (see list of mss, nos. 1 and 4) and appears as a customary remark by the copyist to excuse himself for his mistakes. It is not found on any other manuscripts consulted for this study. This might indicate that the channels through which the manuscripts B10 and B11 of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* were copied were related to the ones which dealt with the Persian versions of the same material, which supports the assumption of interaction between the lines of reception. Other copies of the same work are in the collections of the British Museum (Rieu 1879-1883 vol. 3: 103 6b) in the Bodleian Library Oxford (Beeston/Ethé/Sachau 1889-1954, nos. 1125-1126) and in Berlin, (Pertsch 1888: 912, no. 934). See also the copies described by Sprenger (1854: 367, no. 167) where he also refers to a copy in the collection of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (Catalogue, p. 90 no. 294).

2. *Sham' u parvāna*, by Mīr 'Muhammad' 'Aqīl Khvān Rāzī. A maṣnavī, based on the story of Ratansen and Padmāvatī, composed in 1069 H/1658-59 CE. The poet was an important ally of emperor 'Ālamgīr and was bestowed the title of 'Aqīl Khvān by him and made governor of the province of Delhi, in which function he died in 1108 H /1696 CE (Ethé/Edwards 1903-1937, no. 1634). A copy of this version is described by Sprenger (Sprenger, 1854: 543, no. 469). The poet also made translations of Manjhan's *Madhumālatī* under the title *Mehr u Māh* (1065 H/1655 CE) (Ethé/Edwards 1903-1937: 893, no. 1634). There are also prose adaptations of Rāzī's poem, such as the work *Farāh-bakhsh* by Lachmi Rām of Ibrahimabad (Rieu 1879-1883: vol. 2: 768a, no. Add. 8918).
3. *Ḥusn u 'ishq*, 'The story of Padmavati and Manohar', by Ḥusām al-Dīn, of which Pertsch reports that it is a reworking of the *Padmāvat* theme, composed in 1071 H/1660 CE and dedicated to 'Ālamgīr (Pertsch 1888: 929, no. 955). The work is listed by Abidi (1962).
4. *Qiṣṣa-yi Padmāvat*, by Ḥusain Ghaznawī. The work was composed during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar (1124-31 H/1713-19 CE) and preserved in a manuscript in Tīpū Sultān's collection (Abidi 1962 and Stewart 1808: 73, no. XCV). Stewart describes the story as follows: 'Many of the old

Hindi romances contain stories of virgins being carried off by force, confined and often suffering many hardships, released by their champions, etc. so entertaining in our books of chivalry.'

5. *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, this is another translation in Persian described by Blochet (1928, vol.1: 189, no. 232) as a Persian translation of the story of Ratansen and Padmāvatī made, according to the cover of the ms, 'after the translation from Sanskrit by Muhammad Jayasi'. No author is known of this work but it is presented in 1062 H/1652 CE to Shāh Jahān. Pertsch mentions a prose version in Persian under this same title *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* (Pertsch, 1888: 998, no. 1047). Perhaps this is based on the Persian poem. The Paris manuscript is copied in 1090 H/1679 CE. Abidi also mentions a prose version under this title. A manuscript of this text is in Hardinge Library, Delhi (no. 38). In the introduction to the *Padmāvat* edition of Grierson and Sudhākar Dvivedi, a Rai Gobind Munshi is mentioned as the author of a Persian adaptation called the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*, dated 1652. It is likely that this work is preserved in the Paris manuscript.
6. *Padmāvat-i Dākir*, a poet attached to the court of Udait Narāyaṇ Singh of Benares. He composed a *Padmāvat* version in 1808. A manuscript is in the Library of the Mahārāj of Benares (no. 163/162) (Abidi 1962: 7).
7. *Bustān-i Sukhan*, by the poet Imān, composed in 1223 H/1813-14 CE. A manuscript is in the Tonk collection of the National Museum, Delhi (no. 3085). The work is a poetical exercise on the theme of the love of Ratansen and Padmāvatī using elements from the story.
8. *Hangamā-yi 'īshq*, a Persian prose version of the first part of the story with considerable alterations of the plot by Munshi Anand Rām Mukhlis (died 1164 H/1751 CE), composed from 1152 H/1739-40 CE to 1155 H/1742-43 CE. A manuscript is in Nadhiria Library (no. 147) and a copy is in Khudabaksh Library, Patna, ms. no. 8918 (Abidi 1962: 9; Phukan 2000: 4).

Rajasthani:

1. An adaptation of the Padminī story into Rajasthani is made by the poet Jaṭmal in 1624 CE, who was a court poet of the Pathan king 'Alī Khān of Murtchat in the region of Malva. The poet dedicated the work to the ruler but also takes a fervent anti-Muslim attitude. Pavie made an elaborate description of the work which appears to be an adaptation of the Padmini theme with special relevance to elements of Rājput-ideology.[3]

Brajbhāṣā:

1. Ratan Sen va Sultan Shah, by Kheśav Bhaṭṭ, composed in 1849, a historical poem (Blumhardt 1899, no. 52: Or. 390) in Braj-bhāṣā. The work is incomplete.
2. E.G. Browne mentions a manuscript of a Braj adaptation in the collection of King's College, Cambridge (Browne: 1922: 36, no. 212, King's 55).

Urdu (Hindustani):

1. *Mudallil-i sham'u parvāna*, anonymous (Blumhardt 1899: 86, no.166) dated 24th Rabi' I. 1244 H/1828 CE. Blumhardt describes it as: 'An anonymous maṯnavī containing a Hindustani version of the story of Ratan Sen, Rājā of Chitor and Padmāvatī, daughter of the king of Ceylon.' The work is incomplete and only contains the first part of the story.
2. *Qiṣṣa-yi Padmāvat*, begun by the poet Mīr Ẓiyā' ud-Dīn Ghulām 'Alī 'Ibrat, and later finished by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat in 1211 H/1796-97 CE. The work is mentioned by Garcin de Tassy (1870, vol. 1: 5, 48) and is published several times. Garcin de Tassy mentions manuscripts in London (Leyden collection, no. 393) and in the library of the Royal Asiatic of Bengal in Calcutta.
3. Adaptation into Urdu by Maulavī Muḥammad Qasīm 'Alī of Bareilly, published at Cawnpore in 1873. Blumhardt (see above) mentions this work.
4. Cambridge University Library has a manuscript of a translation into Urdu by Ghulām 'Alī Mashadī and Ẓiyā' ud-Dīn (Browne, 1922: 36, Corpus Or 146, no.212) with an introduction in Urdu prose, stressing the love-theme in the work.

Bengali:

1. A well-known version is the translation into Bengali by the poet Alāūl. He was a poet at the court of Arkan who made his translation between 1645 and 1652 for the vazīr Magana Ṭhākur. Agravāl is convinced that he must have used manuscripts of Jāyasī's work (1961: 49). The date of composition of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* mentioned by Alāūl is 927 H. This is used as an argument for an early date of the *Padmāvat*, but unlikely to be correct as is explained above. It is more likely that Alāūl used manuscripts with this date as his source.

Appendix 2: Gupta's selection of manuscripts

Data of the manuscripts Gupta selected as representing the earliest stage in the textual history.

Gupta's siglum		
Ṭr. 1	Catalogue:	Mss.Hin.B.7, India Office (no. 3130?)
	Date:	Probably early eighteenth century
	Dimensions:	213 folios, 21 x 18 cm
	Script:	Persian
	Misc.:	complete, with later additions, date uncertain, many corrections
Tr. 2	Catalogue:	Mss.Hin.B.8, India Office. (P. 2459)
	Date:	Probably seventeenth/eighteenth century
	Dimensions:	211 folios, 26 x 15 cm.
	Script:	Persian
Ṭr. 3	Catalogue:	Mss.Hin.C.1, India Office. (no. 2471?)
	Date:	eighteenth century
	Dimensions:	340 folios, 30 x 20 cm.
	Script:	devanāgarī
	Misc.:	complete, some folios bound wrongly, some double verses, 340 illustrations; scribe is Thāna Kāyatha of Mirzāpur.
Ca. 1	Catalogue:	in private collection of Gopalacandra Simha, Lucknow
	Date:	1195 H.
	Dimensions:	20 cm x 16 cm.
	Script:	Persian
	Misc.:	made in Kartarpur, Bijnaur.
Paṁ. 1	Catalogue:	Mss.Hin.B.12. India Office, no.107 in the catalogue by Alfred Master
	Date:	Uncertain, 1136/1696?
	Dimensions:	166 folios, 23 x 13 cm.
	Script:	Persian
	Misc.:	complete, made in Muhammad Nagar, pargana Sidhaur, in the vicinity of Lucknow

Tabel 2. Data of the Rampur ms. used by Agravāl.

Rampur ms.

Catalogue:	Rājakīya Pustakālaya, Hindī vibhāga, sam. 6
Date:	1086/1675
Dimensions:	12 inch x 6,25 inches
Script:	Persian
Misc.:	Copied in Amroha by Muḥammad Shakīr, pupil of the khānqāh of ʻAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī. The ms. contains *Padmāvat*; some dohās; poems in Hindi Hindi, Persian and Arabic; *Kahrānāma* and a colophon. The script is fully dotted and vocalised. There are Persian translations under Jāyasī's words. The text represented in the ms. contains six dohās more than Gupta's first edition.

For additional details of the manuscripts see the list above.

Appendix 3: Hindi text of the quoted stanzas and verses

Padmāvat 1.
सँवरौं आदि एक करतारू । जेइँ जिउ दीन्ह कीन्ह संसारू ॥
कीन्हेसि प्रथम जोति परगासू । कीन्हेसि तेहिं पिरीति कबिलासू ॥
कीन्हेसि अगिनि पवन जल खेहा । कीन्हेसि बहुतइ रंग उरेहा ॥
कीन्हेसि धरती सरग पतारू । कीन्हेसी बरन बरन अवतारू ॥
कीन्हेसि सात दीप ब्रह्मंडा । कीन्हेसि भुवन चौदहउ खंडा ॥
कीन्हेसि दिन दिनअर ससि राती । कीन्हेसि नखत तराइन पाँती ॥
कीन्हेसि धूप सीउ औ छाहाँ । कीन्हेसी मेघ बीजु तेहि माहाँ ॥
कीन्ह सबइ अस जाकर दोसरहि छाज ना काहु ।
पहिलेहिं तेहिक नाउँ लइ कथा कहौं अवगाहु ॥

Padmāvat 5.
धनपति उहइ जेहिक संसारू । सबहि देइ नित घट न भँडारू ॥
जावँत जगति हस्ति औ चाँटा । सब कहँ भुगुति रात दिन बाँटा ॥
ताकरि दिस्टि सबहिं उपराहीं । मित्र सत्रु कोइ विसरइ नाहीं ॥
पंखि पतंग न बिसरइ कोई । परगट गुपुत जहाँ लगि होई ॥
भोग भुगुति बहु भाँति उपाई । सबहि खियावइ आपु न खाई ॥
ताकर इहइ सो खाना पिअना । सब कहँ देइ भुगुति औ जिअना ॥

सबहिं आस ताकरि हर स्वाँसा । ओह न काहु कइ आस निरासा ॥
जुग जुग देत घटा नहिं उभै हाथ तस कीन्ह ।
अउर जो देहिं जगत महँ सो सब ताकर दीन्ह ॥

Padmāvat 7.1
अलख अरूप अबरन सो करता । वह सब सों सब ओहि सों बरता ॥

Padmāvat 8.8-9
ना वह मिला ना बेहरा अइस रहा भरपूरि ।
दिस्टिवंत कहँ नीअरे अंध मुरुख कहँ दूरि ॥

Padmāvat 9.6-9
जोबन मरम जान पै बूढ़ा । मिला न तरुनापा जब ढूँढ़ा ॥
सुख कर मरम न जानइ राजा । दुखी जान जा कहँ दुख बाजा ॥
कया न मरम जान पै रोगी भोगी रहइ निचिंत ।
सब कर मरम गोसाई जानइ जो घट महँ निंत ॥

Padmāvat 11.1-3
कीन्हेसि पुरुष एक निरमरा । नाउँ मुहम्मद पूनिउँ करा ॥
प्रथम जोति बिधि तेहि कै साजी । ओ तेहि प्रीति सिस्टि उपराजी ॥
दीपक लेसि जगत कहँ दीन्हा । भा निरमल जग मारग चीन्हा ॥

Padmāvat 16
पुनि रुपवँत बखानौं काहा । जावँत जगत सबइ मुख चाहा ॥
ससि चौदसि जो दइअ सँवारा । तेहूँ चाहि रूप उँजियारा ॥
पाप जाइ जौं दरसन दीसा । जग जोहारि कइ देइ असीसा ॥
जइस भान जग ऊपर तपा । सबइ रूप ओहि आगें छपा ॥
भा अस सूर पुरुष निरमरा । सूर चाहि दह आगरि करा ॥
सौंह दिस्टि कइ हेरि न जाई । जेई देखा सो रहा सिर नाई ॥
रूप सवाई दिन दिन चढ़ा । बिधि सरूप जग ऊपर गढ़ा ॥
रूपवँत मनि माथें चन्द्र घाट वह बाढ़ि ।
मेदिनि दरस लुभानी अस्तुति बिनवइ ठाढ़ि ॥

Padmāvat 18
सैयद असरफ पीर पियारा । तिन्ह मोहिं पंथ दीन्ह उजियारा ॥
लेसा हिएँ पेम कर दिया । उठी जोति भा निरमल हिया ॥
मारग हुत अँधियार असूझा । भा अँजोर सब जाना बूझा ॥
खार समुद्र पाप मोर मेला । बोहित धरम लीन्ह कइ चेला ॥
उन्ह मोर करिअ पोढ़ कर गहा । पाएउँ तीर घाट जो अहा ॥

जा कहँ अइस होहिं कँड़हारा । तुरित बेगि सो पावइ पारा ॥
दस्तगीर गाढ़े के साथी । जहँ अवगाह देहिं तहँ हाथी ॥
जहाँगीर ओइ चिस्ती निहकलंक जस चाँद ।
ओइ मखदूम जगत के हौं उन्हके घर बाँद ॥

Padmāvat 19
उन्ह घर रतन एक निरमरा । हाजी सेख सभागइँ भरा ॥
तिन्ह घर दुइ दीपक उजियारे । पंथ देइ कहँ दइअ सँवारे ॥
सेख मुबारक पूनिऊँ करा । सेख कमाल जगत निरमरा ॥
दुऔ अचल धुव डोलहिं नाहीं । मेरु खिखिंद तिनहुँ उपराहीं ॥
दीन्ह जोति औ रूप गुसाईं । कीन्ह खाँभ दुहुँ जगत की ताईं ॥
दुहूँ खम्भ टेकी सब मही । दुहूँ के भार सिस्टि थिर रही ॥
जिन्ह दरसे औ परसे पाया । पाप हरा निरमल भौ काया ॥
महमद तहाँ निचिंत पथ जेहि सँग मुरसिद पीर ।
जेंहिरे नाव करिआ औ खेवक बेग पाव सो तीर ॥

Padmāvat 20
गुरु महदी खेवक मैं सेवा । चलै उताइल जिन्ह कर खेवा ॥
अगुआ भएउ सेख बुरहानू । पंथ लाइ जेहिं दीन्ह गिआनू ॥
अलहदाद भल तिन्ह कर गुरू । दीन दुनिअ रोसन सुरखुरू ॥
सैयद महम्मद के ओइ चेला । सिद्ध पुरुष संगम जेहि खेला ॥
दानिआल गुरु पंथ लखाए । हजरति ख्वाज खिजिर तिन्ह पाए ॥
भए परसन ओहि हजरति ख्वाजे । लइ मेरए जहँ सैयद राजे ॥
उन्ह सौं मैं पाई जब करनी । उघरी जीभ प्रेम कबि बरनी ॥
ओइ सो गुरु हौं चेला निति बिनवौं भा चेर ।
उन्ह हुति देखइ पावौं दरस गोसाई केर ॥

Padmāvat 21.1-2
एक नैन कवि मुहमद गुनी । सोइ बिमोहा जेइँ कबि सुनी ॥
चाँद जइस जग विधि औतारा । दीन्ह कलंक कीन्ह उजियारा ॥

Padmāvat 23
जाएस नगर धरम अस्थानू । तहवाँ यह कब कीन्ह बखानू ॥
औ बिनती पंडितन्ह सों भजा । टूट सँवारेहु मेरएहु सजा ॥
हौं सब कबिन्ह केर पछिलगा । किछु कहि चला तबल दइ डगा ॥
हिअ भँडार नग आहि जो पूँजी । खोली जीभ तारा कै कूँजी ॥
रतन पदारथ बोलइ बोला । सुरस पेम मधु भरिअ अमोला ॥
जेहि के बोल बिरह के घाया । कहु तेहि भूख कहाँ तेहि छाया ॥
फेरे भेस रहइ भा तपा । धूरि लपेटा मानिक छपा ॥

मुहमद कबि जो प्रेम का ना तन रकत न माँसु ।
जेइँ मुख देखा तेइँ हँसा सुना तो आए आँसु ॥

Padmāvat 24

सन नौ सै सत्ताइस अहै । कथा अरंभ बैन कबि कहै ॥
सिंघल दीप पदुमिनी रानी । रतनसेनि चितउर गढ़ आनी ॥
अलाउदीं ढिल्ली सुलतानू । राघौ चेतन कीन्ह बखानू ॥
सुना साहि गढ़ छेंका आई । हिन्दू तुरकहिं भई लराई ॥
आदि अंत जसि कथ्था अहै । लिखि भाषा चौपाई कहै ॥
कबि बिआस रस कौंला पूरि । दूरिहि निअर निअर भा दूरी ॥
निअरहि दूरि फूल सँग काँटा । दूरि जो निअरैं जस गुर चाँटा ॥
भँवर आइ बनखंड हुति लेहि कँवल कै बास ।
दादुर बास न पावहिं भलेहिं जो आछहिं पास ॥

Padmāvat 40

पुनि आइअ सिंघल गढ़ पासा । का बरनौं जस लाग अकासा ॥
तरहिं कुरुँभ बासुकि कै पीठी । ऊपर इन्द्रलोक पर डीठी ॥
परा खोह चहुँ दिसि तस बांका । काँपे जाँघि जाइ नहिं झाँका ॥
अगम असूझ देखि डर खाई । परै सो सप्त पतारन्ह जाई ॥
नव पँवरी बाँकी नव खण्डा । नवहुँ जो चढ़ै जाइ ब्रह्मण्डा ॥
कंचन कोट जरे कौसीसा । नखतन्ह भरा बीजु अस दीसा ॥
लंका चाहि ऊँच गढ़ ताका । निरखि न जाइ दिस्टि मन थाका ॥
हिअ न समाइ दिस्टि नहिं पहुँचै जानहु ठाढ़ सुमेरु ।
कहँ लगि कहौं ऊँचाई ताकरि कहँ लगि बरनौं फेरु ॥

Padmāvat 41

निति गढ़ बाँचि चलै ससि सुरू । नाहिं त बाजि होइ रथ चूरू ॥
पँवरी नवौ बज्र कइ साजी । सहस सहस तहँ बैठे पाजी ॥
फिरहिं पाँच कोटवार सो भँवरी । काँपै पाँय चँपत वै पँवरी ॥
पँवरिहि पँवरि सिंह गढ़ि काढ़े । डरपहिं राय देखि तेन्ह ठाढ़े ॥
बहु बनान वै नाहर गढ़े । जनु गाजहिं चाहहिं सिर चढ़े ॥
टारहिं पूँछ पसारहिं जीहा । कुंजर डरहिं कि गुंजरि लीहा ॥
कनक सिला गढ़ि सीढ़ी लाई । जगमगाहिं गढ़ ऊपर ताई ॥
नवौ खंड नव पँवरीं औ तहँ बज्र केवार ।
चारि बसेरें सों चढ़ै सत सौं चढ़ै जो पार ॥

