MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

By

RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY

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"A perfect woman, nobly planed,
To warn, to comfort, and command;
And yet a spirit still, and bright,
With something of angelic light."

For
My Wife
To prevent mutiny, order here, I
wrote to permit my command
and gave a signal to my officers,
with permission to return home.
PREFACE

The present work attempts to survey in details the life and condition of the people of Mithilā (North Bihar) between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century A.D. The nature of society, polity and economy in India is such that historical studies have necessarily to be more largely based on regional lines. Regional studies are necessary for having a broader view of the study of Indian history as a whole. Regional history should be studied in a wider perspective, reflecting on a larger canvass. Mithilā's role in the history of India is unique in many respects and the period, under review, was one of transformation from old to new and was marked by a cultural flowering of which Vidyāpati was a typical representative.

The work is based mainly on the writings of Vidyāpati and other contemporary authors and thinkers. All possible literary sources (published or unpublished) of the period, under review, have been critically scrutinised, studied and systematically arranged to present an integrated picture of society and culture in medieval Mithilā. Other sources, besides the literary ones, have also been tapped. The main aim of study is to bring out all possible details regarding the life of the common folk of Mithilā. No such attempt has hitherto been made in respect of any part of the history of Bihar and as such it may be treated as a pioneer attempt. My 'History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut' (1200–1765) fills up a major gap in the history of Mithilā and the present work fills up a major gap of cultural aspect in so far as the history of Bihar in general and Mithilā, in particular, is concerned. The present work is the result of my studies on Mithilā for the last twenty-five years. No last word can be said in history since it is a developing discipline and hence I do not claim finality in my work. Further research and discoveries may throw fresh light on the hitherto unknown aspect of the cultural life of Mithilā.

If this work stimulates further research on the subject I shall think my labour amply rewarded. If this humble
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(A) Abbreviations


**AB** — Aitereya Brāhmaṇa.

**AIOC** — All India Oriental Congress.

**AIE** — Ancient Indian Education.


**ARASI** — Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

or **ASIAR** — Do (Annual Report).

**AŚ** — Arthaśāstra.

**AT** — Ainī - Tirhut.

**BI** — Bibliotheca Indica.

**BSOS** — Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

**BSPP** — Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika.

(also **VSPP**) — Vangiya - Do Patrikā.

**BPP** — Bengal. Past and present.

**Brh- upn** — Brhadāraṇyaka Upnīṣad.

**BMI** — Mithila Bhaṣaṁaya Itihās.

**BTA** — Bihar through the ages.

**CHI** — Cambridge History of India; Cultural Heritage of India.

**CP** — Copper plate.

**CS** — Current Studies.

**CII** — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

**DV** — Daṇḍaviveka; Dānavaśyavali.

**Dsnāṭak** — Dhurtasamāgaṇanātaka.

**DHNI** — Dynastic History of Northern India.

**DBT** — Durgabhaktitaraṅgini.

**DG** — Darbhanga Gazetteer.

**EB** — Encyclopaedia Britannica.

**EI** — Epigraphia Indica.

**ERE** — Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
ED — Elliot and Dowson.
EHI — Early History of India.
GR — Grihastaratnakara.
HDS — History of Dharmaśāstra.
HB — History of Bengal.
HML — History of Maithili Literature.
HCIP — History and Culture of the Indian People.
IC — Indian Culture.
IA — Indian Antiquary.
IHQ — Indian Historical Quarterly.
INC — Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
IPC — Indian Penal Code.
JA — Journale Asiatique.
JASB — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
NS — New Series; Letters.
JAHRS — Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JIH — Journal of Indian History.
JDL — Journal of the Department of Letters.
JUPHS — Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
JPU — Journal of the Patna University.
JBU — Journal of the Bihar University.
Jayanti — Ram Lochan Saran Jubilee Volume.
JNSI — Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JKAS — Journal of the Kāmarupa Anusandhāna Samiti.
KK — Kavita Kaumudi.
KR — Kṛtyarhṭnākara.
Kath-Upn. — Katha Upniṣad.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>KNPP</td>
<td>Kasi Nagari Pracharini Patrika.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LS</td>
<td>Lakshmana Samvat.</td>
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<td>LSI</td>
<td>Linguistic Survey of India.</td>
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<td>MB</td>
<td>History of Bengal (edited by R.C. Majumdar).</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBH</td>
<td>Mahabharata.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS.MSS</td>
<td>Manuscript.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MASI</td>
<td>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
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<td>MM</td>
<td>Vidyapati by Mitra-Mazumdar.</td>
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<td>MD</td>
<td>Mithila Darpana.</td>
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<td>MM</td>
<td>Mithila Mahatmya.</td>
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<td>MTV</td>
<td>Mithila Tatwa Vimarsha.</td>
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<td>PB</td>
<td>Padavali Bangiya.</td>
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<td>PP (G)</td>
<td>Purushapariksaa (edited by Grierson).</td>
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<tr>
<td>PP (Pathaka)-Purusapariksaa</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
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<td>PP (Nerukar)-Purusapariksaa</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASB</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records' Commission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAIOC</td>
<td>Proceedings of the All India Oriental Congress.</td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress.</td>
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<td>PI</td>
<td>Purana Index.</td>
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<td>POS</td>
<td>Punjab Oriental Series.</td>
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<td>PB</td>
<td>Pamchavimsha Brahmana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Ragataraangini; Rajatarangini.</td>
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<td>RR</td>
<td>Rajaanitiratnakara.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sat-Brah</td>
<td>Satpatha Brahmana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Svet-Upn.</td>
<td>Svetasvatara Upnisaad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>History of Tirhut (S.N. Singh).</td>
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<td>Taitt. Upn.</td>
<td>Taittiriya Upnisaad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>History of Mithila (Thakur).</td>
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<td>TFS</td>
<td>Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Tattvachintaman; Tirthachintaman.</td>
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<td>Upn.</td>
<td>Upnisaad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>Vivadhachintaman; Vyavhaarachintaman.</td>
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VR — Varanaratnakar (Varanaratnākara);
Vivādaratnakara.