Padmāvat 42.8-9

मुहमद जीवन जल भरन रहँट घरी की रीति ।
घरी सो आई ज्यों भरी ढरी जनम गा बीति ॥

Padmāvat 43
गढ़ पर नीर खीर दुइ नदी । पानी भरहिं जैसे दुरुपदी ॥
औरु कुंड एक मोंतीचूरू । पानी अंब्रित कीच कपूरू ॥
ओहि क पानि राजा पै पिआ । बिरिध होइ नहिं जौ लहि जिआ ॥
कंचन बिरिख एक तेहि पासा । जस कलपतरु इंद्र कबिलासा ॥
मूल पतार सरग ओहि साखा । अमर बेलि को पाब को चाखा ॥
चाँद पात औ फूल तराईं । होइ उजियार नगर जहँ ताईं ॥
वह फर पावै तपि कै कोई । बिरिध खाइ नव जोबन होई ॥
राजा भए भिखारी सुनि वह अंब्रित भोग ।
जेइँ पावा सो अमर भा ना किछु ब्याधि न रोग ॥

Padmāvat 47.4-9 (with a few corrections of printing errors, taken from the first edition by M.P. Gupta)
रूपवँत मनि दिपै लिलाटा । माँथें छात बैठ सब पाटा ॥
मानहु कँवल सरोवर फूलै । सभा क रूप देखि मन भूलै ॥
पान कपूर मेद कस्तूरी । सुगँध बास भरि रही अपूरी ॥
माँझ ऊँच इंद्रासन साजा । गंध्रबसेनि बैठ जहँ राजा ॥
छत्र गगन लहि ताकर सूर तवै जसु आपु ।
सभा कँवल जिमि बिगसै माँथे बड़ परतापु ॥

Padmāvat 50.4-9
प्रथम सो जोति गगन निरमई । पुनि सो पिता माथें मनि भई ॥
पुनि वह जोति मातु घट आई । तेहि ओदर आदर बहु पाई ॥
जस औघान पूर होइ तासु । दिन दिन हिएँ होइ परगासू ॥
जस अंचल झीने महँ दिया । तस उजियार देखावै हिया ॥
सौनै मँदिर सँवारै औ चंदन सब लीप ।
दिया जो मति सिव लोक महँ उपना सिंघल दीप ॥

Padmāvat 52.5-6
सूर परस सों भएउ किरीरा । किरिन जामि उपना नग हीरा ॥
तेहिं ते अधिक पदारथ करा । रतन जोग उपना निरमरा ॥

Padmāvat 54.5-6
सुआ एक पदुमावति ठाऊँ । महा पँडित हीरामनि नाऊँ ॥
दैयँ दीन्ह पंखिहि असि जोती । नैन रतन मुख मानिक मोती ॥

Padmāvat 60
खेलत मानसरोवर गई । जाइ पालि पर ठाढ़ी भई ॥
देखि सरोवर रहसहिं केली । पदुमावति सौं कहहिं सहेली ॥

ऐ रानी मन देखु बिचारी । एहि नैहर रहना दिन चारी ॥
जौ लहि अहै पिता कर राजू । खेलि लेहु जौं खेलहु आजू ॥
पुनि सासुर हम गौनब काली । कित हम कित एह सरवर पाली ॥
कित आवन पुइ अपने हाथाँ । कित मिलि कै खेलब एक साथाँ ॥
सासु नँनद बोलिन्ह जिउ लेहीं । दारुन ससुर न आवै देहीं ॥
पिउ पिआर सब ऊपर सो पुनि करै दहुँ काह ।
कहुँ सुख राखै की दुख दहुँ कस जरम निबाह ॥

Padmāvat 63.5-7
बूझि खेल खेलहु एक साथा । हारु न होइ पराएँ हाथा ॥
आजुहि खेल बहुरि कित होई । खेल गएँ कत खेलै कोई ॥
धनि सो खेल खेलहिं रस पेमा । रौताई औ कूसल खेमा ॥

Padmāvat 65
कहा मानसर चहा सो पाई । पारस रूप इहाँ लागि आई ॥
भा निरमर तेन्ह पायन परसें । पावा रूप रूप कें दरसें ॥
मलै समीर बास तन आई । भा सीतल गै तपन बुझाई ॥
न जनौं कौनु पौन लै आवा । पुत्रि दसा भै पाप गँवावा ॥
ततखन हार बेगि उतिराना । पावा सखिन्ह चंद बिहँसाना ॥
बिगसे कुमुद देखि ससि रेखा । भै तेहिं रूप जहाँ जो देखा ॥
पाए रूप-रूप जस चहे । ससि मुख सब दरपन होइ रहे ॥
नैन जो देखे कँवल भए निरमर नीर सरीर ।
हँसत जो देखे हंस भए दसन जोति नग हीर ॥

Padmāvat 73.4-5
रतनसेनि एहि कुल औतरा । रतन जोति मनि माथें बरा ॥
पदिक पदारथ लिखी सो जोरी । चाँद सुरुज जसि होइ अँजोरी ॥

Padmāvat 74.1-2
चितउर गढ़ क एक बनिजारा । सिंघल दीप चला बैपारा ॥
बाँभन एक हुत नष्ट भिकारी । सो पुनि चला चलत बैपारी ॥

Padmāvat 80
भई रजाएसु जन दौराए । बाँभन सुआ बेगि लै आए ॥
बिप्र असीसि बिनति औधारा । सुआ जीउ नहिं करौं निनारा ॥
पै यह पेट भएउ बिसवासी । जेहि नाए सब तपा सँन्यासी ॥
दारा सेज जहाँ जेहि नाहीं । भुइँ परि रहै लाइ गिव बाहीं ॥
अंध रहै जो देख न नैना । गूँग रहै मुख आव न बैना ॥
बहिर रहै सरवन नहिं सुना । पै एक पेट न रह निरगुना ॥

कै कै फेर अंत बहु दोषी । बारहिं बार फिरै न सँतोषी ॥
सो मोहिं लिहें मँगावै आवै भूख पियास ।
जौं न होत अस बैरी तौ केहि काहू कै आस ॥

Padmāvat 90.3-4
तूं रिसि भरी न देखसि आगू । रिसि महँ काकर भएउ सोहागू ॥
बिरस बिरोध रिसिहि पै होई । रिसि मारै तेहि मार न कोई ॥

Padmāvat 92
राजैं कहा सत्त कहु सुआ । बिनु सत कस जस सेंवर भुआ ॥
होइ मुख रात सत्त की बाता । जहाँ सत्त तहँ धरम सँघाता ॥
बाँधी सिस्टि अहै सत केरी । लखिमी आहि सत्त की चेरी ॥
सत्त जहाँ साहस सिधि पावा । जौं सतवादी पुरुष कहावा ॥
सत कहँ सती सँवारै सरा । आगि लाइ चहुँ दिसि सत जरा ॥
दुइ जग तरा सत्त जेइँ राखा । औ पिआर दैअहि सत भाखा ॥
सो सत छाँडि जो धरम बिनासा । का मति हिएँ कीन्ह सत नासा ॥
तुम्ह सयान औ पंडित असत न भाखहु काउ ।
सत्त कहहु सो मोसो दहुँ काकर अनियाउ ॥

Padmāvat 93.1-3
सत्त कहत राजा जिउ जाऊ । पै मुख असत न भाखौं काऊ ॥
हौं सत लै निसरा एहि पतें । सिंघल दीप राज घर हतें ॥
पदुमावति राजा कै बारी । पदुम गंध ससि बिधि औतारी ॥

Padmāvat 97
पेम सुनत मन भूलु न राजा । कठिन पेम सिर दै तौ छाजा ॥
पेम फाँद जो परा न छूटा । जीउ दीन्ह बहु फाँद न टूटा ॥
गिरगिट छंद धरै दुख तेता । खिन खिन रात पीत खिन सेता ॥
जानि पुछारि जो भै बनबासी । रोवँ रोवँ परे फाँद नगवासी ॥
पाँखन्ह फिरि फिरि परासो फाँदू । उड़ि न सकै अरुझी भा बाँदू ॥
मुयों मुयों अहनिसि चिललाई । ओहि रोस नागन्ह धरि खाई ॥
पाँडुक सुआ कंठ ओहि चीन्हा । जेहि गियँ परा चाह जिउ दीन्हा ॥
तीतिर गियँ जो फाँद है नितहि पुकारै दोखु ।
सकति हँकारि फाँद गियँ मेलै कब मारै होइ मोख ॥

Padmāvat 98
राजैं लीन्ह ऊभ भरि साँसा । अैस बोल जनि बोलु निरासा ॥
भलेहिं पेम है कठिन दुहेला । दुइ जग तरा पेम जेइँ खेला ॥
दुख भीतर जो पेम मधु राखा । गंजन मरन सहै सो चाखा ॥

जेइँ नहिँ सीस पेम पँथ लावा । सो प्रिथिमी महँ काहे कों आवा ॥
अब मैं प्रेम पंथ सिर मेला । पाँव न टेलु राखु कै चेला ॥
प्रेम बार सो कहै जो देखा । जेइँ न देख का जान बिसेखा ॥
तब लगि दुख प्रीतम नहिं भेंटा । जब भेंटा जरमन्ह दुख मेटा ॥
जसि अनूप तुइँ देखी नख सिख बरनि सिंगार ।
है मोहि आस मिलन कै जौं मेरवै करतार ॥

Padmāvat 102
भौंहैं स्याम धनुकु जनु ताना । जासौं हेर मार बिख बाना ॥
उहै धनुक उन्ह भौंहन्ह चढ़ा । केइ हतियार काल अस गढ़ा ॥
उहै धनुक किरसुन पहँ अहा । उहै धनुक राघौ कर गहा ॥
उहै धनुक रावन संघारा । उहै धनुक कंसासुर मारा ॥
उहै धनुक बेधा हुत राहू । मारा ओहीं सहस्सर बाहू ॥
उहै धनुक मैं ओपहँ चीन्हा । धानुक आप बेझ जग कीन्हा ॥
उन्ह भौंहन्हि सरि केउ न जीता । आछरिं छपीं छपीं गोपीता ॥
भौंह धनुक धनि धानुक दोसर सरि न कराइ ।
गगन धनुक जो ऊगवै लाजन्ह सो छपि जाइ ॥

Padmāvat 105.6-9
अधर दसन पर नासिक सोभा । दारिवँ देखि सुआ मन लोभा ॥
खंजन दुहुँ दिसि केलि कराहीं । दहुँ वह रस को पाव को नाहीं ॥
देखि अमिअ रस अधरन्हि भएउ नासिका कीर ।
पवन बास पहुँचावै अस रम छाँड़ ना तीर ॥

Padmāvat 106.8-9
अमिअ अधर अस राजा सब जग आस करेइ ।
केहि कहँ कँवल बिगासा को मधुकर रस लेइ ॥

Padmāvat 108.1
रसना कहौं जो कह रस बाता । अंब्रित वचन सुनत मन राता ॥

Padmāvat 116.8-9
सिंघ न जीता लंक सरि हारि लीन्ह बन बासु ।
तेहि रिस रकत पिअै मनई कर खाइ मार कै मांसु ॥

Padmāvat 120.4-5
है राजहिं लष्षन कै करा । सकत बान मोहा है परा ॥
नहिं सो राम हनिवँत बड़ि दूरी । कौ लै आव सजीवनि मूरी ॥

Padmāvat 121 (with correction of printing errors in Agravāl's edition)
जौं भा चेत उठा बैरागा । बाउर जनहुँ सोइ अस जागा ॥
आवन जगत बालक जस रोवा । उठा रोइ हो ग्यान सो खोवा ॥
हौं तो अहा जमरपुर जहाँ । इहाँ मरनपुर आएहुँ कहाँ ॥
केइँ उपकार मरन कर कीन्हा । सकति जगाय जीउ हरि लीन्हा ॥
सोवत अहा जहाँ सुख साखा । कस न तहाँ सोवत बिधि राखा ॥
अब जिउ तहाँ इहाँ तन सूना । कब लगि रहै परान विहूना ॥
जौं जिउ घटिहि काल के हाथाँ । घटन नीक पै जीव निसाथाँ ॥
अहुठ हाथ तन सरबर हिया कँवल तेहि माँह ।
नैनन्हि जानहु निअरें कर पहुँचत अवगाह ॥

Padmāvat 126
तजा राज राजा भा जोगी । औ किंगरी कर गहें बियोगी ॥
तन बिसँभर मन बाउर रटा । अरुझा पेम परी सिर जटा ॥
चंद बदन और चंदन देहा । भसम चढ़ाइ कीन्ह तन खेहा ॥
मेखल सिंगी चक्र धँधारी । जो गौटा रुद्राख अधारी ॥
कंथा पहिरि डंड कर गहा । सिद्धि होइ कहँ गोरख कहा ॥
मुंद्रा स्रवन कंठ जपमाला । कर उदपान काँध बघछाला ॥
पाँवरी पाँव लीन्ह सिर छाता । खप्पर लीन्ह भेस कै राता ॥
चला भुगुति माँगै कहँ साजि कया तप जोग ।
सिद्ध होउँ पदुमावति पाएँ हिरदै जेहि क बियोग ॥

Padmāvat 133 a. (Gupta 1952*:* 562)
मैं एहि अरथ पंडितन्ह बूझा । कहा कि हम्ह किछु और न सूझा ॥
चौदह भुवन जो तर उपराहीं । ते सब मानुख के घट माहीं ॥
तन चितउर मन राजा कीन्हा । हिय सिंघल बुधि पदुमिनि चीन्हा ॥
गुरू सुवा जेइ पंथ देखावा । बिनु गुरु जगत को निरगुन पावा ॥
नागमती यह दुनिया धंधा । बाँचा सोइ न एहि चित बंधा ॥
राघव दूत सोइ सैतानू । माया अलाउद्दीं सुलतानू ॥
पेम कथा एहि भाँति बिचारहु । बूझि लेहु जो बूझै पारहु ॥
तुरकी अरबी हिंदुई भाषा जेती आहिं ।
जेहि महँ मारग पेम कर सबै सराहैं ताहि ॥

Variant reading of line 7:
प्रेम कथा एहि भाँति बनाई । मूरख कहहिं कहानी गाई ।

After Padmāvat 274 in ms. dvi.4 (Gupta 1952: 562) lines 5 and 6:
मैं यहाँ जानि लिप्त अस कीन्हा । बूझै सोइ जु आपन चीन्हा ॥
आपनि जीभि औ आपनि बोली । मूरख मारै बोली ठोली ॥

Padmāvat 149
राजें कहा कीन्ह सो पेम । जेहिं रे कहाँ कर कूसल खेमा ॥
तुम्ह खेवहु खेवै जौं पारहु । जैसें आपु तरहु मोहिं तारहु ॥
मोहिं कूसल कर सोच न ओता । कूसल होता जौं जनम न होता ॥
धरती सरग जाँत पर दोऊ । जो तेहि बिच जिया राख न कोऊ ॥
हौं अब कुसल एक पै माँगौं । पेम पंथ सत बाँधि न खाँगौं ॥
जौं सत हिएँ तो नैनन्ह दिया । समुँद न डरै पैठि मरजिया ॥
तहँ लगि हेरौं समुँद ढँढोरी । जहँ लगि रतन पदारथ जोरी ॥
सप्त पतार खोजि जस काढ़े बेद गरंथ ।
सात सरग चढ़ि धावौं पदुमावति जेहि पंथ ॥

Padmāvat 150
सायर तिरै हिएँ सत पूरा । जौं जियँ सत कायर पुनि सूरा ॥
तेहिं सत बोहित पूरि चलाए । जेहिं सत पवन पंख जनु लाए ॥
सत साथी सत कर सहवाँरू । सत्त खेइ लै लावै पारू ॥
सतै ताक सब आगू पाछू । जहँ जहँ मगर मच्छ औ काछू ॥
उठै लहरि नहिं जाइ सँभारा । चढ़ै सरग औ परै पतारा ॥
डोलहिं बोहित लहरैं खाहीं । खिन तर खिनहिं होहिं उपराहीं ॥
राजैं सो सतु हिरदैं बाँधा । जेहि सत टेकि करै गिरि काँधा ॥
खार समुँद सो नाँघा आए समुँद जहँ खीर ।
मिले समुँद वै सातौं बेहर बेहर नीर ॥

Padmāvat 152
दधि समुँद देखत मन डहा । पेम क लुबुध दगध पै सहा ॥
पेम सों दाधा धनि वह जीऊ । दही माहि मथि काढ़ै घीऊ ॥
दधि एक बूँद जाम सब खीरू । काँजी बुंद बिनसि होइ नीरू ॥
साँस दुआलि मन मँथनी गाढ़ी । हिएँ चोट बिनु फुट न साढ़ी ॥
जेहि जियँ पेम चँदन तेहि आगी । पेम बिहून फिरहि डरि भागी ॥
पेम कि आगि जरै जौं कोई । ताकर दुख न अँबिरथा होई ॥
जो जानै सत आपुहि जारै । निसत हिएँ सत करै न पारै ॥
दधि समुँद पुनि पार भे पेमहिं कहाँ सँभार ।
भावै पानी सिर परौ भावै परौ अँगार ॥

Padmāvat 154.8-9
मुहमद मद जो परेम का किएँ दीप तेहि राख ।
सीस न देइ पतँग होइ तब लगि जाइ न चाख ॥

Padmāvat 158
सतएँ समुँद मानसर आए । सत जो कीन्ह साहस सिधि पाए ॥

देखि मानसर रूप सोहावा । हियँ हुलास पुरइनि होइ छावा ॥
गा अँधियार रैनि मसि छूटी । भा भिनुसार किरिन रबि फूटी ॥
अस्तु अस्तु साथी सब बोले । अंध जो अहे नैन बिधि खोले ॥
कँवल बिगस तहँ बिहँसी देही । भँवर दसन होइ होइ रस लेही ॥
हँसहिं हंस औ करहिं किरीरा । चुनहिं रतन मुकताहल हीरा ॥
जौं अस साधि आव तप जोगू । पूजै आस मान रस भोगू ॥
भँवर जो मनसा मानसर लीन्ह कँवल रस आइ ।
धुन जो हियाव न कै सका झूर काट तस खाइ ॥

Padmāvat 160.8-9
गँगन सरोवर ससि कँवल कुमुद तराई पास ।
तूँ रबि उवा जो भँवर होइ पवन मिला लै बास ॥

Padmāvat 168
पदुमावति तेहि जोग सँजोगाँ । परी पेम बस गहें बियोगाँ ॥
नींद न परै रैनि जौं आवा । सेज केवाँछ जानु कोइ लावा ॥
दहै चाँद औ चंदन चीरू । दगध करै तन बिरह गँभीरू ॥
कलप समान रैनि हठि बाढ़ी । तिल तिल मरि जुग जुग बर गाढ़ी ॥
गहै बीन मकु रैनि बिहाई । ससि बाहन तब रहै ओनाई ॥
पुनि धनि सिंघ उरेहै लागै । अैसी बिथा रैनि सब जागै ॥
कहाँ सो भँवर कँवल रस लेवा । आइ परहु होइ घिरिन परेवा ॥
सो धनि बिरह पतंग होइ जरा चाह तेहि दीप ।
कंत न आवहु भृंगि होइ को चंदन तन लीप ॥

Padmāvat 169.3-4
कँवल भँवर ओही बन पावै । को मिलाइ तन तपनि बुझावै ॥
अंग अनल अस कँवल शरीरा । हिय भा पियर पेम की पीरा ॥

Padmāvat 171
पदुमावति तूँ सुबुधि सयानी । तोहिं सरि समुँद न पूजै रानी ॥
नदी समाहिं समुँद महँ आई । समुँद डोलि कहु कहाँ समाई ॥
अबहीं कँवल करी हिय तोरा । आइहि भँवर जो तो कहँ जोरा ॥
जोबन तुरै हाथ गहि लीजै । जहाँ जाइ तहँ जाइ न दीजै ॥
जोबन जो रे मतंग गज अहै । गहु गिआन जिमि आँकुस गहै ॥
अबहिँ बारि तूँ पेम न खेला । का जानसि कस होइ दुहेला ॥
गँगन दिस्टि करु जाइ तराहीं । सुरुज देखि कर आवै नाही ॥
जब लगि पीउ मिलै तोहिं साधु पेम कै पीर ।
जैसें सीप सेवाति कहँ तपै समुँद मँझ नीर ॥

Padmāvat 173
नैन जो चक्र फिरै चहुँ ओराँ । चरचै धाइ समाइ न कोराँ ॥
कहेसि पेम जौं उपना बारी । बाँधु सत्त मन डोल न भारी ॥
जेहि जिय महँ सत होइ पहारू । परै पहार न बाँके बारू ॥
सती जो जरै पेम पिय लागी । जौं सत हिएँ तौ सीतल आगी ॥
जोबन चाँद जो चौदसि करा । बिरह कि चिनगि चाँद पुनि जरा ॥
पवन बंध होइ जोगी जती । काम बंध होइ कामिनि सती ॥
आउ बसंत फूल फुलवारी । देव बार सब जैहहिं बारी ॥
पुनि तुम्ह जाहु बसंत लै पूजि मनावहु देव ।
जिउ पाइअ जग जनमे पिउ पाइअ कै सेव ॥

Padmāvat 177.1-2; 6-9.
बैठ जो राज पिता के ठाऊँ । राजा रतनसेनि ओहि नाऊँ ॥
का बरनों धनि देस दियारा । जहँ अस नग उपना उजियारा ॥
(...)
सो नग देखि इंछ मैं मोरी । है यह रतन पदारथ जोरी ॥
है ससि जोग इहै पै भानू । तहाँ तुम्हार मैं कीन्ह बखानू ॥
कहाँ रतन रतनाकर कंचन कहाँ सुमेरु ।
दैव जौं जोरी दुहुँ लिखी मिलै सो कवनेहु फेरु ॥

Padmāvat 178.8-9
तुम्ह बारीं रस जोग जेहि कँवलहि जस अरघानी ।
तस सूरुज परगासि कै भँवर मिलाएउँ आनि ॥

Padmāvat 179.5-6
कंचन करी न काँचहि लोभा । जौं नग होइ पाव तब सोभा ॥
नग कर मरम सो जरिया जाना । जरै जो अस नग हीर पखाना ॥

Padmāvat 197.6
दिन औ राति जानु भए एका । राम आइ रावन गढ़ छेंका ॥

Padmāvat 211.8-9
हत्या दुइ जो चढ़ाएहु काँधे अबहुँ न गे अपराध ।
तीसरि लेहु एहु कै माँथे जौं रे लेइ कै साध ॥

Padmāvat 215
गढ़ तस बाँक जैसि तोरि काया । परखि देखु तैं ओहि की छाया ॥
पाइअ नाहिं जूझि हठि कीन्हे । जेइँ पावा तेइँ आपुहि चीन्हे ॥
नौ पौरी तेहि गढ़ मँझिआरा । औ तहँ फिरहिं पाँच कोटवारा ॥

दसवँ दुआर गुपुत एक नाँकी । अगम चढ़ाव बाट सुठि बाँकी ॥
भेदी कोई जाइ ओहि घाटी । जौं लै भेद चढ़ै होइ चाँटी ॥
गढ़ तर सुरंग कुंड अवगाहा । तेहि महँ पंथ कहौं तोहि पाहाँ ॥
चोर पैठि जस सेंधि सँवारी । जुआ पैंत जेउँ लाव जुआरी ॥
जस मरजिया समुँद घँसि मारै हाथा आवा तब सीप ।
ढूँढि लेहि ओहि सरग दुवारी औ चढु सिंघलदीप ॥

Padmāvat 216
दसवँ दुवार तारु का लेखा । उलटि दिस्टि जो लाव सो देखा ॥
जाइ सो जाइ साँस मन बंदी । जस धँसि लीन्ह कान्ह कालिंदी ॥
तूँ मन नाँथु मारि कै स्वाँसा । जौं पै मरहि आपुहि करु नाँसा ॥
परगट लोकचार कहु बाता । गुपुत लाउ जासौं मन राता ॥
हौं हौं कहत मंत सब कोई । जौं तूँ नाहिं आहि सब सोई ॥
जियतहि जौ रे मरै एक बारा । पुनि कत मीचु को मारै पारा ॥
आपुहि गुरु सो आपुहि चेला । आपुहि सब सो आपु अकेला ॥
आपुहि मीचु जियत पुनि आपुहि तन मन सोइ ।
आपुहि आपु करै जो चाहे कहाँ क दोसर कोइ ॥

Padmāvat 223
गए बसीठ पुनि बहुरि न आए । राजैं कहा बहुत दिन लाए ॥
न जनौं सरग बात दहुँ काहा । काहु न आइ कही फिरि चाहा ॥
पाँख न कया पवन नहिं पाया । केहि बिधि मिलौं होउँ केहि छाया ॥
सँवरि रकत नैनन्ह भरि चुवा । रोइ हँकारा माँझीं सुवा ॥
परे सो आँसु रकत कै टूटी । अबहुँ सो राती बीर-बहूटी ॥
ओहि रकत लिखि दीन्हीं पाती । सुव जो लीन्ह चोंच भै राती ॥
बाँधा कंठ परा जरि काँठा । बिरह क जरा जाइ कहँ नाँठा ॥
मसि नैना लिखनी बरुनि रोइ रोइ लिखा अकथ्थ ।
आखर दहै न कहुँ गहै सो दीन्ह सुवा के हत्थ ॥

Padmāvat 232.8-9
तब लगि भुगुति न लै सका रावन सिय एक साथ ।
अब कौन भरोसें किछु कहौं जीउ पराएँ हाथ ॥

Padmāvat 236
मुवा जियहि अस बास जो पावा । बहुरी साँस पेट जिउ आवा ॥
देखेसि जाग सुअै सिर नावा । पाती दै मुख बचन सुनावा ॥
गुरु कर स्रवन दुहुँ मेला । कीन्ह सुदिस्टि बेगि चलु चेला ॥
तोहिं अलि कीन्ह आपु भइ केवा । हौं पठवा कै बीच परेवा ॥
पवन स्वाँस तोसौं मन लाए । जोवै मारग दिस्टि बिछाए ॥

जस तुम्ह कया कीन्ह अगिडाहू । सो सब गुरु कहँ भएउ अगाहू ॥
तव उड़ंत झाला लिखि दीन्हा । बेगि आउ चाहौं सिध कीन्हा ॥
आवहु स्यामि सुलक्खने जीव बसै तुम्ह नाउँ ।
नैनन्ह भीतर पंथ है हिरदै भीतर ठाउँ ॥

Padmāvat 238
जो पँथ मिला महेसहि सेई । इएउ समुँद ओही धँसि लेई ॥
जहँ वह कुंड विषम अवगाहा । जाइ परा जनु पाई थाहा ॥
बाउर अंध प्रीति कर लागू । सौहँ धसै कछु सूझ न आगू ॥
लीन्हेसि धँसि सुवाँस मन मारे । गुरू मछिंदरनाथ सँभारे ॥
चेला परे न छाड़हि पाछू । चेला मंछु गुरू जस काछू ॥
जनु धँसि लीन्ह समुँद मरजिया । उघरे नैन बरे जनु दिया ॥
खोजि लीन्ह सो सरग दुवारी । बज्र जो मूँदे जाइ उघारी ॥
बाँक चढ़ाउ सुरंग गढ़ चढ़त गएउ होइ भोर ।
भइ पुकार गढ़ ऊपर चढ़े सेंधि दै चोर ॥

Padmāvat 248.8-9
तन रावन होइ सिर चढ़ा बिरह भएउ हनिवंत ।
जारे ऊपर जारै तजै न कै भसमंत ॥

Padmāvat 250.8-9
कँवल करी तूँ पदुमिनि गै निसि भएउ बिहान ।
अबहुँ न संपुट खोलहि जौं रे उठा जग भान ॥

Padmāvat 252.1-6
पुरइनि धाइ सुनत खिन धाई । हीरामनिहि बेगि लै आई ॥
जनहुँ बैद ओषद लै आवा । रोगिअै रोग मरत जिउ पावा ॥
सुनत असीस नैन धनि खोले । बिरह बैन कोकिल जिमि बोले ॥
कँवलहि बिरह बिथा जसि बाढ़ी । केसरि बरन पियर हिय गाढ़ी ॥
कत कँवलहि भा पेम अँकूरू । जौं पै गहन लीन्ह दिन सूरू ॥
पुरइनि छाँह कँवल कै करी । सकल बिथा सो अस तुम्ह हरी ॥

Padmāvat 253.1-3
और दगध का कहौं अपारा । सुनै सो जरै कठिन असि झारा ॥
होइ हनिवंत बैठ है कोई । लंका डाह लाग तन होई ॥
लंका बुझी आगि जौं लागी । यह न बुझै तसि उपजि बजागी ॥

Padmāvat 263
राजा रहा दिस्टि किए औंधी । सहि न सका तब भाट दसौंधी ॥

कहेसि मेलि कै हाथ कटारी । पुरुष न आछहिं बैठि पेटारी ॥
कान्ह कोप कै मारा कंसू । गूँग कि फूँक न बाजइ बंसू ॥
गंध्रपसेनि जहाँ रिस बाढ़ा । जाइ भाँट आगें भा ठाढ़ा ॥
ठाढ़ देखि सब राजा राऊ । बाएं हाथ दीन्ह बरम्हाऊ ॥
गंध्रपसेनि तूँ राजा महा । हौं महेस मूरति सुनु कहा ॥
जोगी पानि आगि तुइँ राजा । आगिहि पानि जूझ नहिं छाजा ॥
अगिनि बुझाइ पानि सों तूँ राजा मन बूझु ।
तोरें बार खपर है लीन्हें भिख्या देहु न जूझु ॥

Padmāvat 266
रावन गरब बिरोधा रामू । औ ओहिं गरब भएउ संग्रामू ॥
तेहि रावन अस को वरिबँडा । जेहि दस सीस बीस भुअडंडा ॥
सूरज जेहि कै तपै रसोई । बैसंदर निति धोती धोई ॥
सूक सोंटिया ससि मसिआरा । पवन करै निति बार बुहारा ॥
मीचु लाइ कै पाटी बाँधा । रहा न दोसर ओहि सौं काँधा ॥
जो अस बजर टरै नहिं टारा । सोउ मुआ तपसी कर मारा ॥
नाती पूत कोटि दस अहा । रोवन हार न एकौ रहा ॥
ओछ जानि कै काहूँ जनि कोइ गरब करेइ ।
ओछे पारइ दैय है जीत पत्र जो देइ ॥

Padmāvat 267.1-3
औ जो भाँट उहाँ हुत आगें । बिनै उठा राजहिं रिसि लागें ॥
भाँट आहि ईसुर कै कला । राजा सब राखहिं अरगला ॥
भाँट मीचु आपुनि पै दीसा । तासौं कौन करै रस रीसा ॥

Padmāvat 268
जो सत पूँछहु गंध्रप राजा । सत पै कहौं परै किन गाजा ॥
भाँटहि कहा मींचु सों डरना । हाथ कटारिं पेट हनि मरना ॥
जंबू दीप औ चितउर देसू । चित्रसेनि बड़ तहाँ नरेसू ॥
रतनसेनि यहु ताकर बेटा । कुल चौहान जाइ नहिं मेंटा ॥
खाँड़ैं अचल सुमेरु पहारू । टरै न जौं लागै संसारू ॥
दान सुमेरु देत नहिं खाँगा । जो ओहि माँग न औरहि माँगा ॥
दाहिन हाथ उठाएऊँ ताही । और को अस बरम्हावउँ जाही ॥
नाउँ महापातर मोहि तेहिक भिखारी ढीठ ।
जौं खरि बात कहें रिस लागै खरि पै कहै बसीठ ॥

Padmāvat 280.5
हुलसी लंक कि राबन राजू । राम लखन दर साजहिं साजू ॥

Padmāvat 286.4-5
पुनि धनि भरि अंजुलि जल लीन्हा । जोबन जरम कंत कहँ दीन्हा ॥
कंत लीन्ह दीन्हा धनि हाथाँ । जोरी गाँठि दुहूँ एक साथाँ ॥

Padmāvat 304.1
गोरख सबद सुद्ध भा राजा । रामा सुनि रावन होइ गाजा ॥

Padmāvat 318.1-2
कहौं जुझि जस रावन रामा । सेज बिधंसि बिरह संग्रामा ॥
लीन्ह लंक कंचन गढ़ टूटा । कीन्ह सिंगार अहा सब लूटा ॥

Padmāvat 333.5
काल्हि न होइ रहे सह रामा । आजु करौ रावन संग्रामा ॥

Padmāvat 361.3-9
जहाँ सो कंत गए होइ जोगी । हौं किंगारी भै झुरौं बियोगी ॥
ओहूँ सिंगी पूरै गुरु भेटा । हौं भै भस्म न आइ समेटा ॥
कथा जो कहै आइ पिय केरी । पाँवरि होउँ जनम भरि चेरी ॥
ओहि के गुन सँवरत भै माला । अबहुँ न बहुरा उड़िगा छाला ॥
बिरह गुरुइ खप्पर कै हिया । पवन अधार रहा होइ जिया ॥
हाड़ भए झुरि किंगरी नसैं भईं सब ताँति ।
रोवँ रोवँ तन धुनि उठै कहेसु बिथा एहि भाँति ॥

Padmāvat 363
लै सो सँदेस बिंहघम चला । उठी आगि बिनसा सिंघला ॥
बिरह बजागि बीच को ठेघा । धूम जो उठे स्याम भए मेघा ॥
भरि गाँ गँगन लूक तसि छूटी । होइ सब नखत गिरिहिं भुइँ टूटी ॥
जहँ जहँ पुहुमी जरी भा रेहू । बिरह के दगध होइ जनि केहू ॥
राहु केतु जरि लंका जरी । औ उड़ि चिनगि चाँद महँ परी ॥
जाइ बिहंगम समुँद डफारा । जरे माँछ पानी भा खारा ॥
दाधे बन तरिवर जल सीपा । जाइ नियर भा सिंघल दीपा ॥
समुँद तीर एक तरिवर जाइ बैठ तेहि रूख ।
जब लगि कह न सँदेसरा ना ओहि प्यास न भूख ॥

Padmāvat 367.8-9
मुहमद बाईं दिसि तजी एक सरवन एक आँखि ।
जब ते दाहिन होइ मिला बोलु पपीहा पाँखि ॥

Padmāvat 370

अस परजरा बिरह कर कठा । मेघ स्याम भै धुआँ जो उठा ॥
दाधे राहु केतु गा दाधा । सूरज जरा चाँद जरि आधा ॥
औ सब नखत तराईं जरहीं । टूटहिं लूक धरनि महँ परहीं ॥
जरी सो धरती ठाँवहि ठाँवाँ । ढंक परास जरे तेहि दावाँ ॥
बिरह साँस तस निकसै झारा । धिकि धिकि परबत होहिं अँगारा ॥
भँवर पतंग जरे औ नागा । कोइल भुँजइल औ सब कागा ॥
बन पंछी सब जिउ लै उड़े । जल पंछी जरि जल महँ बुड़े ॥
हँ हूँ जरत तहँ निकसा समुँद बुझाएउँ आइ ।
समुँदौ जरा खार भा पानी धूम रहा जग छाइ ॥

Padmāvat 386

देखि गवन राजा गरबाना । दिस्टि माहँ कोइ औरु न आना ॥
जौं मैं होब समुँद के पारा । को मोरि जोरि जगत संसारा ॥
दरब त गरब लोभ बिख मूरी । दत्त न रहै सत्त होइ दूरी ॥
दत्त सत्त एइ दूनौ भाई । दत्त न रहै सत्त पुनि जाई ॥
जहाँ लोभ तहँ पाप सँघाती । सँचिकै मरै आन कै थाती ॥
सिद्धन्ह दरब आगि कै थापा । कोई जरा जारि कोइ तापा ॥
काहू चाँद काहू भा राहू । काहू अंब्रित बिख भा काहू ॥
तस फूला मन राजा लोभ पाप अँध कूप ।
आइ समुँद ठाढ़ भा होइ दानी के रूप ॥

Padmāvat 387.1-3.

बोहित भरे चला लै रानी । दान माँगि सत देखै दानी ॥
लोभ न कीजै दीजै दानू । दानहिं पुन्य होइ कल्यानू ॥
दरबहि दान देइ बिधि कहा । दान मोख होइ दोख न रहा ॥

Padmāvat 388

सुनि सो दान राजैं रिस मानी । केइँ बौराएसु बौरे दानी ॥
सोई पुरुष दरब जेहि सैंती । दरबहि तें सुन बातैं एती ॥
दरब त धरम करम औ राजा । दरब त सुद्धि बुद्धि बल गाजा ॥
दरब त गरब करै जो चाहा । दरब त धरती सरग बेसाहा ॥
दरब त हाथ आव कबिलासू । दरब त आछरि छाँड़ न पासू ॥
दरब त निरगुन होइ गुनवंता । दरब त कुबुज होइ रुपवंता ॥
दरब रहै भुइँ दिपै लिलारा । अस मनि दरब दै को पारा ॥
कहा समुँद रे लोभी बैरी दरब न झाँपु ।
भएउ न काहू आपनि मूँद पेटारे साँपु ॥

Padmāvat 390

केवट एक भभीखन केरा । आवा मंछ कर करब अहेरा ॥
लंका कर राकस अति कारा । आवै चला मेघ अँधिआरा ॥
पाँच मुन्ड दस बाहैं ताही । डहि भौ स्याम लंक जब डाही ॥
धुवाँ उठै मुख स्वाँस सँघाता । निकसै आगि कहै जब बाता ॥
फेकरे मुन्ड चँवर जनु लाए । निकसी दाँत मुँह बाहिर आए ॥
देह रीछ कै रीछ डेराई । देखत दिस्टि धाइ जनु खाई ॥
राते नैन निडेरें आवा । देखि भयावनु सब डर खावा ॥
धरती पाय सरग सिर जानहु सहसराबाहु ।
चांद सुरुज नखतन्ह मह अस दीखा जस राहु ॥

Padmāvat 391.1-4

बोहित बहे न मानहिं खेवा । राकस देखि हँसा जस देवा ॥
बहुते दिनन्ह बार भै दूजी । अजगर केरि आइ भख पूजी ॥
इहै पदुमिनी भभीखन पावा । जानहुँ आजु अजोध्या छावा ॥
जानहुँ रावन पाई सीता । लंका बसी रमाएन बीता ॥

Padmāvat 441

फूलु न कँवल भान के उएँ । मैल पानि होइहि जरि छुएँ ॥
भँवर फिरहि तोरे नैनाहाँ । लुबुध बिसाँइधि सब तोहि पाहाँ ॥
मंछ कच्छ दादुर तोहि पासा । बग पंखी निसि बासर बासा ॥
जो जो पंखि पास तोहि गए । पानी महँ सो बिसाँइधि भए ॥
सहस बार जौं धोवैं कोई । तबहूँ बिसाँइधि जाइ न धोई ॥
जौं उजियार चाँद होइ उई । बदन कलंक डोवँ कै छुई ॥
औ मोहि तोहि निसि दिन कर बीचू । राहु के हाथ चाँद कै मीचू ॥
काह कहौं ओहि पिय कहँ मोहिं पर धरेसि अँगार ।
तेहि के खेल भरोसें तुइँ जीता मोरि हार ॥