Vaj-Sam. — Vājasenayi Samhita.

VP — Viṣṇupurāṇa.

(J) VVRI — (Journal of) Vīshērānanda Vedic Research Institute.

Mārga, all Volumes:

Poona Orientalist — Saraswati Bhawan Studies
New Indian Antiquary — Mithila Darśana Viṣesaṅka o

G.D. College Bulletin Series — Vaidehi Viṣesaṅka.
Mithilāṅka of Mihira. — Indian Linguistics.

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(ii) Formation of Maithili Language.
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Mitra & B. B. Majumdar — Vidyapati.

Shivanandan Thakur — Vidyapati Viṣudha Padavali.
Do — Mahakavi Vidyapati Thakur.
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(ii) Kirtitäta.
Baburam Saxena — Kirtitäta.
Chandra Jha — Purusāpariksā. (also Ramnath Jha's new edition)

G. A. Grierson — Purusāpariksā.
Nerukar — Purusāpariksā.
Chandrakant Pathaka — Purusāpariksā.
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Jainath Anil – विधापति

Rajnath Sharma – विधापति का अमर काव्य

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 xii) *Vyādhibhaktitarangini* (Do in this very book).
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xiv) *Saivasarvasvasāra*.
xv) *Varṣakṛtya*.
xvi) *Gayopattalaka*.
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iii) Pancha Bāyaka.

Caṇḍēśvara Thakura - 
In the body of the 
the book on p. 255 
Fin. 61, it is said that 
Caṇḍēśvara’s, Rājnitī-
Prakāśa is included in 
the Appendix. After 
comparing it from the 
R. R. it turned out to 
be a copy of the same 
and hence it has not 
been included in the 
Appendix.

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Jha 1942; and also by L. K. Jha in 
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iv) Tattvavīndu ( edited by Kashinath 
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v) Dvaitsaniṛṇaya ( edited by P. Jha ). 
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tutions in Ancient India.
iii ) Indian Feudalism.
iv ) Light on Early Indian Society and Economy
v ) D. R. Chanana Memorial Lecture.
( Social changes in early Medieval India )
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ii ) Epigraphical Glossary.
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P. C. Chakravartī — Art of War in Ancient India.
B. B. Majumdar — i ) Govindaṇūer Padavali.
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iii ) Panchasatavatsrer Padavali.
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Glossary

Advaita
Agni
Ahiṃsā
Ānanda
Aparigraha
Aripana ( Alpanā )
Artha
Āśramas
Ātman
Avatāra
Bandha
Brahman
Chakravartin
Chaturvarga
Dana
Daṇḍa
Darśama
Dharma
Dharmaśāstra
Dvaita
Dvija
Gārhasṭhya
Guru
Jajamāna
Jāti
Jñāna
Kāma
Karma
Karmayoga
Kartā
Karuṇā
Manasā
Mandala
Monism
God of Fire
Non-injury
Bliss
non-acceptance
A type of painting in Mithilā.
Worldly possession
Four stages of life
Self or soul
Incarnation
Knot
The world spirit
Universal ruler
Four fold pursuits
Gift
Parishment
Philosophy
Duty
Text on morals and Law
Dualism
Twice-born ( upper three Varṇas )
Second āśrama
Teacher
Patron
Caste
Knowledge
Desire
Action
Way of ritual
Head of a Hindu Joint Family
Compassion
A Hindu goddess
Circular Magical diagrams
Conneited with Tantric rites
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṭha</td>
<td>a Hindu monastery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsyanyāya</td>
<td>State of anarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māyā</td>
<td>illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokṣa</td>
<td>Spiritual release</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirguṇa</td>
<td>aspect of Brahma (devoid of qualifications)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirvāna</td>
<td>State of final bliss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyāya</td>
<td>A school of Hindu Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchāyata</td>
<td>Village assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pargana</td>
<td>Revenue or fiscal division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saguna</td>
<td>Aspect of Brahma (provided with qualities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Followers of Śiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākta</td>
<td>Followers of Śakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmkhyya</td>
<td>A School of Hindu Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanyāsi</td>
<td>One who has renounced the World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapinda</td>
<td>A Special kinship bond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saura</td>
<td>A religious or wife Cult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smṛiti</td>
<td>Hindu Scripture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stridhana</td>
<td>Property belonging to female (or Wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtra</td>
<td>Aephorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibheda</td>
<td>Discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visistadvaita</td>
<td>Qualified monism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogi</td>
<td>Practioner of Yoga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI
(C. 1330–1525 A. D.: A Study in Cultural History)
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I

While much attention has been paid towards the literary evaluation of the writings of Vidyāpati, practically little or no attention has been drawn towards the historical aspects. About half a century ago, late lamented Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri drew our attention towards the indispensability of the Purusāparikṣā as an important source-book of history. Though written in a conventional style of the contemporary books of ethics, Purusāparikṣā is very useful for our purpose. Vidyāpati is a great poet, a vast ocean, and a comprehensive effort, based on his writings, has yet been a desideratum. Earlier efforts to study the poet have mainly centred round his literary genius and the vast world of knowledge, disclosed in his writings, has been, therefore, lying as a sealed box to us. For a student of social and cultural history, the study of folklore is extremely essential. It is true that it lacks the flourish and glamour of a court chronicle, but in its own way it professes to reconstruct a spiritual history of man, as represented by the more or less inarticulate voices of the folk.¹ The materials for a study of the cultural history of Mithilā are scattered in a variety of books, folklore and fiction, poetry and songs.² Cultural traits can best be traced to folk religions and rites. The folk culture is, no doubt, the culture of the people. It is in the folklore that we find an expression of genuine desires, aspirations,

1. A. H. Krappe—*The Science of Folklore* (London—1930)—Intr. XV.
2. Cf. Late Dr. Amarnath Jha’s speech at *Suhrid Saṅgha* and Quoted by Ramekbal Singh Rākesh in his book *Mathilī Loka-gīta*—pp. 6–7.
genius, emotions and thoughts of a people. A scientific reconstruction of the cultural history of Mithilā is possible only by a critical study of such literary and folklore materials as are preserved either orally, in manuscripts or in printed form. Like an archæologist, we have to be cautious here in using the literary spades in exploring such a rich heritage of the past of our people. The period, under review, is marked by the decay of original Sanskrit literature and we can turn, with profit, to the provincial literature for valuable historical information. The Varṇanaraṭṭākara of Jyotirīśvara is the earliest specimen of vernacular prose in northern India.

At the very outset, I do not hesitate to confess that I have barely explored a few directions and have succeeded in using only a part of the material. There is every danger of being seduced in poetry and folklore and, therefore, one should be cautious in making an uncritical use of such evidences. I have left no stone unturned to secure all corroborative evidences in support of my argument and to avoid pitfalls. My primary aim is to give an introductory account of the life and condition of the people of Mithilā on the evidences of Vidyāpati and other contemporary writings of his age. The age of Vidyāpati witnessed the emergence of new forces which not only influenced but shaped the development of the people of Mithilā. The important landmarks in the sphere of political history demarcate a socially significant period. While dealing with the social aspect of the period, I have been inspired by Trevelyon’s ideal of social history which aims at “giving the daily life of the inhabitant of the land—” According to the learned historian, the social history includes “the human as well as the economic relation of different classes to one another, the character of the family and the household life, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each

3. Edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Pt. Babua Misra—(Calcutta—1940)—Usually it is known as Varga-ratnakara.
age as it arose out of these general conditions of life, and took exchanging forms in religion, literature and music, architecture, learning and thought." Judged from this ideal, Vidyāpati seems to be an indispensable source. Hitherto, no spade work has been undertaken in so far as the history of Mithilā is concerned and the present work may just be regarded as an humble beginning in that direction. Enough literary materials are there to enable us to reconstruct the cultural history of the period and the contemporary Śṛṭiti literature constitutes a considerable volume. No justice can be done to the subject unless these sources are tapped by a host of specialists in every branch of Śṛṭiti literature. Here, on the basis of a close scrutiny of microscopic amount of materials, an attempt has been made to sketch a rough outline of the culture of Mithilā. It may be taken just as a workable introduction to the subject, though all possible care has been taken to leave out nothing of outstanding importance.

Certain inferences have been drawn from a common sense point of view for the presentation of important social data. One remarkable feature is the static character of the life of the people. The distinctive feature during the period, under review, is the emergence of certain social forces which aimed at solidifying the social structure to the extent of its being truncated from perennial elasticity. An overall study of the writings of Vidyāpati and other contemporary Nibandhakāras reveal to us

4. For an elaboration of these views—Cf.—Lenin on Art and Literature—
5. In so far as the political history of the period, based on contemporary literary and other evidences is concerned, the following papers of mine may prove useful—
   (i) Vidyāpati’s Puruṣaparīkṣā—an important source of political history—JIOI—Vol. I, No. 2.
the cultural outlook of the age. No social historian can afford to lose sight of such an important source. Our writers in the past have busied themselves in trying to realise the glories of the beatific vision. We have to re-interpret them. Here I have tried, in my own humble way, to adopt the analytical method. Needless to say that a vast horizon is revealed to us by the genius of our poet. His works give a vivid description of the age in which he lived and sang. It has been my earnest endeavour to study the poet and his contemporaries under various spheres of human knowledge in all its aspects.