Padmāvat 445

पवन स्रवन राजा के लागा । लरहिं दुऔ पदुमावति नागा ॥
दूऔ सम साँवरि औ गोरी । मरहिं तो कहँ पावसि असि जोरी ॥
चलि राजा आवा तेहि बारीं । जरत बुझाईं दूनौ नारीं ॥
एक बार जिन्ह पिउ मन बूझा । काहे कौं दोसरे सौं जूझा ॥
अैस ज्ञान मन जान न कोई । कबहूँ राति कबहूँ दिन होई ॥
धूप छाँह दुइ पिय के रंगा । दूनौं मिली रहहु एक संगा ॥
जूझब छाँड़हु बूझहु दोऊ । सेव करहु सेवाँ कछु होऊ ॥
तुम्ह गंगा जमुना दुइ नारी लिखा मुहम्मद जोग ।
सेव करहु मिलि दूनहुँ औ मानहु सुख भोग ॥

Padmāvat 449
राघौ बैन जो कंचन रेखा । कसें बान पीतर अस देखा ॥
अग्याँ भई रिसान नरेसू । मारौं काह निसारौं देसू ॥
तब चेतन चित चिंता गाजा । पंडित सो जो वेद मति साजा ॥
कबि सो पेम तंत कबिराजा । झूँठ साच जेहि कहत न साजा ॥
खोट रतन सेवा फटिकरा । कहँ खर रतन जो दारिद हरा ॥
चहै लच्छि बाउर कबि सोई । जेहि सुरसती लच्छि कित होई ॥
कबिता सँग दारिद मति भंगी । काँटइ कुटिल पुहुप के संगी ॥
कबिता चेला बिधि गुरु सीप सेवाती बुंद ।
तेहि मानुस कै आस का जो मरजिया समुंद ॥

Padmāvat 450
यह रे बात पदुमावति सुनी । चला निसरि कै राघौ गुनी ॥
कै गियान धनि अगम बिचारा । भल न कीन्ह अस गुनी निसारा ॥
जेइँ जाखिनी पूजि ससि काढ़ी । सुरुज के ठाउँ करै पुनि ठाढ़ी ॥
कबि कै जीभ खरग हिरवानी । एक दिसि आग दोसर दिसि पानी ॥
जनि अजगुत काढ़ै मुख भोरें । जस बहुतें अपजस होइ थोरें ॥
राघौ चेतनि बेगि हँकारा । सुरुज गरह भा लेहु उतारा ॥
बाँभन जहाँ दक्खिना पावा । सरग जाइ जौं होइ बोलावा ॥
आवा राघौ चेतनि धौराहर के पास ।
अैस न जानै हिरदै बिजुरी बसै अकास ॥

Padmāvat 493
तुरुक जाइ कहु मरै न धाई । होइहि इसकंदर कै नाई ॥
सुनि अंब्रित केदली बनाया धावा । हाथ न चढ़ा रहा पछितावा ॥
उड़ि तेहि दीप पतँग होइ परा । अगिनि पहार पाउ दै जरा ॥
धरती सरग लोह भा तौंबै । जीउ दीन्ह पहुँचब गा लौंबै ॥
यहाँ चितउर गढ़ सोइ पहारू । सूर उठै धिकि होइ अँगारू ॥
जौं पै इसकंदर सरि कीन्ही । समुँद लेउ धँसि जस वै लीन्ही ॥
जौं छरि आने जाइ छिताई । तब का भएउ जो मुक्ख जताई ॥
महूँ समुझि अस अगुमन सँचि राखा गढ़ साजु ।
काल्हि होइ जेहि अवना सो चढ़ि आवौ आजु ॥

Padmāvat 509.8-9
इसिकंदर केदली बन गवने अस होइ गा अँधियार ।
हाथ पसार न सूझै बरै लागु मसियार ॥

Padmāvat 510
दिनहिं राति अस परी अचाका । भा रबि अस्त चंद रथ हाँका ॥

दिन के पंखि चरत उठि भागे । निसि के निसरि चरै सब लागे ॥
मँदिलन्ह दीप जगत परगसे । पंथिक चलत बसेरै बसे ॥
कवँल सँकेता कुमुदिनि फूली । चकइ बिछुरि अचक मन भूली ॥
तैस चलावा कटक अपूरी । अगिलहि पानी पछिलहि धूरी ॥
महि उजरी सायर सब सूखा । बनखँड रहा न एकौ रूखा ॥
गिरि पहार पब्बै भे माँटी । हस्ति हेरान तहाँ को चाँटी ॥
जिन्ह जिन्ह के घर हेराने हेरत फिरहिं ते खेह ।
अब तौं दिस्टि तबहिं पै आवहि उपजहिं नए उरेह ॥

Padmāvat 520.3-5
आजु चंद तोहि करौं निपातू । रहै न जग महँ दोसर छातू ॥
सहस कराँ होइ किरिन पसारा । छपि गा चाँद जहाँ लगि तारा ॥
दर लोहें दरपन भा आवा । घट घट जानहुँ भानु देखावा ॥

Padmāvat 523
अँथवा देवस सुरुज भा बासाँ । परी रैनि ससि उवा अकासाँ ॥
चाँद छत्र दै बैठेउ आई । चहुँ दिसि नखत दीन्ह छिटकाई ॥
नखत अकासहुँ चढ़े दिपाहीं । टूटहिं लूक परहिं न बुझाहीं ॥
परहिं सिला जस परैं बजागी । पहनहि पाहन बाजि उठ आगी ॥
गोला परहिं कोल्हु ढुरकावहिं । चून करत चारिहुँ दिसि आवहिं ॥
ओनइ अँगार बिस्टि झरि लाई । ओला टपकै परै न बुझाई ॥
तुरुक न मुँह फेरहिं गढ़ लागें । एक मरें दोसर होइ आगें ॥
परहिं बान राजा कैं मुख न सकै कोइ काढ़ि ।
अनी साहि कै सब निसि रही भोर लहि ठाढ़ि ॥

Padmāvat 525.8-9
लंका रावट जसि भई डाह परा गढ़ सोइ ।
रावन लिखा जो जरै कहँ किमि अजरावर होइ ॥

Padmāvat 536.1-2
अनु राजा सो जरै निआना । पातसाहि कै सेव न माना ॥
बहुतन्ह अस गढ़ कीन्ह सजौना । अंत भए लँका के रवना ॥

Padmāvat 558
गोरा बादिल राजा पाहाँ । राउत दुवौ दुवौ जनु बाहाँ ॥
आइ स्रवन राजा के लागे । मूँसि न जाहि पुरुख जौ जागे ॥
बाचा परखि तुरुक हम बूझा । परगट मेरु गुपुत दर सूझा ॥
तुम्ह न करहु तुरुकन्ह सौं मेरू । छर पै करहिं अंत के फेरू ॥
बैरी कठिन कुटिल जस काँटा । ओहि मकोइ रहि चूरिहि आँटा ॥

सतुरु कोटि जौं पाइअ गोटी । मीठे खाँड जेंवाइअ रोटी ॥
हम सो ओछ कै पावा छातू । मूल गए सँग रहै न पातू ॥
इहौ किस्न बलि बार जस कीन्ह चाह छर बाँध ।
हम बिचार अस आवै मेरहि दीज न काँध ॥

Padmāvat 559
सुनि राजा हियँ बात न भाई । जहाँ मेरु तहँ अस नहिं भाई ॥
मँदहि भल जो करै भलु सोई । अंतहु भला भले कर होई ॥
सतुरु जौं बिख दै चाहै मारा । दीजै लोन जानु बिख सारा ॥
बिख दीन्हे बिखधर होइ खाई । लोन देखि होइ लोन बिलाई ॥
मारें खरग खरग कर लेई । मारै लोन नाइ सिर देई ॥
कौरवँ बिख जौं पंडवन्ह दीन्हा । अंतहुँ दाँव पंडवन्ह लीन्हा ॥
जो छर करै ओहि छर बाजा । जैसैं सिंघ मंजूसा साजा ॥
राजैं लोनु सुनावा लाग दुहूँ जस लोन ।
आए कोंहाइ मंदिल कहँ सिंघ जानु औगौन ॥

Padmāvat 566.8-9:
माया बोलि बहुत कै पान साहि हँसि दीन्ह ।
पहिलें रतन हाथ कै चहै पदारथ लीन्ह ॥

Padmāvat 581
पदुमावती बिनु कंत दुहेली । बिनु जल कँवल सूखि जसि बेली ॥
गाढ़ि प्रीति पिय मो सों लाए । ढीली जाइ निचिंत होइ छाए ॥
कोइ न बहुरा निबहुर देसू । केहि पूछौं को कहै सँदेसू ॥
जो गौनै सो तहाँ कर होई । जो आवै कछु जान न सोई ॥
अगम पंथ पिय तहाँ सिधावा । जो रे जाइ सो बहुरि न आवा ॥
कुँआ ढार जल जैस बिछौवा । डोल भरें नैनन्ह तस रोवा ॥
लेंजुरि भई नाँह बिनु तोही । कुवाँ परी धरि काढ़हु मोही ॥
नैन डोल भरि ढारै हिएँ न आगि बुझाइ ।
घरी घरी जिउ बहुरै घरी घरी जिउ जाइ ॥

Padmāvat 583
नैंन सीप मोंतिन्ह भर आँसु । टुटि टुटि परहिं करै तन नाँसू ॥
पदिक पदारथ पदुमिनि नारी । पिय बिनु भै कौड़ी बर बारी ॥
सँग लै गएउ रतन सब जोती । कंचन कया काँचु भै पोती ॥
बूड़ति हौं दुख उदधि गँभीरा । तुम्ह बिनु कंत लाव को तीरा ॥
हिएँ बिरह होइ चढ़ा पहारू । जल जोबन सहि सकै न भारू ॥
जल महँ अगिनि सो जान बिछूना । पाहन जरै होइ जरि चूना ॥
कवने जतन कंत तुम्ह पावौं । आजु आगि हौं जरत बुझावौं ॥

कवन खंड हौं हेरौं कहाँ मिलहु हो नाहँ ।
हेरें कतहुँ न पावौं बसहु तौ हिरदै माहँ ॥

Padmāvat 591.8-9
हार चीर तन पहिरहि सिर कर करहि सँभार ।
भोग मानि ले दिन दस जोबन के पैसार ॥

Padmāvat 593.1-3
जनि तूँ बारि करसि अस जीऊ । जौ लहि जोबन तो लहि पीऊ ॥
पुरुख सिंघ आपन केहि केरा । एक खाइ दोसरेह मुँह हेरा ॥
जोबन जल दिन दिन जस घटा । भँवर छपाइ हंस परगटा ॥

Padmāvat 594.1-2
कित पावसि पुनि जोबन राता । मैमँत चढ़ा स्याम सिर छाता ॥
जोबन बिना बिरिध होइ नाऊँ । बिनु जोबन थाकसि सब ठाऊँ ॥

Padmāvat 612.1
गोरा बादिल बीरा लीन्हा । जस अंगद हनिवँत बर कीन्हा ॥

Padmāvat 614.7
हनिवँत सरिस जंघ बर जोरौं । धँसों समुंद्र स्याम बँदि छोरौं ॥

Padmāvat 618
छाँड्डु फेंटि धनि बादिल कहा । पुरुख गवन धनि फेंटि न गहा ॥
जौं तूँ गवन आइ गजगामी । गवन मोरु जहँवाँ मोर स्यामी ॥
जब लगि राजा छूटि न आवा । भावै बीर सिंगारु न भावा ॥
तिरिया पुहुमि खरग कै चेरी । जीतै खरग होइ तेहि केरी ॥
जेहिं कर खरग मूठि तेहि गाढ़ी । जहाँ न आँड़ न मौंछ न दाढ़ी ॥
तब मुख मौंछ जीव पर खेलौं । स्यामि काज इंद्रासन पेलौं ॥
पुरुख बोलि कै टरै न पाछू । दसन गयंद गीव नहिं काछू ॥
तूँ अबला धनि मुगुध बुधि जानै जाननिहार ।
जहँ पुरुखन्ह कहँ बीर रस भाव न तहाँ सिंगार ॥

Padmāvat 629.7
होइ हनिवँत जमकातरि ढाहौं । आजु स्यामि सँकरैं निरबाहौं ॥

Padmāvat 632.4
जैस पतंग आगि धँसि लेहीं । एक मुएँ दोसर जिउ देहीं ॥

Padmāvat 635
सरजा बीर सिंघ चढ़ि गाजा । आइ सौहँ गोरा के बाजा ॥
पहलवान सो बखाना बली । मदति मीर हमजा औ अली ॥
मदति अयूब सीस चढ़ि कोपे । राम लखन जिन्ह नाउँ अलोपे ॥
ओ ताया सालार सो आए । जिन्ह कौरौ पंडौ बंदि पाए ॥
लिंघउर देव धरा जिन्ह आदी । और को माल बादि कहँ बादी ॥
पहुँचा आइ सिंघ असवारू । जहाँ सिंघ गोरा बरियारू ॥
मारेसि साँगि पेट महँ धँसी । काढ़ेसि हुमुकि आँति भुइँ खसी ॥
भाँट कहा धनी गोरा तू भोरा रन राउ ।[4]
आँति सैति करि काँधे तुरै देत है पाउ ॥

Padmāvat 641.7
तुम्ह हनिवँत होइ धुजा बईठे । तब चितउर पिय आइ पईठे ॥

Padmāvat 646
चढ़ि देवपाल राउ रन गाजा । मोहि तोहि जूझि एकौझा राजा ॥
मेलेसि साँगि आइ बिख भरी । मेंटि न जाइ काल की घरी ॥
आइ नाभि तर साँगि बईठी । नाभी बेधि निकसी जहँ पीठी ॥
चला मारि तब राजैं मारा । कँध टूट धर परा निनारा ॥
सीस काटी कै पैरैं बाँधा । पावा दाउँ बैर जस साँधा ॥
जियत फिरा आइउँ बलु हरा । माँझ बाट होइ लोहें धरा ॥
कारी घाउ जाइ नहिं डोला । गही जीभ जम कहै को बोला ॥
सुद्धि बुद्धि सब बिसरी बाट परी मँझ बाट ।
हस्ति घोर को काकर धर आना कै खाट ॥

Padmāvat 648
पदुमावति नइ पहिरि पटोरी । चली साथ होइ पिय की जोरी ॥
सूरुज छपा रैनि होइ गई । पूनिवँ ससि सो अमावस भई ॥
छोरे केस मोति लर छूटे । जानहुँ रैनि नखत सब टूटे ॥
सेंदुर परा जो सीस उघारी । आगि लाग जनु जग अँधियारी ॥
एहि देवस हौं चाहति नाहाँ । चलौं साथ बाहौं गल बाँहाँ ॥
सारग पंखि न जियै निनारे । हौं तुम्ह बिनु का जियौं पियारे ॥
नेवछावरि कै तन छिरिआवौं । छार होइ सँगि बहुरि न आवौं ॥
दीपक प्रीति पतंग जेउँ जनम निबाह करेउँ ।
नेवछावरि चहुँ पास होइ कंठ लागि जिउ देउँ ॥

Padmāvat 649.1-3
नागमती पदुमावति रानीं । दुवौं महासत सती बखानीं ॥
दुवौं आइ चढ़ि खाट बईठीं । औ सिवलोक परा तिन्ह डीठीं ॥

बैठौ कोइ राज औ पाटा । अन्त सबै बेंठिहि एहि खाटा ॥

Padmāvat 650
सर रचि दान पुत्रि बहु कीन्हा । सात बार फिरि भाँवरि दीन्हा ॥
एक भँवरि भै जो रे बियाहीं । अब दोसरि दै गौहन जाहीं ॥
लै सर ऊपर खाट बिछाई । पौंढ़ीं दुवौ कंत कँठ लाई ॥
जियत कंत तुम्ह हम कँठ लाईं । मुए कंठ नहिं छाँड़हि साईं ॥
औ जो गाँठि कंत तुम्ह जोरी । आदि अंत दिन्ह जाइ न छोरी ॥
एहि जग काह जो आथि निआथी । हम तुम्ह नाहँ दुहूँ जग साथी ॥
लागीं कंठ आगि दै होरीं । छार भई जरि अंग न मोरीं ॥
रातीं पिय के नेह गइँ सरग भएउ रतनार ।
जो रे उवा सो अँथवा रहा न कोइ संसार ॥

Padmāvat 651
ओइ सह गवन भई जब ताई । पातसाहि गढ़ छेंका आई ॥
तब लगि सो औंसर होइ बीता । भए अलोप राम औ सीता ॥
आइ साहि सब सुना अखारा । होइ गा राति देवस जो बारा ॥
छार उठाइ लीन्हि एक मूँठी । दीन्हि उड़ाइ पिरथिमी झूठी ॥
जो लगि ऊपर छार न परई । तब लगि नाहिं जो तिस्ना मरई ॥
सगरै कटक उठाई माँटी । पुल बाँधा जहँ जहँ गढ़ घाटी ॥
भा ढोवा भा जूझि असूझा । बादिल आइ पँवरि होइ जूझा ॥
जौंहर भईं इस्तिरी पुरुख भए संग्राम ।
पातसाहि गढ़ चूरा चितउर भा इसलाम ॥

Padmāvat 652.4-6, 8-9
कहाँ सो रतनसेनि अस राजा । कहाँ सुवा असि बुधि उपराजा ॥
कहाँ अलाउदीन सुलतानू । कहँ राघौ जेइँ कीन्ह बखानू ॥
कहँ सुरूप पदुमावति रानी । कोइ न रहा जग रही कहानी ॥
(...)
केइँ न जगत जस बेंचा केइँ न लीन्ह जस मोल ।
जो यह पढ़ै कहानी हम सँवरै दुइ बोल ॥

Epilogue from R.C. Śukla's critical edition (1935: 245).
मैं एहि अरथ पंडितन्ह बूझा । कहा कि हम्ह किछु और न सूझा ॥
चौदह भुवन जो तर उपराहीं । ते सब मानुष के घट माहीं ॥
तन चितउर मन राजा कीन्हा । हिय सिंघल बुधि पदमिनि चीन्हा ॥
गुरु सुआ जै पंथ देखावा । बिनु गुरु जगत को निरगुन पावा ॥
नागमती यह दुनिया धंधा । बाँचा सोइ न एहि चित बंधा ॥
राघव दूत सोई सैतानू । माया अलाउदीं सुलतानू ॥

प्रेम कथा एहि भाँति बिचारहु । बूझि लेहु जौ बूझै पारहु ॥
तुरकी अरबी हिंदुई भाषा जेती आहि ।
जेहि महँ मारग प्रेम कर सबै सराहैं ताहि ॥

Ākhirī Kalām 4.1-2[5]
भा औतार मोर नौ सदी । तीस बरिख ऊपर कबि बदी ॥
आवत उधतचार बड़ ठाना । भा भूकंप जगत अकुलाना ॥

Ākhirī Kalām 9
मानिक एक पाएउँ उजियारा । सैयद असरफ पीर पियारा ॥
जहाँगीर चिस्ती निरमरा । कुल जग माँ दीपक बिधि धरा ॥
औ निहंग दरिया जल माहाँ । बूडत कहँ धरि काढ़त बाहाँ ॥
समुँद माँझ जो बोहित फिरई । लेतै नावँ सहूँ होइ तरई ॥
तिन घर हौं मुरीद सो पीरू । सँवरत बिन गुन लावैं तीरू ॥
कर गहि धरम पंथ देखराएउ । गा भुलाइ तेहि मार्ग लाएउ ॥
जो अस पुरुसै मन चित लाए । इच्छा पूजै आस तुलाए ॥
जो चालिस दिन सेवै बार बुहारै कोइ ।
दरसन होइ मुहम्मद पाप जाइ सब धोइ ॥

Ākhirī Kalām 10.1-2
जायस नगर मोर अस्थानू । नगर क नावँ आदि उदयानू ॥
तहाँ देवस दस पहुने आएउँ । भा बैराग बहुत सुख पाएउँ ॥

Ākhirī Kalām 51
सुनि फुरमान हरख जिउ बाढ़े । एक पावँ से भए उठि टाढ़े ॥
झारि उमत लागी तब नारी (तारी?) । जेवा सिरिजा पुरुख औ नारी ॥
लागै सब से दरसन होई । ओहि बिनु देखे रहै न कोई ॥
एक चमकार होइ उजियारा । छपै बीजु तेहि के चमकारा ॥
चाँद सुरुज छपिहैं बहु जोती । रतन पदारथ मानिक मोती ॥
सो मन दिपें जो कीन्ह थिराई । छए सो रंग घात पर आई ॥
ओहु रूप निरमल होइ जाई । और रूप ओहि रूप समाई ॥
ना अस कबहूँ देखा न केऊ ओहि भाँति ।
दरसन देखि मुहम्मद मोहि परे बहु भाँति ॥

Akharāvaṭ 26
ना-नमाज है दीन क थूनी । पढ़ै नमाज सोइ बड़ गूनी ॥
कही सरीयत चिसती पीरू । उधरित असरफ औ जहँगीरू ॥
तेहि के नाव चढ़ा हौं धाई । देखि समुद जल जिउ न डेराई ॥
जेहि के औंसन सेवक भला । जाइ उतरि निरभय सो चला ॥

राह हकीकत परैं न चूकी । पैठि मारफत मार बुडूकी ॥
दूँढ़ि उठै लेइ मानिक मोती । जाइ समाइ जोति महँ जोती ॥
जेहि कहँ उन्ह अस नाव चढ़ावा । कर गहि तीर खेइ लेइ आवा ॥
साँची राह सरीअत जेहि बिसवास न होइ ।
पाँव राखि तेहि सीढ़ी निभरम पहुँचै सोइ ।
जेइ पावा गुरु मीठ सो सुख मारग महँ चलै ।
सुख अनंद भा डीठ मुहमद साथी पोढ़ जेहि ॥

Nā stands for *namāz* – prayer that is a pillar of the faith; he who says his prayers is a virtuous man indeed.
The Chishtī pīr expounds the *sharī'a*; he is Jahāngīr and a noble Ashraf.
I ran to climb aboard his boat; [now] I can look at the water of the ocean without fear in my heart.
He who has such a good oarsman[6] sets off and goes without fear.
One cannot fail the road to divine truth if one plunges into mystical knowledge.
When one then finds rubies and pearls, one is totally absorbed in their light.
He will take those he has taken on board his ship by the hand and row them to the shore.

The true path is that of the *sharī'a*; he who is not an unbeliever[7] will set foot on that path and flawlessly climb the ladder [of mystical knowledge].

He who has obtained this sweet guru will advance on the path to happiness; Muḥammad [says]: happiness and bliss will be there to see if one has such a firm companion.

Akharāvaṭ 27
पा-पाएउँ गुरु मोहदी मीठा । मिला पंथ सो दरसन दीठा ॥
नावँ पियार सेख बुरहानू । नगर कालपी हुत गुरु थानू ॥
औ तिन्ह दरस गोसाईं पावा । अलहदाद गुरु पंथ लखावा ॥
अलहदाद गुरु सिद्ध नवेला । सैयद मुहमद के वै चेला ॥
सैयद मुहमद दीनहि साँचा । दानियाल सिख दीन्ह सबाचा ॥
जुग जुग अमर सो हजरत ख्वाजे । हजरत नबी रसूल नेवाजे ॥
दानियाल तइँ परगट कीन्हा । हजरत ख्वाज खिजिर पथ दीन्हा ॥
खड़्ग दीन्ह उन्ह जाइ कहँ देखि डरैं इबलीस ।
नावँ सुनत सो भागै धुनौ ओट होइ सीस ॥
देखि समुँद महँ सीप बिनु बूड़े पावै नहीं ।
होइ पतंग जलदीप मुहमद तेहि धँसि लीजिए ॥

Akharāvaṭ 33

रा-रातहु अब तेहि के रँगा । बेगि लागु प्रीतम के संगा ॥
अरध उरध अस है दुइ हीया । परगट गुपुत बरै जस दीया ॥
परगट मया मोह जस लावै । गुपुत सुदरसन आप लखावै ॥
अस दरगाह जाइ नहिं पैठा । नारद पँवरि कटक लै बैठा ॥
ताकहँ मंत्र एक है साँचा । जो वह पढ़ै जाइ सो बाँचा ॥
पंडित पढ़ै सो लेइ लेइ नाऊँ । नारद छाँडि दै सो ठाऊँ ॥
जेकरे हाथ होइ वह कूँजी । खोलि केवार लै सो पूँजी ॥
उघरै नैन हिया कर आछे दरसन रात ।
देखै भुवन सो चौदहौ औ जानै सब बात ॥
कंत पियारे भेंट देखै तूलम तूल होइ ।
भय बयस दुइ हेंठ मुहमद निति सरबर करै ॥

Akharāvaṭ 53

चेला चरचत गुरु गुन गावा । खोजत पूछि परम रस पावा ॥
गुरु बिचारि चेला जेहि चीन्हा । उत्तर कहत भरम लेइ लीन्हा ॥
जगमग देख उहै उजियारा । तीनि लोक लहि किरिन पसारा ॥
ओहि ना बरन न जाति अजाती । चंदन सुरुज देवस ना राती ॥
कथा न अहै अकथ भा रहई । बिना बिचार समुझि का परई ॥
सोऽहं सोऽहं बसि जो करई । जो बूझै सो धीरज धरई ॥
कहै प्रेम कै बरनि कहानी । जो बूझै सो सिद्ध गियानी ॥
माटी कर तन भाँड़ा माटी महँ नव खंड ।
जो केहु खेलै माटी महँ माटी प्रेम प्रचंड ॥
गलि सरि माटी होइ लिखने हारा बापुरा ।
जौ न मिटावै कोइ लिखा रहै बहुतै दिना ॥

Kanhāvat 5[8]

कहौं सरीअत पीर पियारा । सैयद असरफ जग उजियारा ॥
साजा जहाँगीर कुल मांहाँ । धूप जरत पाई जग छाहाँ ॥
निरमल चिस्ती निरमल भासू । भूले सबहिं दीन्ह उपदेसू ॥
समुंद माँझ बोहित अस खेवहिं । लागहिं पार बार जो सेवहिं ॥
[?] नां बोहित लीन्ह चढ़ाई । समुंद देखि जल जिउ न डराई ॥
भा दरसन हिय निरमल भएऊ । पायो धरम पाप सब गएऊ ॥
अस जो सेवै मन चित लाई । इंछा पूजै आस तोलाई ॥
दास भएउँ हौं एहिं गुरु नित तेहि सेवउँ बार ।
गाढ़ परे मोहि जहवाँ बेगि करहिं निसतार ॥
महदीं अंब्रित मीठ गुरू सेख बुरहान ।
पेम पंथ गा दीठ मुहमद एहिं निचिंत पथ ॥

Let me tell of the beloved pīr of the *sharīʿa*; he is Saiyid Ashraf and brightens up the world.
He is an embellishment to the house of Jahāngīr; when the sun burns he provides shade to the world.
His is a spotless Chishtī and spotless is his splendour; he teaches everyone who goes astray.
On the ocean he steers the boat; those who serve at his gate will reach the shore.
Having seized his boat and climbed aboard, I have no fear in my heart when I see the ocean.
I obtained darśan and my heart became spotless; I obtained faith and my sins disappeared.
He who serves such a man with intense concentration, his wishes will be fulfilled and his trust will be rewarded.

I have become a servant to this guru; I will always serve at his gate;
when misfortune will descend on me he will always save me swiftly.

Shaikh Burhān, the Mahdavī, is sweet as ambrosia;
Muḥammad says, when I get to see the path of love, I will no longer be worried on my way.

Kanhāvat 6
कहौं तरीकत अगुवा गुरू । रौसन दीन दुनी सुरखुरू ॥
नाउँ पियार सेख बुरहानूं । कालपि नगर तेहिक अस्थानूं ॥
औ तेहि दरस [न] गुसाइंक पावा । अलहदाद गुरु पंथ लखावा ॥
अलहदाद कुल सिद्ध नवेला । सैयद मुहमद कै सग चेला ॥
सैयद मुहमद महदीं साजा । दानियाल दीनै सिध बाजा ॥
दानियाल लौ परगट कीन्हां । हज़रत ख्वाज ख़िज़िर तेहि दीन्हां ॥
जुग जुग अम्मर हज़रत ख्वाजे । हज़रत नबी रसूल निवाजे ॥
खरग दीन्ह वै जाकौं देखि डरै इबलीस ।
जपा जपत सों भागै धुनै ओहट भा सीस ॥

I will describe my teacher and guide on the mystical path; he is honourable and lights up this world and the next.
The name of Shaikh Burhān is dear to me; the town of Kalpi is his place.
Through him I obtained a vision of God; Guru Allāhdād showed him the path.
Allāhdād was a young man from a spotless family; he was a pupil of Saiyid Muḥammad.

Saiyid Muḥammad was the resplendent Mahdi; he went to Dāniyāl whose faith was perfect.
Ḥaẓrat Khvāja Khiẓr appeared before Dāniyāl and taught him.
Ḥaẓrat Khvāja is immortal in every age; he is a prophet and favourite of Muḥammad.
He gave him a sword the sight of which frightens Iblīs,
who flees when it is only mentioned and beats his covered head.

Kanhāvat 11
ऊपर पाल चहूँदिसि पासा । बसि सुलतान अनूप अवासा ॥
तारूमी पोरुख सेउ आदी । उमर खिताब केर औलादी ॥
[ ] गजकै छाइँ चौपारी । बैठहि मलिक होइ उजियारी ॥
एक मंत्री औ पंडित पढ़े । औ खंडाउ तुरंगम चढ़े ॥
कोऊ बैठे पढ़हिं पुरानूं । कोउ किताब लै करहिं बखानूं ॥
सब सेवाँ बिधिनां सिर नावहिं । साठ जून माथ भुइँ लावहिं ॥
औ रस गीत नाद मन मोहा । सब केऊ रथ बैठक सोहा ॥
तहाँ कबि मलिक मुहम्मद मरम न जानै कोइ ।
लहइ सो लाख करोरन जो कोइ गाहक होइ ॥

Kanhāvat 12 (edition P.L. Gupta)
औ पुरपाल चहूँ दिसि बासा । यस सुलतान अनूप अवासा ॥
नारदमी पुरुख सो आदी । उमर खिताब केर औलादी ॥
[तिन्ह] गच कै छाईं चौबारी । बैठहिं मलिक होइ उजियारी ॥
एक मंत्री और पंडित पढ़े । औ खंडाउ तुरंगम चढ़े ॥
कोउ बैठे पढ़ँहि पुरानू । कोउ किताब लै करै बखानू ॥
सब सेवाँ विदनाँ सिर नावहिं । सातहु जून माथ भुइँ लावहिं ॥
[सु]रस कण्ठ नाद मन मोहा । सब कुँवर तिंह बैठक सोहा ॥
तहाँ कबि मलिक मुहम्मद मरम न जानी कोय ।
लिहै सो लाख करोरहिं जो कोइ गाहक होय ॥

Kanhāvat 42
[कंस] जो गरब कीन्ह मन झूँठा । उयनी रिस परमेसुर रूठा ॥
दई बेगि बिष्नु उपराजा । भा आयसु मथुरां भो राजा ॥
बिसुन निरमावा सुनि माया । बिनती कीन्ह देखि अस दाया ॥
[तोरैं] भाएहि चहौं औ मरना । करहु गुसाईं जो कछु करनां ॥
दुख पायेउँ रामा औतारा । अब त औतारों एहि संसारा ॥
जरम मोर सब तप महँ बीता । एक इस्तरी जानौं सीता ॥
सो पुनि हरि रावन लै गएऊ । एहि सताप पिरथीं जिन भएऊ ॥
तो हुत जगत करउ का लीन्ह बिहावै [?] नाउँ ।
जहाँ मरन दुख परिहैं लौटि तहाँ का जाउँ ॥

Kanhāvat 43
भा आयसु मैं कीन्ह जो चाहा । चरित मोर तोहि दोस न आहा ॥
जानौं सै मैं कीन्ह जो जावा । चरित मोर तोहि दोस न लावा ॥
जस वहि जरम गहे तप साजू । तस एहिं जरम देउ सुख राजू ॥
को कब देखइ सुह कैलासां । अछरिन मुख जो देहि झंपासा ॥
सोरह सहस गोपिता साजीं । ते सब मैं कहीं उपराजीं ॥
गेह करौं लै तोहि सम जोगू । औतरि जगत मान रस भोगू ॥
बैरी केर करसिं जिन चिन्ता । जो तैं चहत सो होहिं तुरन्ता ॥
देखि सरूप इस्तरीं पुनि मायां लिपटान ।
पाछिल दुख सो बिसरिगा जग औतरा आन ॥

Madhumālatī 17[9] (ed. M.P. Gupta)
परम तंत लौ लीन जो जानै । सो मन के आखर पहिचानै ॥
मन के आखर बिखम अपारा । गुरू होइ तौ लावै पारा ॥
चहै मन के आखर लखि आवै । सहज सो आपु अपान गंवावै ॥
गुरू पीर चाहहु परसादा । चीन्हहु मन हुतें छांड़ि बिबादा ॥
प्रगट कला सभ काहूं देखा । पै बिरुला जन गुपुत सरेखा ॥
ये दोऊ बिधि निरमये सिस्टि राउ जग धीर ।
इन्ह दूनौ सिध ऊपर गौस मुहम्मद पीर ॥

Madhumālatī 24-26
अरे अरे बचन कहां तोर बासा । औ कहं हुत तोर परगासा ॥
औ कहं हुत उतपति भइ तोरी । जहां नाहिं संचरित बुधि मोरी ॥
अचरिजु एक मोरे चित अहई । कोउ न अरथ ताहि कर कहई ॥
बचन केर उतपति मुंह सेऊं । मानुस बोल अम्वर दहुं केऊं ॥
रहै न बचन केर पति जहां । कैसें बचन अम्वर होइ तहां ॥
देखहु मनहि बिचारि कै बचन बचन हिय मांह ।
बचन ऐस है ताकर जो बर्तत सभ मांह ॥

Oh, word, where do you reside, where does your shining light come from
Where is that place, where my mind cannot go, where you were created?
I have a wonderful thought in my mind and nobody can tell its meaning.
The creation of the word is through the mouth, of what nature is this immortal speech of man?
When the master of speech [man] will not stay here, how is it that the speech is immortal?
Look thoughtfully at the word, the word that is in your heart,
it is the same word that resides in everyone's heart.

Madhumālatī 25
बचन जौ नहि निरमवत बिधाता । केत सुनत कोई रस बाता ॥
प्रथमहि आदि सिस्टिहु के पारा । हरिमुख बचन लीन्ह औतारा ॥
एकै बचन आदि उंकारा । भल मंद होइ ब्यापा सयंसारा ॥
बिधनै जगत बचन बड़ कीन्हा । बचन हुतें पसु मानुस चीन्हा ॥
बचन कै बात जान सभ कोई । बचन हुतें परगट भा सोई ॥
काहुं सरूप न देखा औ काहुं न जानेउ ठाइं ।
बचन हुतें भा परगट त्रिभुवन नाथ गोसाइं ॥

Madhumālatī 26
बचन अमोल जगत नग आवा । बचन हुतें गुर ग्यान लखावा ॥
चारि बेद बिधनै निरमएऊ । बचन जगत महं परगट भएऊ ॥
बचन सरग सेतें भुइं आवा । औ बिधनै जग बचन पठावा ॥
जौ किछु बचन कै सरभरि पावत । बचन ठाउं सोहूं भुइं आवत ॥
परथम मानुस होइ औतरिया । बहुरि अम्वर जुग चारि न मरिआ ॥
बचन अमोल पदारथ बरन न सकेउं उरेखि ।
बचन ऐस बिधना कर जाके रूप न रेख ॥

Madhumālatī 176
भोर भएं दर परिगह साजा । कोस बीस संघ आए राजा ॥
हाथी घोर बहु सहन भंडारा । कटक अनेग गनै को पारा ॥
औ जेत जन परिजन संघ आए । कुंवर साथ सभ रायं चलाए ॥
पूंछत चले महारस देसा । जहवां विक्रम राय नरेसा ॥
चलत आए सायर के तीरा । अगम अमोघ अथाह गंभीरा ॥
हाथि घोर दर परिगह औ सभ सहन भंडार ।
चढ़ा कुंवर गै बोहित लिखा को मेंटै लिलार ॥

Madhumālatī 177
बोहित बोझि समुंद चलावा । बिधि का लिखा जानि नहिं पावा ॥
मांस चारि गए पानिहि पानी । फुनि सो अदिन घरी नियरानी ॥
समुंद लहरि दरसहिं अंधियारी । दिसा भुलान बोहित कंडहारी ॥
मग अमग्ग नहिं गएउ बिचारी । बोहित परेउ भवंर महं भारी ॥
परतहिं भएउ टूक सौ साता । चहुं दिसि बोहित उठे अघाता ॥
बूड़ै इस्ट मिंत जन परिजन बूड़ै सहन भंडार ।
बूड़ै राज पाट जेत आहा बूड़ै तुरै तोखार ॥

Mṛgāvatī 116[10]
जंगम मोह मया मन आई । मग्गु देखावै कहँ लै जाई ॥
जंगम साथ लिहा एहि लाई । साइर तीर ठाढ़ भा जाई ॥
कंचननगर क इहवै बाटा । एहि रे समुंद के इहवै घाटा ॥
दइअ बिधाता सौंरत जाहू । तौ सिधि पावहु जौ न डराहू ॥
साइर तीर अहा एक डेंगा । ओहि चढ़ाइ आपन घर रेंगा ॥
कहिआ प्रीतम पेखिहौं दुहुँ लोइन बिहसन्त ।
कंज सरोवर नीर जिमि सरब अंग पसरन्त ॥

Mṛgāvatī 117
बोहित बहा चला वह जाई । परा जाइ जहँ लहरि उठाई ॥
लहरि आइ यह देखत भुला । जानु हिंडोरें बर सेउँ झुला ॥
तर ऊपर आवै औ जाई । बोहित चारिउ दिस बौराई ॥
कबहुँ पुरुब पच्छिउँ कहँ आवै । कबहुँ उतर दक्खिन कहँ धावै ॥
हौं अपनें जिअँ डर न डराऊँ । जौ रे मरौं तौ ओहि न मिलाऊँ ॥
कुतुबन प्रीतम अगम भुइँ तहँ वै बसहिं निचिंत ।
हम बैलोचन डार जिमि हिएँ खुरुक्कहि निंत ॥

Appendix 4: Outline of the contents of *Padmāvat*

The following outline of *Padmāvat* assists the reader in locating the context of the stanzas quoted in this study. It is also meant to convey the story for those who have no access to the English translation of A.G. Shirreff or the Hindi translation in the editions of Gupta and Agravāl.[11] The captions of the *khaṇḍ*s are taken from the edition by Agravāl.

stutikhaṇḍ 1-24

1-4.Praise for the Creator and his creation, mentioning fire, wind, water and land, the earth, heaven and hell, all the heavenly bodies, in verses which all use the same formula: *kīnhesi.../kīnhesi...//* (He created.../ He created...//).

(5) Praise for Allah, the Creator of all that is mentioned above, and a description of his grace and generosity which affects all creatures, great or small. (6) Description of Allah as the great king, whose kingship is the origin and point of reference of all worldly power. Allah is eternal and nothing exists without His creative power. (7) Praise for Allah as the all-pervading but invisible and eternal principle of creation, whose wish commands all events in the world. (8) Allah has no attributes but is present in all parts of creation. His story is written in the scriptures and should be remembered thus. (9) The secret of Allah's

presence is within every human being, in the form of his physical and mental faculties. It takes suffering to realise this divine origin within oneself. (10) His creation is endless and indescribable by any worldly standard. Becoming aware of this makes man realise his own insignificance.