II

The period, under review, saw the rise and consequent crystallisation of a number of provincial literatures, Viz, Prākrit, Avaṅgaṇa, Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Śākari, Ābhiri, Chāndāli, Sāvati, Drāvida, Otkali besides Sanskrit. The *VR* is a compendium of cultural history and deals with the social history of Mithilā. The rise of provincial vernacular literature brought in its train such eminent personalities as Mukunda Rāma, Chaṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati and Chaitanya in Mithilā and Bengal, Lalla in Kashmir, Nānaka in the Punjab, Kabir in the upper Gangetic plain and Jāyasi. The *VR* and the old cultural tradition of Mithilā guided the genius of Vidyāpati. There is, no doubt, that Vidyāpati was the greatest poet of Eastern India after Jayadeva and in many respects he was greater than Jayadeva. His name is a household word in Eastern India. Thanks to the untiring labour of late lamented Sir George Abraham Grierson, Vidyāpati’s songs are now the admiration of the world. Distinguished as a poet, a story writer, a gazetteer writer, a letter writer, and composer of songs in praise of various deities, Vidyāpati is

6. *VR*—Introduction—P. XXXII; Recently the earliest Vernacular *nātaka* in Mithilā has been discovered and published—, that is, *Dhārtasamāgama* by Jyotirīvara (Allahabad—1960).

also a recognised authority on the *Smṛti*. By the time of Vidyāpati, Mithilā had lost her political independence to a great extent. The strain on the cohesion of Hindu Society was fastly reaching the breaking point. The Brāhmaṇas were once more essaying and re-enforcing the tottering edifice to the best of their ability. Having lost control of economics and politics, the contemporary *Śāraṇa* writers confined themselves to social and domestic life, wrote digests, codified laws, regulations and rules of conduct in various walks of life. Their intrinsic merit and innate strength inspite of age-old abbrevations, and, above all, their judicious applications in harmonising an apparenty uncompromising rigidity with an evergrowing adaptability to times, as witnessed by the uninterrupted series of commentaries, have enabled these *Śāraṇa* works to preserve the individuality of our society and make it minister to a large mass of civilised humanity. The undoubted claim of Hindu civilisation that it is eternal is nowhere better exemplified than in her *Śāraṇa* literature. In Mithilā, the growth and development of *Śāraṇa* had its evil effect in one direction. While the whole of northern India was convulsed by religious and social upheavals, Mithilā remained unaffected, deeply engrossed in the details of *Karmakāṇḍa* and technicalities of rituals. It resulted in hampering the growth of critical and liberal education. That is why Vidyāpati and other contemporary writers failed to make a break with the past. Inspite of his rational and superior scientific conception of contemporary outlook, he could not rise above the influence of his time. He could not step in the shoes of his contemporary reformers, preachers and poets because of his orthodox surroundings. His portrayal of the contemporary social picture is conventional and traditional, peculiar to the land of Mithilā. He was attached to the Oinwāra Court of Mithilā. Inspite of his conservatism, his writings, if read with other contemporary evidences, throw a welcome light on the cultural history of Mithilā. As a

8. Cf. — H. P. Sāstrī’s introduction to *Kīrtilata*. 
poet of hope and a seer of the people, he has ventured out on untrodden ground and dived deep into the uncharted ocean. Naturally, therefore, his writings seek to interpret contemporary Mithilig in all her manifold aspects. It is difficult to me to understand Mithilig without Vidyāpati. Some of his writings have been found useful in so far as the political history of the land is concerned. It is needless to say that his works are distinguished for charming diction and poetic excellence.

III

As a renowned scholar of the Smritis and the Purāṇas, Vidyāpati was adept in the art of marshalling facts. On account of his long association with the Oinwāra court, he had to write on a number of subjects. He wrote the following works.

(i) Kirtilatā—(Avahaṭṭa)—is a historical poem in four cantos. It is popularly believed to be the earliest work of the poet. This work is in praise of Kirtisimha (and his brother Virasimha). There is a very fine description of Jaunpur in this work. The date may be roughly calculated to have been between 1405 and 1408 A.D. It is more a history than kāvyā. Here the contemporary events are dated by certain landmark and it would not be an exaggeration if we say that descriptions here are vivid and realistic, without any admixture of the marvellous. It is equally important for a study of the niceties of contemporary language. It is published.

(ii) Bhū-Parikramā—It was written under the orders of Devasimha. It is in the form of a story told to Baldeva

9. JASB (N.S.)— XI. P. 391 ff.
during his travel to Janaka-deśa. A palm-leaf manuscript of this book is said to be in the manuscript library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. This book was written when Devasimha was staying in Naimiśa forest with his son, Śivasimha. There are also some historical references in this book.

(iii) **Puruṣa-Pariksā**—It is a book of moral tales, written under the orders of Śivasimha and is said to have been the expanded form of the Bhū-parikramā. It starts with an examination of Hindu ethical ideals and illustrates its morals with examples from the ancient history of India. Many of the characters are historical personalities. On the authority of Haraprasad Rai’s Bengali translation of this book, Messrs, B. K. Chatterji and Sukumar Sen held that Śivasimha died before the completion of this work. A critical study of all these available sources reveals to us a different picture altogether. It is an important source of historical knowledge. A close and critical study of the *Puruṣa-pariksā* is yet a desideratum.

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12. *Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss.* No. VI. 79, folio—ढ—देवसिंह निर्देशाच्य नैमिसाध्यनिर्देशात:। दिवसिंहूँ दिनुः सूक्तपूरणाविवासिन:। पंचसिंहूँ दिनुः पंचसिंहानविवासिन। चूँ: खण्डसमाचारामाह विबापति:। कवि:। Also Cf.—Folio-27a-b. The photostat copy of this manuscript is also available in the library of the Bihar Rāstrabhāṣā Parisad, Patna.

13. Chandra Jha—*Puruṣapariksā*—Introductory Verse 3; Cf—Bengali translation of the Same (Bangavasi edn.)—final colophon and final verse; *JA*—XIV (1885) P. 192—; Cf. Grierson’s edition of the PP (London—1935). Vidypati calls this work—“a knotty science of Politics”—“मथन्य दृष्टिकोणहि”। Also Cf—my article—“Puruṣapariksā—an important source of the study of India’s Political History”—Published in the *Journal of Oriental Thought* (Nasik)—Vol. I. No. 2; Cf. Subhadra Jha—*The Songs of Vidypati*—Introductory portion: A new edition has recently been published by Prof. Ramnath Jha (Patna).
(iv) Kirtipatākā—It is in Avahatṭa language. It was written under the orders of Śivasiṁha. It is an important work, no doubt, but various pages of the book are yet missing. It describes a battle between Śivasiṁha and some muslim invaders. The work has been recently published by the All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Tirabhukti, Allahabad.

(v) Padāvali (in Maithili)—Vyāpati is better known to the reading public on account of this charming poem, but it may be pointed out here that it is very important from the historical point of view. It not only refers to kings and queens of Mithilā but also to a number of social and economic problems. The Padāvali contains a long list of the rulers of the Oinwāra dynasty of Mithilā—such as—(i) Devasiṁha (Poems Nos—1, 3, 4, 5, 6), (ii) Harisiṁha (No. 7), (iii) Śivasiṁha (Nos. 8–204 and also in 207), (iv) Padmasiṁha and Viśvāsa Devī (No. 208), (v) Arjuna and Amara (Nos 209–213, 214–15), (vi) Rāghavasiṁha (No. 217–19), (vii) Rudraisiṁha (Nos. 220 and 228), (viii) Dhṛāsiṁha, Bhairavi siṁha and Chandrasiṁha (No. 216).

(vi) Likhanāvali—It is said to have been written under


15. Cf. K. N. Mitra and B. B. Majumdar—Vidyāpati—The introductory portion is a learned contribution. Of all the available editions, the present one is the best though there are some defects. The second best collection is that of Subhadra Jha’s The Songs of Vidyāpati. His collection is based on the Nepal Mss. His introduction to his own edition is very learned and instructive. A new edition of this work has been recently published by the Bihār Rastrabhāṣā Parishad (Patna).

16. All these poem nos. are collected from the Mitra-Majumdar edition of Vidyāpati.

17. Few pages of this Ms were copied for me (from a printed copy of 1902 A. D.) by Dr. Brajkishore Varma of Bahera, and they are with me.
the patronage of a king of the Droṇavāra dynasty, named Purāditya, who is said to have killed one Arjunasimha. It is a Sanskrit work on the form of letter-writing. It was for the use of the public to maintain the formal dignity of courtly life. It is a very important source for the study of the socio-economic history of Mithilā. A critical edition of this work is yet a desideratum.

(vii) Gāṅgāvākyāvali—it is a poem on religious merit of worshipping the holy river and is attributed to Viśvāsa Devī, queen of Padmasimha.

(viii) Śaiva-sarvaśva-sāra or Śambhu-vākyāvali (as referred to in the 12th śloka). It is a vast treatise on the Śaiva form of worship and it is also attributed to the wife of Padmasimha. It is an encyclopaedia of the Śaiva cult.

(ix) Dūnavākyāvali—it is a book on religious gifts, attributed to Dhriramati, wife of Narasiṁhadeva. A manuscript of this work dated 1539 Samvat (1482 A.D.) is reported in Bhandarkar’s report for the year 1883–4 (P. 352). Raghunandan in his “Vivāhatattva” has extensively quoted from this work.

(x) Vibhāgasāgarā—it is a work on the law of partition of property and inheritance. It was composed at the instance of Narasiṁhadeva.

(xi) Durgābhaktitaraṅginī—it is a work on the form of Durgā worship of over one thousand verses and is regarded as the latest of Vidyāpati’s Sanskrit works. It was written under the patronage of Dhrasimha, Bhairavasimha and Chandrasimha—three sons of Narasiṁha.18

(xii) Varṣa-kṛtya—is now lost but we find its quotations in the Malamāsatattva of Raghunandan.

Gayāpttalaka—it is a manual of rites to be performed on the occasion of Śrāddha at Gaya.

Śaiva-Sarvaśvasāra Pramāṇabhūta Purāṇa saigraha.19

Manimaṇjari—a drama.20

Pāṇḍava-Vijaya—?21

Gorakṣāvijaya—a drama.22 A manuscript of this drama, copied at village Sundarauli by a Karna Kāyastha, Śri Bhagirath Kaṇṭha, son of Murāri Kaṇṭha, in excellent mithilakṣara, is preserved in Nepal and it has been recently published by the All India Maithili Sāhitya Samiti, Allahabad (1961). It was composed on the occasion of Bhairavapūjā under the orders of Śivasimha and he is also named in the bhanitās or the songs.22

Dvaitanirnaya—a Tāntric work23—(?)