11-12. Praise for the Prophet Muḥammad and his light which God created as an expression of love (prīti). Muḥammad is the guiding light for the world and God made him his messenger (*basīṭh*). Prediction of the Last Day and the role of the Prophet in these events. (12) Praise to the four 'guided' caliphs: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān and 'Alī. The Qur'an is the message of God, hearing it will lead one back to the right path.[12]

13-17. Praise to the sultan of Delhi, Sher Shāh Sūr, who is like Alexander and Salomon. (14) Description of the powerful army of the king; (15) his righteousness and justice, which is like that of Nushirvān and 'Umar; (16) his beauty, which is brighter than the sun;[13] (17) his generosity, which makes him the equal of Balī and Vikrama, Ḥātim and Karṇa.

18-20. Praise for the pīrs of the poet.

21-24. The poet introduces himself as the one-eyed, one-eared poet, who excuses himself for the flaws in his work; (22) a word of praise for the four friends of the poet; (23) the poet mentions how he created the poem in Jais and describes the artistic and religious inspiration for this work. (24) Mention of the date of the poem (947 H/1540 CE); synopsis of the story and conclusion of the stutikhaṇḍ with the image of the fragrance of the lotus: the frog who sits next to it will never smell its scent, which is perceived clearly by the bee who is far away in the forest.

siṁhal dvīp khaṇḍ 25-50

(25) Siṃhal Dvīp is the foremost among the seven isles that make up the world. (26) Gandharvsen is its king and he is equipped with a mighty army. (27-29) Description of the soothing shadow of the isle, its mango gardens and the varieties of birds in the gardens. (30) Descriptions of the many ghāts, where ascetics of various sects are meditating. (31) The mānas lake is filled with pearls and ambrosia; golden birds swim in its water. (32) Description of the beauty of the girls who come to the lake to fetch water, carrying the pitchers on their heads. (33) Description of the beautiful lakes of Siṃhal, where gems glisten in the water. (34-35) Description of the fruits and the flowers in the gardens. (36-

38) Description of the city as a heavenly place with the assembly hall for the council of nobles, the marketplace of Siṃhal with the nine treasures of Kubera, the merchants and goldsmiths, and the 'market of beauty' where the prostitutes 'hunt' for men and the gamblers play dice. (39) Several kinds of people are present at the market: perfume sellers, reciting pundits, storytellers, puppeteers, pickpockets and dancers. (40-41) Description of the fortress of Siṃhal that reaches up to the sky, the sight of which makes the beholder tremble. The lions carved out at the gates frighten the visitor. The nine-storey fortress has nine gates of diamond. Only when one climbs these with sat, can one reach the top. Behind the tenth door is the royal water clock and on top of the fortress are the source of amṛt and the tree of life. (44) The four lords of the fortress have their own courts at the top, they play dice and reward the bards who sing their glory. It is always spring in these courts. (45-46) Description of the court of the rājā, with his impressive elephants and fiery horses. (47) Description of the royal assembly in the court presided over by Gandharvsen who radiates like the sun. (48) The palace of the rājā consists of seven individual courts, each superbly adorned, like the seven heavens. Each story has its own emotional mood (*bhāv*) depicted in the ornamentation. (49) The palace of the queens with the king's household of beautiful padminī women, is like heaven filled with apsarās, presided over by queen Campāvatī.

janma khaṇḍ 50-58

(50) Padmāvatī amazes the world at her birth with her great beauty. Astrologers predict that a jewel will be her match. Pundits are hired to teach her and she becomes a learned woman of padminī status. Her father rejects all marriage proposals for the princess and builds her a palace with many girl-servants and a parrot called Hīrāmani for entertainment and education. (56) The king is not pleased with the lessons of the clever bird and orders Hīrāmani to be killed, despite his daughter's protests. The parrot senses the imminent danger and prepares his escape to the forest.

mānasarodak khaṇḍ 59-65

Padmāvatī and the girls go to the mānas lake to bathe and play. They speculate on their future marriage partners and on living with their in-laws. The lake is excited by the beauty of the girls and it takes away and hides the pearl necklace of one of the playing girls. (64) This causes them to dive into the water to search for it, which enables the lake to see and touch the girls. The sight of Padmāvatī's smile transforms the beholder like a *darśan* of the divine.

suā khaṇḍ 66-72

When a cat roams the palace hunting for birds, Hīrāmani flees to the forest, where the bird feels at home and starts to enjoy a comfortable existence. This is interrupted when a bird-catcher armed with a glue-covered pole approaches. Unlike the other birds, who fly away in time, the parrot does not notice the fowler. (70) Hīrāmani is caught and put in a basket with other unlucky birds, where he does not stop lecturing the morals of being careless and unaware of the trappings of easy living.

ratansen janma khaṇḍ 73

In Citor a beautiful prince called Ratansen is born. Pundits predict a match with a princess from Siṃhal Dvīp, whom he will only meet after becoming a yogī.

banijār khaṇḍ 74-82

An unlucky Brahmin merchant from Citor has lost all his money and travels to Siṃhal Dvīp to buy new stock at the island's famous markets. After the dangerous journey he reaches the market to find there is nothing he can afford. (76) Then he sees the fowler who offers a parrot for sale. He talks to the bird and sees that Hīrāmani is a real pundit. He takes the parrot back to Citor and sells it to the king. (81) Thus Hīrāmani becomes the servant and counsellor to king Ratansen, who is impressed by the bird's wisdom and eloquence.

nāgmatī suā khaṇḍ 83-93

When Ratansen is on a hunting campaign his wife Nāgmatī asks the parrot if there are any princesses who equal her beauty. Hīrāmani replies sharply that she is like the night compared to the splendour of the princess of Siṃhal Dvīp. This answer enrages Nāgmatī, who suspects that the parrot was sent to Citor to find a match for this princess and will eventually take Ratansen away from her. (86) She orders her maid Dhāminī to get rid of the bird without anyone witnessing it. The maid foresees the king's anger should he hear that his favourite bird has been killed and hides the parrot in a safe place. (88) Ratansen is indeed enraged when he finds out that Hīrāmani is not there and he severely questions Nāgmatī. She is desperate at her husband's anger and repents her vanity and jealousy. The maid lectures her on the need to restrain her anger and on obeisance to her husband. (91) She brings back the bird and presents it to the king. Ratansen then asks Hīrāmani to tell him the truth about Padmāvatī.

rājā suā saṃvād khaṇḍ 93-98

Hīrāmani warns that the truth he is about to speak might not be pleasant for Nāgmatī and mentions the beauty of Siṃhal and its princess. The king is dazzled and wants to know more about Padmāvatī and Siṃhal. Hīrāmani describes the padminī women of Siṃhal and king Gandharvasen, whose daughter is the beautiful Padmāvatī. Many royal families have tried to arrange a marriage with her but did not succeed. (96) Ratansen's mind is mesmerised by the image of Padmāvatī and wants to go to Siṃhal. The parrot warns him about the danger and the sacrifices needed for love. Only death can bring liberation from the ultimate ordeal of love. The king then asks Hīrāmani to describe her beauty from head to toe.

nakh śikh khaṇḍ 99-118

Hīrāmani gives an eloquent description of the physical beauty of Padmāvatī, from her hair, which is like a tress of black snakes, down to her lotus feet, beneath which all ascetics want to place their head.

prem khaṇḍ 119-125

Hearing this description brings Ratansen in a state of rapture. His family wonders anxiously what has happened to him. After coming to his senses, Ratansen relates how his soul was taken away by this encounter with Padmāvatī which left him a separated lover who wants nothing but to be reunited with the object of his love. (123) Hīrāmani explains the difficulties of mystical love and the sacrifice it takes to obtain union with the beloved. Ratansen is prepared to become a yogī, give up his kingship and sacrifice himself in the search for his beloved.

yogī khaṇḍ 126-139

Ratansen puts on the attire of a nāth yogī and does not heed the astrologers who advise him to travel at an auspicious moment. His mother and his wife Nāgmatī lament his departure but the king abandons family ties and other worldly attachments. (134) The vassals of Ratansen form a large army of yogīs who march to Siṃhal under good omens. (136) On the way, the king warns his companions of the dangers and hardships to come. At the waypoints he plays the lute and focuses his mind on reaching Padmāvatī.

rājā gajapati saṃvād khaṇḍ 140-145

Having arrived at the shores of the ocean, Ratansen asks the local ruler, king Gajapati, for ships to make the crossing to Siṃhal. (141) Gajapati is surprised

that the king wants to go to Siṃhal from where nobody ever has returned alive, and asks him for his motives. (142) Ratansen convinces the king that mystical love drives him, and that he is ready to sacrifice his life.

bohit khaṇḍ 146-148

Gajapati provides the king and his army with ships and they set out to cross the ocean full of monsters. (148) The helmsmen warn the king that it is not a pleasurable trip to Siṃhal. Ratansen replies that a yogī of love is not looking for comfort and that the truth in his mind will guide him to his goal.

sāt samudra khaṇḍ 149-158

On the basis of his truthfulness, the yogī-king crosses the seven oceans, each of which represents a part of the worldly attachments he must abandon. (155) Having reached the last stage, Hīrāmani explains to the king the importance of trust in the guru. Only with his guidance can the pupil cross this dangerous ocean. (158) The yogīs struggle on and reach the Mānasar, the seventh sea, which is the goal of their journey.

siṃhal dvīp khaṇḍ 159-164

Hīrāmani shows Ratansen that he has completed his yoga by reaching the heavenly city of Siṃhal. He points out the insurmountable fortress of the city to the king and tells him he can get a glimpse of Padmāvatī by waiting for the *pañcamī* festival, when the girls go to the temple. (162) He should go to the temple and stay there as an ascetic. (164) Ratansen climbs up to the temple and the parrot flies to Padmāvatī's palace.

maṇḍap gaman khaṇḍ 165-167

Ratansen asks the god of the temple for an appropriate penance, upon which a voice tells the king that true and unflinching service will yield the desired result. Ratansen covers himself with ashes and starts meditating on the name Padmāvatī.

padmāvatī viyog khaṇḍ 168-174

Padmāvatī suffers from the longing for the enjoyment of love. She explains her affliction to her wet nurse, who warns the princess of the dangers of budding youth and longing and tells her to constrain herself and endure the pain till she has met her true lover. (172) Padmāvatī is afraid she cannot contain her love, but the nurse tells her to bind herself to truthful love as a satī, which will bring fulfilment in the end.

padmāvatī suā bheṃṭ khaṇḍ 175-182

At the height of Padmāvatī's distress, Hīrāmani comes to cheer her up by reporting that he, after his escape from Siṃhal, has found the perfect husband for her in Citor. Padmāvatī inquires whether he is good enough to convince her father. (180) Hīrāmani explains that nobody can prevent true lovers from finding each other. Then he goes back to Ratansen and tells him that the princess has accepted him in the manner of a guru who accepts his pupil. The king should wait for the spring festival when the princess will come to the temple.

basant khaṇḍ 183-198

When spring comes all the girls who have reached marriageable age collect flowers and fruits as offerings and go to the temple of Viśvanāth to worship and ask for a suitable husband. (190) Singing songs of spring they proceed and stun the gods at the temple with their beauty. (191) Padmāvatī enters the temple, offers her gifts and promises more offerings when she has obtained the husband of her liking. A voice answers her that the God of the temple is dead and that there is no one to answer her prayer. (193) Padmāvatī's friends have discovered the army of yogīs residing at the eastern entrance of the temple, led by a handsome guru, who looks more like a king than a yogī. When Padmāvatī looks at him, his soul is immediately taken away from him. (195) She recognises the king Hīrāmani told her about. He is unconscious, but she anoints his chest with sandal and inscribes a message in it. (197) After returning to the palace, Padmāvatī has a dream of the coming together of sun and moon. In the morning her friends explain to her that her dream is a prediction of her coming marriage.

rājā ratansen satī khaṇḍ 199-206

Ratansen wakes up to find that both Padmāvatī and the spring have gone. (202) He is desperate, as his soul is taken away by the princess, and repents that he trusted in the god of the temple instead of the god within him. The god explains he was also robbed of his soul at the sight of the princess and was equally incapable of doing anything. (205) Ratansen decides that only self-sacrifice can save him from the pain of viraha. The blazing fire produced by his longing is noticed by Hanumān, who warns Maheś to act before the fire of Ratansen's love destroys the entire world.

pārvatī maheś khaṇḍ 207-216

Śiva, Pārvatī and Hanumān rush to Siṃhal, where Ratansen tells them how he became a yogī for Padmāvatī and that he does not want any further delay in his self-immolation for love. (209) Pārvatī tests the strength of Ratansen's love

by taking on the form of a beautiful apsarā and trying to seduce him. The king is not affected and this only strengthens his intention to die for his true love. (211) Pārvatī begs Maheś to help Ratansen who has now started to flood the earth with his tears. (214) Maheś stops him and explains him how he can reach the tenth door of Padmāvatī's palace by climbing the narrow path inside the fortress.

rājā gaṛh chek khaṇḍ 217-238

Ratansen and his army of yogīs surround the fortress, upon which king Gandharvsen sends messengers to the ascetics. (218) On their question as to what kind of alms they desire, Ratansen replies that only the hand of princess Padmāvatī will make him go away. The messengers bring this request to the king. (222) Gandharvsen is enraged and wants to kill the yogīs, but his counsellors warn him not to fight with yogīs but to wait until they go away of their own free will. (224) Ratansen sends Hīrāmani to Padmāvatī with a letter written in his own blood and tears, in which he expresses how love has taken hold of him and extracted his life. He wants to meet her to start living again. (230) Hīrāmani delivers the letter, which again lights the fire of love in Padmāvatī. She replies that she must be certain that her lover is ready to die for love and come to her heavenly palace, before she can accept him. (235) Ratansen waits for the answer immersed in meditation and completely merged in his mind with his beloved. Hīrāmani revives him with Padmāvatī's reply. The king storms the fortress and jumps into the trench to find the secret door. He enters the door and crawls upwards through the inner channels. At that moment, the palace guards notice his intrusion and strike alarm.

gandharvsen mantra khaṇḍ 239-259

Gandharvsen asks his advisers for the right punishment for the yogīs. The pundits explain that sacrificing his life is the aim of the yogī, so killing them will only make them accomplish their wish. The ministers suggest that the yogīs can be defeated by a demonstration of military might. (241) The king summons his vassals and a military parade is arranged. Seeing this, Ratansen's companions are ready to fight and die, but the king explains to them that their truthfulness and love demand that they do not resist the attack. (244) The yogīs are captured and tied up. Ratansen is happy to have reached the opportunity to be near his beloved guru Padmāvatī who controls his fate. (246) He is totally devoid of the fear of dying and takes the events with detached equanimity.

(247) In the meantime, Padmāvatī is scorched by the fire of viraha, and is consoled by her friends. She is completely consumed by the flames like a

satī widow but holds out in expectation of the meeting with her lover. (251) When she wants to poison herself, her former pet bird Hīrāmani is summoned, who explains that Ratansen is captured and near to her in the fortress. When he dies at the stake, his soul will find a permanent place within her. (254) Hīrāmani explains how the soul of the yogī has already become a part of the guru at the moment of their first encounter. (257) This gives Padmāvatī hope that she will be united with Ratansen, whether he is put to death or left alive. Death will only take away his body, not his soul, and they will live and die together.

ratansen sūlī khaṇḍ 260-274

Ratansen is brought to the stake with his companions. When people ask him about his caste, he replies that he is a yogī, who has no caste and is about to be freed from his body and from the pain of love. (262) He has merged completely with his guru. (263) At that moment, Ratansen's royal bard steps forward to explain king Gandharvsen that it is not proper to not kill a yogī and also not wise, as the ascetics have the assembly of gods on their side. On hearing these words, the gods and saints arrive at the scene and display their might. (265) Gandharvsen tells the bard that he is superior to the gods and asks him why he sticks out his neck for the yogī. (268) The bard explains that he serves king Ratansen of Citor who has come to Siṃhal as a yogī of love and proposes to call on Hīrāmani to prove this. The bird is brought before Gandharvsen, who recognises his former 'pundit'. The bird explains that he brought the yogī to Siṃhal as a husband for Padmāvatī. (273) The king releases Ratansen and asks him about his family and his royal status, upon which Ratansen explains that he is a true king. Finally, he is accepted as a match for Padmāvatī.

ratansen padmāvatī vivāh khaṇḍ 275-290

The entire island of Siṃhal Dvīp rejoices in the marriage. Ratansen is given fresh clothes and his companions tell him to end his yoga and enjoy his kingship again. He is brought to the palace in a procession the shine of which illuminates the universe. (278) Padmāvatī sees the procession and asks her friends who the yogī in the middle is. When her friends point out he is the husband she longed for, the princess is overcome with joy and anxiety at the same time. (280) She tells her friends that she is worried at the sight of the procession. There have been many suitors before who were turned down and, if the marriage would go through, she would have to leave her family and friends. (282) The wedding procession arrives at the palace, where Ratansen is seated on a throne waiting to meet his beloved. An extensive meal is served to the wedding party, with a large supply of different kinds of food. Betel is served and the

bridegroom is brought to the ceremonial tent where the ritual tying of the knot of marriage is completed. Sun and moon are finally merged. The pundits recite Vedic formulas and the couple performs the marriage rites.

(287) Ratansen is given a dowry and Gandharvsen offers him the throne of Siṃhal. A heavenly palace is made for the new king and queen. Its seven storeys are like the seven heavens. In the royal bedroom, rows of servants stand ready to serve the couple.

padmāvatī ratansen bheṃṭ khaṇḍ 291-329

The couple enters the luxurious bedroom where the princess's girlfriends untie the marital knot and take away Padmāvatī. Ratansen is once more captured by longing for the guru when he has to wait till she will present herself again. (293) He waits in agony and realises that he was fooled by the false feeling of comfort and lost his partner again. The girlfriends come back and start to tease him with his suffering – how could the yogī have lost his guru? (296) They explain the elaborate preparation for the wedding night, the washing of the body, the make-up of Padmāvatī, the twelve jewels and the sixteen marks of beauty, divided into four categories: the long, the wide, the full and the slim.

(297) Padmāvatī is prepared for the wedding night by her servant girls. She takes a bath and is adorned with all sorts of make-up, costly clothes and the twelve jewels. (300) When she is ready, she starts to worry about the coming night because she is inexperienced in love and does not know what her husband will expect. Her friends tell her that she is destined to serve her husband and that he will be satisfied when she is humble and sweet. Then she goes to the bedroom and enchants the universe with her beautiful appearance. (303) Ratansen has fallen asleep and is awakened by the girlfriends who tell him that guru Gorakh has come for his pupil. Padmāvatī is brought before him and hides herself shyly behind her scarf. She acts as if she does not recognise Ratansen as a king and asks the yogī how he got into the palace. (305) Ratansen again proclaims his love and the sacrifice of his soul. She laments the deceitful nature of the yogīs and accuses Ratansen of not being a serious lover. Ratansen replies by describing the penance he underwent for her. (308) Padmāvatī thinks he is not really dyed in the colour of love, upon which Ratansen describes his love in the terms of the making of betel. (310) She mentions the bad reputation of yogīs who are renowned for their wandering. Ratansen explains that he is not like these other yogīs.

(312) In verses which use the double meaning of words and the various readings of Hindi words in Persian script, Jāyasī describes how Padmāvatī wants to play dice with the yogī to test his love. All aspects of love are pre-

sented by means of puns on terms of the dice game. Ratansen replies in similar terms. (314) Padmāvatī sees that the king's love is honest and explains the message she left at her visit to the temple. She relates how she was consumed by the same fire of love that scorched him. They embrace and the pain of separation ends. (317) Ratansen 'conquers' Padmāvatī and during their love-making her clothes and jewellery are 'robbed' by her lover. Padmāvatī exhorts her lover to be aware of the sacred moment of union.

(321) Padmāvatī wakes up, exhausted after a night of making love. Her girlfriends come to her bedroom and complain that love-making ruined her beauty; her hair and her clothes are in disarray and she is pale from lack of sleep. Padmāvatī replies that her initial fear was taken away by her husband and that she has learned the secret of love. She relates how she offered her body to him and how she merged with her lover in body and soul. (327) The girls take Campāvatī, Padmāvatī's mother, to the princess's bedroom. Together with the other wives of the king, she sees how her daughter is affected by the wedding night. Padmāvatī takes a bath and is rubbed with perfumes. The courtly dressmakers present a wealth of clothes to choose from. She dresses and puts on her jewellery.

***ratansen sāthī khaṇḍ* 330-331**

Ratansen's troops, who have accompanied him on his march to Siṃhal, now congratulate him with his impressive might. The king replies that this is the reward of yoga and of accepting the guidance by the right guru. He provides his companions with padminī brides, a palace and many riches.

satṛtuvarnan khaṇḍ 332-340

Padmāvatī and her girlfriends adorn themselves. In the evening, Padmāvatī goes to Ratansen and challenges him to fight the battle of love. He is boastful of being able to conquer both his worldly enemies and his beloved. Together, they enjoy the pleasures of love during the six seasons of the year. The poet describes their love against the background of the changing seasons. (337) The summer heat is cooled by the wind of love, and in the cold winter months the lovers stay in bed and keep warm. The crow of the cold complains at Indra's court of his defeat by the union of moon and sun.

nāgmatī viyog khaṇḍ 341-359

Meanwhile, back in Citor, Ratansen's first wife – Nāgmatī – is afflicted by the separation from her beloved husband. She blames the parrot Hīrāmani for bringing him to a rival wife. Her friends try to console her, but she is con-

sumed by the desire to be reunited with the king. (344-356) Using the traditional form of the bārahmāsā, the poet describes how Nāgmatī is tormented by the pain of separation, against the background of the twelve months of the year, while the festivals and other seasonal activities go on and she cannot take part in them. Her suffering is augmented by the summer and winter weather. She implores the wind to take a message to her loved one. Her burning desire and tenacious love for her husband is presented as a model for the revered satī widows (355.dohā). (357) After a year she goes out into the forest to ask the birds if they have any news from her husband. The whole forest is affected by the fire of her pain. She wants the birds in the forest to be her messengers, but they are equally scorched by the fire.

nāgmatī saṃdeś khaṇḍ 360-373

When Nāgmatī lies awake weeping, one of the birds asks her why she cannot sleep. She explains how her husband left her and went to Siṃhal. She relates how he must have found the guru he was looking for; now she is ruined by the separation. Also Ratansen's aging mother is devastated by her son's absence. (363) When the bird takes this message to Siṃhal everything on its path, the ocean, the stars, the forests and Laṅkā, is lit by the fire of love that rages in the letter. The bird lands in a tree on the seashore. One day Ratansen lies down under this tree to rest after a hunting party, and he hears one bird telling the others how he was scorched as he flew from Jambu Dvīp to Siṃhal. He relates how queen Nāgmatī of Citor is burned by separation from her king who went away as a yogī. (366) Ratansen asks the bird how he knows about Nāgmatī and explains that he has been anxious for news from her. The bird tells the king about the desperate state of Citor when it left, and of his wife's and mother's sorrow. The bird tells him how it was able to escape the raging fire of viraha and reach Siṃhal. Ratansen asks the bird to come down to him, but the creature explains that he does not want to be caged and goes back to the forest. The king sees how the bird disappears and feels that it symbolises the life he lost; he realises that his place is in Citor, where his relatives wait for him. Padmāvatī understands that her husband will not stay in the heavenly Siṃhal.

ratansen bidāī khaṇḍ 374-386

Praising the king and his island Siṃhal, Ratansen requests Gandharvsen to let him go home because his throne is threatened by the nearby sultan of Delhi. A royal counsellor recognises the king's urge and prepares the voyage. (377) Padmāvatī and her girlfriends weep over their coming separation and lament their fate of being married off by their fathers to strange families. The girls ad-

vise her to serve her husband humbly. Then they tell her to check the books for an auspicious day for the journey. They consider the omens and the positions of the malevolent deities (*yogīnīs*) on certain dates. (384) Ratansen disregards the calculations and wants to go immediately. Padmāvatī's family takes leave of the couple in sadness. The king loads his ships with as much precious gifts, padminī women, elephants and horses as they can carry. Ratansen rejoices in this wealth, which will make him the richest king in the north, and ignores the virtues of generosity and detachment. At this moment, the Ocean comes forward to ask for a gift.

deś yātrā khaṇḍ 387-396

The poet emphasises the importance of being generous and ready to give up wealth. Ratansen does not want to part with his wealth and scolds the begging Ocean. He observes that wealth can buy a man both heaven and earth. The Ocean warns him that this greediness will bring him harm. (389) On the seas, the ships are caught in a storm and become adrift. Then a giant black rākṣas, who was scorched in the fire with which Rām destroyed Laṅkā, sees the ships and addresses Ratansen. The king promises the monster many gifts if it can bring his party to safety. The rākṣas accepts the gifts greedily and takes the boats to the vortex near the underwater city of Mahirāvaṇ, instead of Setubandhu, which he said he would do. (395) The rākṣas laughs at Ratansen's foolishness of taking him as a guide to safety and blames him for his greed. The ships perish in the whirlpool, and all the wealth, the padminīs, the horses and elephants go down with them. Then a large swan comes and carries away the rākṣas. Padmāvatī and Ratansen survive the shipwreck, each floating on a plank and drifting apart.

lakṣmī samudra khaṇḍ 397-421

Padmāvatī is washed ashore on a beach, where Lakṣmī, daughter of the Ocean, is playing with her girlfriends. The girls give the exhausted queen water to drink and recognise her beauty. Padmāvatī comes around, realises she has lost her husband and desires to burn herself as a satī. She prepares for the self-immolation by throwing off her scarf and loosening her hair, but nobody lights a fire to throw herself in. (403) Lakṣmī takes her to the palace and asks her father to find out where her husband has washed ashore.

(404) Ratansen reaches a deserted mountain, where he realises he has lost his wealth and his wife. He is desperate and laments that he has no one to turn to now. Then he starts to pray to God to unite him with Padmāvatī in death. He takes his dagger and wants to kill himself. (405) Seeing this repen-

tance the Ocean comes forward in the guise of a Brahmin and gives the king rich clothes and jewels. He also inquires for whom he wants to kill himself. (410) Ratansen replies that he has made a mistake by clinging to the treasures of Siṃhal and by disregarding the dangers this meant for him and his wife Padmāvatī. The Ocean explains that life in this world and all the possessions are the Creator's, who can take them back whenever He likes. Only by letting them go, one will find liberation in death. Seeing that the king understands this and is prepared to die to meet his beloved in heaven, the Ocean takes him to where Padmāvatī has washed ashore.

(414) Padmāvatī pines away in her separation from Ratansen. As the king approaches, Lakṣmī takes on the form of Padmāvatī to test the steadiness of Ratansen's love. He recognises the woman but cannot distinguish the smell of the lotus woman (Padmāvatī) and sees through the illusion. Convinced of his sincerity, Lakṣmī takes him to Padmāvatī. (418) The two lovers are reunited; the lotus opens up for the light of the sun. On taking leave from the couple, Lakṣmī presents them a betel leaf filled with precious gems and five special gifts: amṛt, the haṃs bird, a golden bird, a tiger cub and a stone which turns everything into gold. Water creatures guide them to Jagannāth, where they see the rich markets, filled with goods. Seeing the glory and power of money they turn away from greed and realise that their love is their most valued asset. They sell some of the gems, form an army and go to Citor.

citor āgaman khaṇḍ 422-432

The news of king Ratansen's return brings new life to his wife Nāgmatī and the city of Citor. His brothers ride out to greet the returning king. (426) As he enters the palace, his mother rejoices. The court admires the beautiful Padmāvatī, but Nāgmatī is burning with anger at the sight of her. After the feast of welcome Ratansen goes up to his wife. She initially turns him away, but he convinces her of his lasting love for her. (430) After this night of reunion, he returns in the morning to Padmāvatī who starts to weep because he has left her for Nāgmatī. She cannot see why Ratansen prefers the snake (Nāgmatī) over the lotus (padmini).

***nāgmatī padmāvatī vivād khaṇḍ* 433-445**

Ratansen's two wives meet in Nāgmatī's garden. Their discussion on the composition of the flowers and trees develops into an argument in which the double meaning of the names of the flowers describes the fight over who is the most beautiful woman and who should have the right to sleep with Ratansen. (440) The argument goes on in more direct terms when the fair lotus (Padmāvatī) and the dark snake (Nāgmatī) try to prove their primacy. Finally, Pad-

māvatī can stand it no longer and lashes out at Nāgmatī. The catfight is reported to Ratansen, who quickly comes to stop them by pointing out that they should see the one lover they both love and both honour him.

rāghav cetan deś nikālā khaṇḍ 446-456

Rāghav Cetan is a learned Brahmin and poet, who comes to Ratansen's court and tells him a beautiful story. In the service of the king he is once asked to predict the coming of the new moon. Against the opinion of the other pundits, he predicts that it will appear the same day. Knowing that this is impossible, he invokes magic to make the image of the moon appear. (448) On the following day the real new moon appears and Rāghav's deceit is found out. He is expelled from court and considers finding a more generous patron. (450) Padmāvatī does not agree with this punishment. She fears that Rāghav will perform the same tricks for which he is expelled in the service of another king and calls him to the palace. She stands in a window and wants to present him with a bracelet. As she takes it off, her pearl string breaks and the bracelet falls down. The sight of the queen's beauty dazzles Rāghav, and he faints. (453) Rāghav Cetan is helped to his feet by the queen's servant girls and realises that his soul is taken away from him like all the others who have seen Padmāvatī. He takes the bracelet and decides to try his luck in Delhi. He predicts that Padmāvatī's fame will lure the sultan to Citor and make him take revenge on Ratansen.

rāghav cetan dillī gaman khaṇḍ 457-462

Rāghav goes to Delhi and sees the splendour of the sultan's court, where noblemen from all parts of the world come but are refused attendance. This makes him worry how he can get through to the ruler. The poet describes how the ruler keeps himself informed of everything that is going on in his realm. At night he wanders as a yogī through the town to hear his subjects' wishes. Rāghav is granted a visit to the sultan because the ruler is curious what this Brahmin with the precious bracelet might have to report. (460) Rāghav tells him that the bracelet is a reward from Padmāvatī, the queen of Citor, whose beauty has no equal in the world. The sultan challenges him to explain how this padminī woman can be more exquisite than the wives in his palace. Rāghav praises the king and his wives but also describes the four kinds of women, to show he is able to judge that Padmāvatī's beauty outshines all of them.

strībhedavarṇan khaṇḍ 463-467

Rāghav Cetan describes the four kinds of women to the sultan: the *hastinī*, the *siṃghinī*, the *citrinī* and the padminī. Women in the last category have the six-

teen marks of beauty and Padmāvatī of Citor is in all respects such a perfect padminī.

padmāvatī rūp carcā khaṇḍ 468-488

Rāghav Cetan describes Padmāvatī's beauty to 'Alā' al-dīn, praising her body of refined gold and her divine radiance. He describes how he was struck by her glance and 'died'. Her hair is like a bundle of venomous snakes or like the whirling Yamunā in which people drown. (470) The parting on the top of her head is a fiery red stripe which frightens the gods. Her forehead is like the moon, the brightness of which lights up the world. Sun and moon go around the world in envy. (473) Rāghav describes how he was hit by the poisonous arrows of her glance, shot from the bow formed by her eyebrows. It is like the bow of Rām. Her eyes are restless, they catch the soul as if in a whirlpool and make it swirl. Her nose is a dangerous sword and the jewel on it is like a fragrant flower. (476) Her lips are red with the rasa of love, which is guarded by the snakes of her hair. Only by removing these snakes can one obtain that amṛt. Rāghav complains how the lightning of her white teeth has struck his heart as it flashed through the darkness of the world. Her words are sweet and cause the whole world to listen. (479) Her ears are like golden shells, which God gave her to hear the Vedas and the *rāgas* (musical scales). The mole on her lotus-like cheek is a spark from the fire of love, or a bee on the lotus who wants to sacrifice himself for the flower. The lotuses are guarded by the peacock of her neck. Who will manage to touch this neck without being caught by the snakes of her tresses? (482) Her arms are like golden stalks. With the hands on these arms she takes out the souls of the people who see her. Her breasts are like two kings on their thrones, her arms are like walls around these fortresses; who shall win the fight of love? Her gait is like nothing in the universe. Rāghav described what was within his vision, the rest of her beauty is beyond description.

(485) Rāghav goes on to explain how Padmāvatī must sleep on flower petals and how she walks only on a carpet, spread out wherever she goes. Struck by the evocation of the beautiful Padmāvatī, 'Alā' al-dīn is determined he must have her and announces that he will conquer Citor. Thereupon Rāghav tells him about the five treasures of Citor: the haṃs bird, the amṛt, the philosopher's stone, the tiger, the bird of prey, the gifts of Lakṣmī and the ocean which even Alexander could not obtain. Rāghav is generously rewarded and promised the throne of Citor. 'Alā' al-dīn sets his mind on the five gems and the one gem that will suit his jewel. He sends a letter to Ratansen, demanding Padmāvatī.

bādśāh caṛhāī khaṇḍ 489-515

Ratansen is furious; the sultan may be a great king but he has no right to interfere with the household of his subjects. It cannot be demanded from a servant to quench this lustful thirst of the sultan. The sultan's messenger, his general Sarja, warns Ratansen of the universal destruction that will follow if he disobeys his overlord. He offers him the rule over Canderī in return for Padmāvatī. Ratansen replies that the king who gives away his household becomes a yogī who abandons his kingship, and defies the sultan's claim. (492) Sarja explains how much a subservient ruler is dependent on his overlord. Ratansen points at the example of Alexander, who did not get the amṛt he wanted, and to the ruses that 'Alā' al-dīn needed to capture Chitāī. He tells Sarja that he relies on his army to fend off the attack. When 'Alā' al-dīn hears of Ratansen's refusal, he is furious and threatens to burn Citor, as he did to the fortress of Ranthambor. He gathers his allies, forms a large army and advances on Citor. (496) All kinds of horses and elephants are present in the army and make the earth tremble. All the great emirs and rulers, from every corner of the empire, take part in the march. This great army advances and when the front departs from the day's station, the rear just arrives there. (500) The advance causes great panic among the Rājputs. Messengers report to Ratansen, who sends them away to gather his Rajput allies. He makes them understand that the Hindu stronghold of Citor is at stake. Losing that means losing one's sat (honour). Those of Ratansen's allies who were in the service of 'Alā' al-dīn, turn to their lord to explain that they have to take sides with the king of Citor. The sultan lets them go. (503) The allies are welcomed to Citor with music. There, they commit themselves to fight for sat. The fortress is filled with storage for the siege and strengthened. Drums sound all around its walls. The enormous army of the sultan advances and its elephants uproot the trees. (506) Elephants pull the carts with cannons and bring them into position. The poet describes the cannons with the attributes of women, and gives them names such as 'Enemy-piercer', 'Fortress-breaker'. The smoke and fire of these weapons obscure the world. (509) The roar of the cannons throws up so much dust that heaven and earth are covered. The dust forms an extra region of the universe in which Indra lets his armies run. An inauspicious darkness covers the world, like that of the *kedalī* forest which Alexander entered. The two armies of 'Alā' al-dīn approach Citor, and the queens of the palace look with awe at this might; they praise both the sultan and Ratansen for their great armies. (512) The defenders of Citor gear themselves for battle. The poet describes the richness of their attire, with golden helmets and jewel-studded armour. The famous elephants from Siṃhal are an impressive sight with their head-armour that is polished

like a mirror. In the dark world the two armies – those of the moon (Ratansen) and the sun ('Alā' al-dīn) – stand ready; the knights and their weapons are like the stars in that night of the great battle.

rājā bādśāh yuddh khaṇḍ 516-532

The two armies clash and the earth is covered in mud and blood. The armies are like thunderclouds crashing into each other, producing lightning (the swordblows) and rain (the drops of blood) like in the month of *sāvan*. Those who fight with sat stay put, others run away ashamed. (519) The battlefield is littered with body parts and the scavengers have a feast, illustrating the fate of the mortal body. Seeing the strength of the sultan's army, Ratansen realises that he, the moon, should not fight the scorching sun. He who has conquered heaven (the moon) should stay in his fortress, near his stars (his wives, including Padmāvatī). (522) During the day, the army of the sultan besieges the fortress relentlessly and darkens the moon. By night, the moon rises with his stars, shooting burning bullets and throwing boulders. Thus, they stop the advance of the Turks. As the day breaks, the sultan resumes his attack and tries to break into the fortress; Ratansen holds on by instantly repairing the damages and reinforcing the defences. (525) The king places heavy cannons on the walls operated by African, Turkish and French specialists to operate them. Citor is attacked and burns like Laṅkā. In the midst of the infernal bombardment of Citor, which is like the destruction of the world on the eve of the Last Day, Ratansen organises a dance performance above the main gate. (528) On the walls of the fortress, music and female dancers enchant the king and the other defenders of Citor. 'Alā' al-dīn is outraged as he sees the dancer with her back turned towards him and orders one of his archers to shoot her.