According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, Vidyāpati was also the author of Vyāḍi-Bhakti-taraṇī— a work dealing

19. MM—Op. Cit.—Introduction PP. 13 and 22. It is said that a copy of this book is in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga. I have not been able to verify it.

20. Shivanandan Thakur—Vidyāpati Thākur—PP. I8–49—Quotes the following—अदिशिककसिं परिषदा चदच श्री विभाषपतिनामपेशस्य कवे: कुतादिनय समिश्रबद्री नाम नातिका...

21. Ibid.


23. D. C. Bhattacharya—A Tantric work of Vidyāpati—in the JG(V),JRI (Allahabad)—Vol. VI. Pl. 3. pp. 243–47—(i) ‘शति श्रीविभाषपति विशिदते तेहातिनगिये दूर्दा तेहातिनगिये: प्रामय: परिच्छेदः; (ii) शति महामहोपाध्या ठंकुर श्रीविभाषपति विशिदते तेहातिनगिये पुराण तेहातिनगियेः समातः। The learned scholar has quoted extensively from the Bhaviṣyapūrṇa, where a very interesting account of Vidyāpati and his family is narrated.
with the details of snake-worship. The book is said to have been composed during the reign of Darpanārāyaṇa. It may be mentioned here that Narasimha had the Viruda of Darpanārāyaṇa. This work possibly preceded the composition of Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī.

(xx) He copied the Ms. of the Bhāgavata purāṇa. This Ms. in poet's own handwriting is preserved in the Manuscript Section of the Rāj Library, Darbhanga. A further search may prove useful in this respect. From the list of his works, collected here, it can be said that Vidyāpati was a voluminous writer on a number of subjects. There is no doubt that he was a versatile genius.

IV

The works of Vidyāpati, enumerated above, are invaluable source of history and it is on the basis of these sources that we intend to proceed further in our enquiry into the period. Hitherto, the date of Vidyāpati is a disputed point in the annals of Mithilā and all attempts to fix the date of this great poet have met with practically little or no success. The confusion, created by chronological irregularities on account of the variance of the L. S., the Śaka and the Vikrama eras, still persists and we have hardly any definite datum to start with. It is through his own writings that we can arrive at any particular conclusion. According to a Maithila tradition, Vidyā-

24. The Ms of this book is said to be preserved in the Dacca University Library—It contains the following lines—‘ति च मस्त प्रक्षिपार्जुक्त भूस्तिवर्तक गीतिपीटतारायण देवेन समरविजयसाठ श्रीचिंचापति कुली श्री ब्याजी—मल्लितरत्नाणि’ and just a step over this colophon, we find—‘अनुसंकांवि: दुर्गाभक्तितरांगिणि’.

25. Except Likhanāvalī (now out of print), Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī, Puruṣaparīkṣā, Dūnāvakaṇṇāvalī, Padāvalī, Kirtilata, Kirtipatākā and Goraṇa-vijaya, all other works are unpublished.
pati was a descendant of Chaṇḍeśvara. He is placed by some between 1360 and 1447 A. D. Vidyāpati had a long life and he served under a large number of the Oinwāra kings. From all accounts, only one thing is crystal clear and, that is, that Vidyāpati lived up to the age of eighty. In his Kirtilata, Vidyāpati has called himself a “Khelanakavi” and it can be presumed that he must have been very young at the time of its composition. At the time of its composition, he had hardly earned any renown as a poet.

Whatever sources we lay our hands at, we find that the differences of opinion occur. The process of computation of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era is not still open and above board. Vidyāpati gives two corresponding dates about his patron, Śivasimha, L. S. 293 and Śaka Era 1324. Assuming that the L. S. started in 1119 A. D., the total comes to 1119+293 = 1412 A. D., while according to the Śaka Era, it comes to 1324+78 = 1402 A. D. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say as to which of them is true. But this

much is certain that it is one of the solid data to start with, I strongly hold that any discussion on the chronology of Mithilā should be preceded by a discussion on the actual starting year of the L. S. era and its process of computation in relation to other Eras used over there. There are only two authentic dates in the life of Vidyāpati—(i) L. S. 291 (= 1410 A. D.) when a copy of the Kavyaprakāśa viveka was copied under his orders (I. G. Mss. No. 117 A—Colophon); L. S. 309 (1428 A. D.) when Vidyāpati himself copied the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. There is another evidence to show that Vidyāpati lived upto 1460 A. D. 27 It is generally believed in the Mithilā tradition that Śivasiṃha was ruling in Mithilā between 1410 and 1414 A. D. The chart showing the difference between the L. S. and other corresponding Eras has been drawn up by Jayaswal 28 and from that chart it appears that the starting point of the L. S. varies from 1108 to 1120 A. D. There is a striking agreement in the two corresponding dates, L. S. 505 (=1624 A. D.) and Śaka 1546 (=1624 A. D.), in a Ms. of the Śrīpitāttvāṃśa and here it is evident that the L. S. started in 1119 A. D. 29 There is yet another grant, of dubious origin, said to have been made by Śivasiṃha in favour of Vidyāpati. 30 In view of Vidyāpati’s own assertion, it is very difficult to call the Bīṣaphi Grant—spurious. 31 This grant gives us L. S. 293 as equivalent to Śaka 1329 (=1410 and 1407 A. D. respectively), but here we have to keep in view the

27. H. P. Shastri—Catalogue of the Palm leaf Ms in Nepal Darbar Library (Cal. 1905) P. 48...
28. JBOs—XX. 20ff; Cf R. L. Mitra—JASB—Vol. 47, PP. 398 ff. wherein he opined that the L. S. started in 1106 A. D.
30. IA—XIX. P. 1 ff.; Cf. the PASB of 1885—Grierson takes this grant to be spurious.
31. पंज्यापिय विविध संस्कृत भूप कृष्णरितिवेद निर्भास
बिस्मी भ्रामदन कर्ल नीति रहहत राजसनिधान।
date supplied by Vidyāpati in one of the Mss, discovered from Tarauni, where, L. S. 293 is equivalent to Śaka 1324. This point is very important in the sense that L. S. 293 has been used as equivalent to Śaka 1324 and 1329. The occurrence of various eras in the Biṣāphi grant has made the confusion worse confounded. According to a document, brought to light by Dr. Subhadra Jha (op. cit.—pp. 36–37), L. S. 566 is shown as equivalent to Śaka 1605 (=1683 A.D.) and if this calculation be taken as correct, we should assume that the L. S. was started in 1117 A. D. On the basis of the evidences, set forth above, it can be surmised that the difference between L. S. and the equivalent christian era was somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1119 and 1120 A. D., as would be amply illustrated by the chart prepared by Jayaswal, till the first quarter of the seventeenth century A. D. The two documents of Vidyāpati, referred to above, hardly admit of any correct verification in the present state of our knowledge. R. C. Majumdar shows that the L. S. varies between 1108 and 1120 A. D.

32. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Vidyāpati Paddāvali (2nd edition) P. 12—has equated L. S. 293 with 1400 A. D.—stating thereby that the era started in 1107 A. D.

33. R. C. Majumdar (edited)—History of Bengal—Vol. I. P. 232; Also Cf. JBORS—XX. 20 ff; Prāchīnalipiṇī (2nd edition) —P. 148 ff. Also Cf. Mm. H, P. Sastri—Introduction to Kṛtīlatā—P. 27; Cf. JBORS—XIII. 299 ff; IX. 47; also—Cf. J. N. Banerjea Commemoration Volume; The next earliest mention of the L. S. in Mithila inscription is in the Khejpur Durga image inscription and is dated L. S. 147. Cf. JBRS. 1951. The earliest L. S. era is on a terracotta plaque discovered by me from Begusarai and is dated L. S. 67—Cf. Select inscriptions of Bihar (Introduction and Text).

Also cf—My article on the Lakṣmanasaṁvāt in the Rahul Commemoration Volume of the JBRS.
Since the evidences regarding the date of Vidyāpati are conflicting, it is difficult to assign any particular date to our poet. Though he had attained popularity during his life time, his popularity grew more and more with the passage of time. Lochana (17th century) refers to him as a great genius. By the first half of the 17th century A.D., his eminence as a poet came to be recognised over a large area and his views on Navarasa had sufficiently gained ground. Vidyāpati's view has been extensively quoted by Pāṇḍita Chaturbhuj Misra in his Bhāṣā-Śāṅgāraha composed in Śamvat 1702. From a contemporary evidence, we learn that Vidyāpati had become famous for his Nachāris. It is with the help of these external and internal evidences that we can find some solution about his date. The poet was attached to the Oinwāra court for a number of years and a Mss. of L.S. 291 tells us the Śivasimha was a Mahārāja-dhīraja then. According to Shivanandand Thakur, Vidyāpati was born in L.S. 241 and he died in L.S. 329 but his statements are contradictory and does not, therefore, admit of verification. In the Kṛtīlata, Vidyāpati describes Bhogīswara as one of his patrons. This Bhogīswara was a contemporary of Firuz Tugluq (1351-1388 A.D.). Naturally the poet must have been advanced in age when he composed this. It was in L.S. 293—Śaka 1324 (=1402 A. D.) that Śivasimha ascended the throne. Since Śaka era is also given here and there is no difference of opinion about that, we have taken it as the authentic date and its equivalent 1402 A.D. as the