(530) Ratansen closes the gates of the fortress and 'Alā' al-dīn erects a mound that levels up with the walls. Seeing this, Ratansen and his council prepare for the final battle. The women prepare themselves for a jauhar. The sultan realises that all the women, including Padmāvatī, will burn themselves if he conquers the fortress. At the same time he receives a message that Delhi is threatened by a rival, so he can no longer prolong the siege.

rājā bādśāh mel khaṇḍ 533-540

'Alā' al-dīn decides to stage a meeting with Ratansen to take Citor by deceit. He sends Sarja to Ratansen with an offer to lift the siege and grant the king the city of Canderī in exchange for the five gifts he obtained from the Ocean. Ratansen explains Sarja that he will never surrender Padmāvatī, but that he recognises the might of the sultan and is willing to serve him under the given

conditions. He demands a pledge by Sarja, who pretends to make a commitment. (538) Ratansen sends messengers along with Sarja to bring the five gifts and a message in which he acknowledges that the sun ('Alā' al-dīn) can both be enlightening and burning; the ruler can be angry but also merciful. What happened to the sultan's anger after the lifting of the siege? The sultan answers the king's messengers that the black spots of his wrongdoing will not disappear, but that he should trust the good intentions of the sultan when he comes to him the following day. The messengers report to Ratansen that the sultan shows mercy on his servant. The king orders the preparation of a large banquet to celebrate the visit of 'Alā' al-dīn.

bādśāh bhoj khaṇḍ 541-551

Many deer and goats are killed for the meal, fish are caught and large amounts of flour are made into delicious snacks. The poet sees in this great slaughter the way of the world, one should detach oneself from this transient existence. (544) All sorts of rice are roasted, the meat is prepared, whole goats are roasted on the grill. Samosas are fried in ghee, all sorts of fruit are prepared. The gardens complain that they are robbed of their fruits. (547) Fish is being washed with milk and then carefully pressed. The fish is fried in pieces with spices and covered with a sauce that is so rich with ghee that it will give an old man enough stamina to marry one hundred women. All sorts of vegetables are cooked and fried, rich mixtures of spices are prepared. Halwa and other varieties of sweets are made. This delicious food is made tasteful by the water it contains, which is like nectar. This water, which pervades the world and is stored in the ocean is the essence of all existence.

citorgaṛh varṇan khaṇḍ 552-573

'Alā' al-dīn comes in through the main gate of the fortress, where the watchmen greet him reverently. The sultan is amazed at the splendour of the palace, sees the rest of the world at his feet and exclaims that only the king who has such a palace has reached true kingship. He sees that courtly life is not disturbed by the siege. (555) He passes by Padmāvatī's palace and is amazed at its heavenly splendour. Then he arrives at the seventh floor of the palace where a throne is put up for him. Padmāvatī is in her quarters and does not come down to see the sultan. Dances and music are performed before the sultan, but his attention is only obligatory. His mind is set on catching a glimpse of Padmāvatī. (558) Gorā and Bādal approach Ratansen to warn him of the sultan's hidden intentions. Ratansen reproaches them that they suspect an honoured guest. He relies on his own goodness and is convinced that this will reflect on

his opponent and make him keep his word. The two warriors fail to warn the king and leave angrily. Ratansen presents eighty-four of the most beautiful girls of his household to the sultan, who anxiously asks Rāghav Cetan which of them is Padmāvatī. (561) Rāghav explains that Padmāvatī is not among them; because the sultan is only a guest, he will not get to see her directly. The girls proceed to serve the sultan with food and drinks, but it does not please him as he cannot see the woman he came for. (564) The servants bring water to drink and wash the guest's hands. 'Alā' al-dīn is restless with the desire to see Padmāvatī. Ratansen offers the sultan a turban and many gems, and asks the sun of the world ('Alā' al-dīn) to shine over him and warm him with his mercy. The sultan pretends to settle their conflict, but in his mind he plots to take the jewel (Ratansen) first and later also the diamond (Padmāvatī). (567) Ratansen proposes to play chess and 'Alā' al-dīn has a mirror placed in such a position that he can see the window of Padmāvatī's palace. During the game he keeps one eye on the mirror and the other on the board. In the palace the girlfriends of Padmāvatī see the sultan in the mirror and gaze at this powerful radiant sun. When the lotus woman Padmāvatī also looks in the mirror, 'Alā' al-dīn gets a glimpse of her beauty and is deeply affected. He loses the match and begins to tremble even when there is no cold wind. Rāghav hastily blames it on the betel and takes the sultan to rest. (570) The next day Rāghav asks the sultan why he did not sleep during the night. 'Alā' al-dīn explains he had a vision of a beautiful woman in a distant temple, where his eyes could reach but his hands could not touch. A lotus appeared, bright like a lightning in the nightly sky. The woman entered his mind and took his soul away. Rāghav is now certain that he has seen Padmāvatī.

ratansen bandhan khaṇḍ 574-580

The sultan makes Ratansen believe that he is beneficent towards him. The king then accompanies 'Alā' al-dīn on his way back to his camp. But the Muslim ruler did not forget why he had come to Citor and, after luring the fish Ratansen in his net of deception, he takes him captive and fetters him with ball and chain. (576) Citor laments the capture of its king, which plunges the city into darkness. After this display of cunning and power, the Rajput allies become afraid and reverently obey the sultan's tax collectors when they visit them. 'Alā' al-dīn can go back to Delhi to resume his rule. The Abyssinian guard makes life hard for Ratansen and torturers try to force him to accept his service and deliver Padmāvatī to the sultan. The king prepares to die as he is locked in a small pit full of scorpions and snakes.

padmāvatī nāgmatī vilāp khaṇḍ 581-583

Padmāvatī laments the separation from her husband. The lotus withers in absence of the sun, her golden body is emaciated by the fire of viraha. She resigns to being unable to reach Ratansen, realising that he lives on in her heart.

devapāl dūtī khaṇḍ 584-599

Ratansen's ancient rival Devapāl, the king of Kumbhalner, sees an opportunity to settle an old score with the king of Citor by attempting to lure Padmāvatī to his own palace. He promises the Brahmin lady Kumudinī a great reward if she goes to Citor and applies her magic skills to accomplish his wicked plan. Kumudinī boasts of her skills to Devapāl, prepares a large amount of sweets and goes to Citor. (587) There Kumudinī introduces herself as an old friend of Padmāvatī, the daughter of her father's family priest. She tries to convince Padmāvatī that the marriage with Ratansen was her parent's mistake and that she should abandon this bond that has caused so much trouble. It would be a waste of her youth and beauty to pine away without a husband. (590) Padmāvatī is taken aback as she cannot think of touching another man, even as a husband. Kumudinī stays for a while and tries to entice Padmāvatī to adorn herself again to make her think of the enjoyment of love. Padmāvatī remains steadfast in her loyalty to her husband. (595) The Brahmin woman warns her not to let her youth go by without enjoying it. The black snakes of her hair will soon make place for the white ducks of old age and then youth can never be retrieved. Padmāvatī replies, irritated, that only the enjoyment of love with her husband is the true moment of youthful bliss. Without him her youthful desires have left her too. When Kumudinī explains that one can only taste love by tasting more than one lover, Padmāvatī reproaches her that she is out to put a stain of black ink on her purity. The false woman then praises the virtues of the blackness in Padmāvatī's eyes and in Devapāl's umbrella. She who goes to that dark king will forget the lord of Citor. Hearing this name, Padmāvatī is enraged and orders that Kumudinī be beaten by her servants. They cut off her nose and ears and throw her out.

bādśāh dūtī khaṇḍ 600-606

Padmāvatī opens a hostel and asks the various ascetics who come there if they have any news of her husband. 'Alā' al-dīn hears of this and sends a prostitute who is famous for her impersonations of a yoginī to the hostel. When Padmāvatī asks the yoginī why a young girl like her has chosen the life of an ascetic, she explains that she waits for the return of her husband from a journey and has become a yoginī out of longing for him, by tearing her silken clothes and donning yogīs' earrings. She travelled the various centres of pilgrimage to look

for her husband, but has not found him. (604) On her travels she has come to Delhi and met with Ratansen, who is pining away in separation from his beloved. This sparks the fire of love in Padmāvatī and she wants to put on the dress of a female ascetic and become a pupil of the guru who has come to her. Her girlfriends dissuade her by explaining that dressing as a yoginī will not bring Ratansen back; a truly devoted wife sits out the anguish of separation at home. They advise her to ask Gorā and Bādal for help.

padmāvatī gorā bādal saṃvād khaṇḍ 607-612

Padmāvatī turns to Ratansen's devoted allies Gorā and Bādal, who are surprised to see their queen coming to the palace of her servants. She tells the story of her suffering and proclaims she is ready to go to Delhi to free Ratansen. (610) The warriors feel sympathy for their queen and relate how they were suspicious of the sultan's good intentions from the beginning. They did not want to rise up against their lord, but now have to face the consequences of his short-sightedness. Nevertheless, they will join forces with her to free the king. Padmāvatī is grateful for this and praises their courage, which is like that of Hanumān who frees his lord Rām from the capture by Mahirāvan. They place her on a throne and have her carried back to her palace.

gorā bādal yuddh yātrā khaṇḍ 613-620

Bādal's mother reminds her son of the fate of Hamīr, who could not stand up to the force of 'Alā' al-dīn's army, and implores him to stay at home. He asks his mother not to think of him as the little boy Kṛṣṇa, as his mother's name is Jasovai, but as a full-grown warrior who is not afraid to take on 'Alā' al-dīn. When Bādal prepares himself for battle his bride arrives with the wedding party. She is all dressed up but sees that her husband is about to go into battle. (616) As she approaches him, he turns away from her, which makes her uncomfortable; she is not sure whether she should address him or wait humbly till she is spoken to and let him go. She decides to be bold and grabs his waist, asking him why he is leaving when they have not yet met each other. She falls to his feet and her hairs hold him like a net. He replies that service to his lord precedes over love for his wife. She says she has come to fight the battle of love. Her beauty provides the weapons with which she will fight him. He leaves her in tears that ruin her beautiful make-up and wedding attire.

gorābādal yuddh khaṇḍ 621-638

The warriors see that a clever trick will compensate for the lack of military power, and devise a plan to bring a caravan of sixteen thousand palanquins car-

rying soldiers inside to 'Alā' al-dīn's palace, pretending that Padmāvatī and her friends have come to surrender themselves to the sultan in exchange for the king's release. Gorā asks the guard of the prison to ignore the caravan of palanquins and notify the sultan that Padmāvatī has come with the key of Citor, mellowing the loyalty of the man with a large bribe. The money makes him soft like ghee and he goes to the sultan to bring him the desired message. (625) In the meantime, a blacksmith dressed up as Padmāvatī breaks Ratansen's chains. The escape is reported to the sultan, who pursues the fleeing king with his army. Bādal offers to turn back to stop the enemy's advance, but Gorā takes on this task as he is the older warrior whose heroic life can be crowned by this fight for his king. Bādal goes on to bring Ratansen to safety. Gorā roars with confidence that he will take on the sultan like Kṛṣṇa took on Kaṃsa. (630) He and his soldiers charge at the Turk's army, which counters the attack and closes in on them. A thousand princes give their life and Gorā is left alone against the overwhelming army. 'Alā' al-dīn orders to quickly capture him and then go after Ratansen. (634) Gorā fights like a lion and does not want to be captured alive. 'Alā' al-dīn's general Sarja, together with other famous warriors, attacks Gorā and pierces him with a spear. Wounded, he manages to attack Sarja and strike him three times with his sword. Sarja hits him with his conch and then with his sword and cleaves the hero, his horse, and the earth in one blow. Ratansen escapes and arrives in Citor.

bandhan mokṣa padmāvatī milan khaṇḍ 639-644

The lotus that is Padmāvatī blossoms again after hearing of the return of the sun – her husband. Together with the other queens of Citor she goes to greet him with an offer of candles and asks him to re-enter the palace of her heart. She also thanks Bādal for his courageous service and blesses him and his horse. That night the lovers dispel the sorrow of separation with their love-making and tell each other about the suffering they endured. Padmāvatī relates how she was tormented by separation and how Devapāl sent a false messenger to lure her to his palace.

ratansen devapāl yuddh khaṇḍ 645-646

Ratansen is furious when he hears how his rival Devapāl, that frog and jackal, wanted to see the lotus, and cannot sleep for anger. In the morning he rushes to Kumbhalner and challenges Devapāl to a duel. Ratansen is wounded by the poisoned spear of Devapāl but manages to cut off his opponent's head.

rājā ratansen vaikuṇṭhavās khaṇḍ 647

Ratansen tries to ride back to Citor but collapses halfway and is taken home on a stretcher. As everything in this world that exists just for a moment of vanity, the jewel also dies and is worth no more than a cowry. Bādal is put in charge of the fortress.

padmāvatī nāgmatī satī khaṇḍ 648-651

Padmāvatī puts on the dress of a widow, takes off her pearls and loosens her hair, as she is resolved to burn her mortal body on the funeral pyre of her husband like a moth that flies into the lamp. Together with Nāgmatī she sits down on the bier which is put on top of the pyre. The funeral rites are performed and the queens repeat the perambulation of their marriage, but now to celebrate the eternal bond with their husband. They lie down next to the king and embrace him as the fire burns them to ashes. The sky turns red with the glow of the fire; with Padmāvatī, the light is also extinguished. (651) At this moment, 'Alā' al-dīn storms the fortress and enters the palace where he finds Padmāvatī's ashes and realises he has come too late. The sultan's army builds a mound and scales the walls of the fortress. The women of Citor sacrifice themselves in a jauhar, the men rush into the fight. Citor has become subdued by Islam.

upasaṃhār khaṇḍ 652-654

The poet concludes the poem that he wrote with his blood and tears as ink. All the characters have gone, but what remains is the story: the flower dies, its scent stays. In a complaint of old age he tells his audience to heed his words.

Appendix 5: Interpretations of the 'two words' (stanza 652.8-9)

The 'two words' with which the poet wants to be remembered may refer to Ratansen and Padmāvatī, also mentioned in this manner in verse 23.5. Agravāl suggests that this expression refers to the two syllables of the Arabic word 'kun', meaning 'be', with which God set creation in motion (1961: 878). In Sufi theory, great importance is attributed to the characters *ṭā* and *sīn*, mentioned at the beginning of sura 27 of the Qur'an, which are believed to indicate God's power and majesty (Schimmel 1985b: 108 ff). In Hindi, the characters *ṭā sīn* read as *tasa* 'thus, such', which would lead to the double meaning: 'let he who reads the story, remember me thus [by the formula *ṭā sīn*]'.

Shirreff refers to two suras of the Qur'an which are often mentioned in epitaphs that request remembrance of the dead. The dohā quoted above has also been engraved on a monument in front of the alleged home of the poet in

Jais that was erected in October 1943. Another possibility he suggests is that it is a literal translation of the Arabic '*kalimatain*', meaning the two phrases: 'there is no God but Allah, Muḥammad is His Prophet' (1944: 372, n. f).

Notes

1. The information presented here is taken from the catalogues by Hermann Ethé and Edward Edwards (1903-1937), J.F. Blumhardt (1899) and the documentation provided by Abidi (1962).
2. In the manuscripts B11 and B 10 in the India Office Library (Gupta's *pra.* 1 and *dvi.* 2), this reads as *miṭāvai*, to erase, which is probably meant here.
3. See Garcin de Tassy (1870, vol. 2: 86). Th. Pavie (1856: 5-47) mentions a manuscript of the work in two languages, probably Rajasthani ('mixed hindoo provincial dialect') and 'ordinary hindooee', according to an English note on the Paris ms. of the work.
4. This corrects some misprints in Agravāl's edition: घनी for धनी, and मोरा for भोरा.
5. The stanzas quoted from *Ākhirī Kalām* and *Akharāvaṭ* are taken from M.P. Gupta's *Jāyasī Granthāvalī* (1952). All translations by the author.
6. *Khevak* is a better reading for *sevak*.
7. *Bisavās* = 'treason'. See Plukker (1981: stelling 4), where he rejects the etymologies of this word by Turner and Mathur from Skt. *(a)viśvāsa*, Vaudeville Skt. *piśāca-* and Surya Kānta, from Hindi: *missa*.
8. The stanzas quoted from *Kanhāvat* are, if not specified otherwise, taken from the edition by Śiv Sahāy Pāṭhak (1981).
9. The texts are taken from the critical edition by M.P. Gupta (1961).
10. These stanzas were taken from the critical edition by D.F. Plukker: *Miragāvatī*, Amsterdam 1981.
11. A word index to *Padmāvat* is compiled by Surya Kānta Shāstri (1934). The index is less practical as it is not based on a reliable edition. A limited word list can be found in Āśā Kiśor's *Jāyasī koś* (1976). A digitised version of *Padmāvat*, prepared by Hiroko Nagasaki is available on the Internet at the following url: (http://hin.osaka-gaidai.ac.jp/hindi/padmavat.txt, visited December 2009) which allows computer-based searches and indexing.
12. Jāyasī uses here the Hindi word '*purān*' where apparently the Qur'an is meant. The ambivalence of the term is intended, as it refers to all ancient, and thereby sacred, scriptures. The Sanskrit term *purāṇa* covers this notion.
13. The Hindi word 'sūr' indicates here the family name of Sher Shāh, 'hero', and 'sun'.

bārahmāsā	genre of poems in which the suffering of a woman who is separated from her lover or husband is depicted against the background of the passing of the twelve months of the year
'ishq	love (P.)
'ulamā'	Islamic orthodox leaders or scholars of Islamic law
amṛt	nectar, ambrosia, often used in the sense of the water of immortality, or the water of life
avatāra	incarnation of a deity
bairāgī	Indian ascetic
baraka	magical power attributed to Sufi saints, which they acquired through penance
bhakti	general term for devotional Hinduism
bhāṣā	term for the (spoken) North Indian vernacular
brahmarandhra	the name of a *cakra* at the back of the skull, where the mystical realization is believed to be located in yogic theories
cakra	term from yogic theories, points of special energy within the body
cakravartin	Indian concept of an universal king
caupāī	Indian poetical metre used often in narrative poems
celā	Indian term for the pupil of a guru, a spiritual teacher
daira	religious center
dajjāl	figure associated with apocalyptic predictions in Islam
darśan	ritual consisting of viewing a statue or a saintly person
devanāgarī	Indian script used for Sanskrit and Hindi
dhvani	suggestion, term from Indian theory of aesthetics and poetics
dīvān	leader of a Sufi congregration
dohā	Indian poetical metre, type of two-lined verse
gaddi-nishīn	leader of a Sufi congregration

gopī	cowherdess, character from the legends of Kṛṣṇa
insān-i kāmil	'perfect man', a concept in Islamic theology and the devotion to the Prophet, which indicates the highest spiritual state of mortal man
jauhar	Indian term for the sacrificial suicide of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands
joban	youth (Hi.)
kaithī	Indian script used in Mughal administration
kathā	general term for (oral) story
kāyasth	name of a caste of Indian scribes who worked at the Mughal courts
khalīfa	successor or placeholder of a Sufi leader
khaṇḍ	poetical term for a chapter
khirqa	the robe of a Sufi saint, which he donates to his successor
kuñjī	literally: 'key', referring to a key for interpreting an allegory
mānas	name of a mythical lake
maram	secret
melā	literally: meeting, term for a religious festival in Hinduism
murīd	pupil in a Sufi congregation
nādī	term for a channel in yogic theories, through which energy can flow through the body
nakhśikh	poetical description of a female, from head to toe.
nāth yogī	early modern ascetic movement that based itself on tantra yoga
nirguṇa bhakti	term for early modern devotional traditions oriented towards an abstract concept of the divine
nūr muḥammadī	'The light of the Muḥammad', an Islamic concept of the divine inspiration that manifests itself in the form of the light of the Prophet, and is also present in the divine nature of kingship, in the form of a radiance
pad	Indian poetical form, often found in *sant* poetry
padārth	diamond
padminī	highest 'class' of women in a classification in Sanskrit art poetry
pīr	teacher in a Sufi tradition, saint
prem	love (Hi.)
premākhyān	genre of mystical romances (by Sufi authors)
prīti	love (Hi.)

pūjā	ritual celebration, general term for worship in Hinduism
pul-i ṣirāṭ	narrow bridge which, according to Islamic tradition, the believers have to cross to reach paradise at the Last Day
quṭb	leader of a Sufi congregation
rāga	musicological term, meaning scale or tonality
rākṣas	demonic character in Indian mythology
rām-kathā	general term for the oral story traditions that feature king Rām
rasa	polyvalent term from Indian aesthetical theories, meaning 'mood', 'emotion', denoting the dominant emotional tone of a work of art
ratan	gem, jewel (ruby)
sajjāda-nishīn	leader of a Sufi congregration
sākhī	Indian poetical form, often found in *sant* poetry
saṁvat	Indian calendar sant early modern religious movement that cultivated an abstract concept of the divine
śānti rasa	term from poetic theory to indicate the mood of mystical enlightenment
sat	truth, valour, honour
satī	Indian term for a widow who has suicide herself at her funeral pyre and thus became a saint
sevā	service, devotion to a guru
shaikh	leader of a Sufi congregation
siddha	Indian ascetic who has achieved spiritual perfection
silsila	a Sufi lineage
soraṭhā	Indian poetical metre, type of two-lined verse
stutikhaṇḍ	introductory chapter of praises in poems
svāti	name of a particular kind rain, a drop of this forms a pearl if it falls in the opened shell of the oyster
tauḥīd	Islamic term for the divine unity of creation
taẕkira	Genre of biographical or hagiographical records of the lives of famous religious men, poets etc.
vaiṣṇava bhakti	devotional tradition oriented towards the worship of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, especially Kṛṣṇa
vilāyat	spiritual constituency of a Sufi congregation
viraha	pain of longing in separation, a motif in poetry
ẓulmāt	Land of Darkness in Islamic traditions, where the source for the water of life is located

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