34. Rāgātaraṇī (Darbhanga-1935) P. 33-33.
37. Kṛtīlātā—P. 4; Gupta—Padāvali—P. 478.
starting point of Śivasiṁha's reign.40 Śivasiṁha ruled for nearly about four years and this date also fits in with the invasion of Mithilā by Ibrāhīm Shah41. Thirty two years after the death of Śivasiṁha, Vidyāpati saw a dream42 and this convinces us of the fact that Vidyāpati was alive in 1437 A. D. Besides a Mss. of 341 L. S. also refers to Vidyāpati. (i.e. upto 1460 A. D.). Keeping in view these two datums—the mention of Bhogiśvara and the Mss. of L. S. 341, we can tentatively suggest that the poet flourished sometime between 1350 and 1461 A. D. Tradition asserts that he died at the age of 90 or 97. From Bhogiśvara onwards, Vidyāpati served and sang under a number of Oinwāra kings and he has mentioned a large number of persons in the Kirtipatākā and the Gorakṣa Vijaya. Vidyāpati's existence in about 1453 A. D. is also supported by the fact that he wrote his Dānavaṃśyāvalī under the orders of Dhiramati, wife of Narasiṁha and Bibhūgasāgara at the instance of Narasiṁha himself. The contention, put forth above, stands further confirmed by the fact that Vidyāpati was an older contemporary of Pakṣadhar Miśra who is said to have copied Viśnupurāṇa in L. S. 345 (= 1464-65 A. D.).43 The discovery of the two silver coins of Bhairavasiṁha sets the matter at rest for the time being. These two coins give us the regnal year 14 and are dated in the Śaka era 1411 (= 1489-90 A. D.). The starting point of the L. S. is yet unsettled, though Altekar has tried to place it at 1200 A. D. (Vide Introduction to the Biography of Dharmaswāmi—edited by Roerich—

40. Cf. S. Jha—Op. Cit. P. 49—We cannot agree with him in the present state of our knowledge that “293 L. S. was but 1402 A. D.”
42. सपन देखल इम सिबसिह भूप, बतूसबरस पर।
42. Gorakṣa Vijaya—Introduction—P. 2. Vidyāpati is “likely to have lived between 1360 and 1448 A. D.”
43. JBORS—XXIV. 170 ff.
Patna—1959) and he has been followed in his assertion by Mm., V. V. Mirashi without any critical examination of the facts (Vide—Presidential speech at the 24th session of the Indian History Congress, Delhi—1961). Only few dates of the Oinwāra history are recorded in the Šaka era and they are—

(i) Šaka 1324 (1402 A. D.) in case of Śiva Simha,
(ii) Šaka 1375—Kandahā Inscription.
(iii) Šaka 1411—Coins of Bhairava Simha.
(iv) Šaka 1416—On the Mss. of Śūdhinirṇaya of Vācaspati Miśra.
(v) Šaka 1426—When Dānakūḍa of the Kṛtyakalpaturu was copied.
(vi) Šaka 1449—When Kāṁṣanarāṇya died.
(vii) Šaka 1329—in the Bisāphigrant.

On the evidence of these Šaka eras, we can assign a definite period to Vidyāpati. In Šaka 1324 (=1402-3) Vidyāpati was alive and Śivasiṁha seems to have been an independent ruler. It was in this status that he made a grant to Vidyāpati. In Šaka 1375 (=1453), Vidyāpati was alive when Narasiṁha was ruling. This is the first ever recorded Šaka era in the epigraphy of Mithilā. He had two sons, Dhārasiṁha and Bhairavasiṁha and both of them are associated with Vidyāpati. From the two coins of Bhairavasiṁha, we learn that Bhairavasiṁha ascended the throne is Šaka 1397 (=1411-14) =1475-76 A. D. and ruled up to 1494-95 (Vide the Mss of Sudhinirṇaya). Since Vidyāpati was alive in the reign of Bhairavasiṁha, we can safely say that from 1402-3 to 1475-76 A. D. he was an active participant in the Oinwāra Court. These two dates should act as lamp-posts in our endeavour to fix the date of Vidyāpati (Cf. my article—Currency of the Oinwāra of Mithilā and its bearings on the history and chronology—in the Indian Numismatic Chronicle—Patna 1962). In view of these new facts, we can place Vidyāpati between 1360 and 1480 A. D. though the above two dates are definitely clear. The fragment of Vidyāpati’s Mss of the Bhūparikāna contains
a date in the post-colophon statement, namely, 1480 (Cf. JBORS—IV. P. 19—H.P. Sastri's article).

V

Vidyāpati was a man of great learning and was held in high esteem by the rulers of Mithilā. He took to the life of a courtier quite early and remained attached to the court for a long period. As such his knowledge about the actual political and cultural conditions of the period must have been first hand because we find him sharing the fate of his rulers in times of their happiness and sorrow. We find that Vidyāpati generally chose his themes from history, not only of Mithilā but of India. Most of the Hindu and Muslim characters of his writings are well-known historical personages. The importance of Puruṣaparikṣa as a source of history can not be ignored. A critical textual editions of this text is yet a desideratum. There are many editions of this work. Late lamented Dr. P. K. Gode informed me that there were five Mss. of the PP. in the collection of the Bhanḍarkar Oriental Research Institute and one of them was above five hundred years old. The book, under reference, is extremely useful because it illustrates morals from the examples of contemporary social life and the range of the choice of historical examples does not exclude the Muslims or the Lower orders of India. His other writings also throw sufficient light on the social, economic and religious life of Mithilā, which was, then, the homeland of various learned refugees from different parts of the country. In the medieval period, Śrāvī formed one main stream down which flowed Sanskrit thought in Bengal and Mithilā. It engaged the attention of numerous scholars and our poet was no exception to the rule. These works are of great importance to a student of social history. They furnish us with a mass of infor-

mation bearing on the social and religious life of the people. Kirti-lata, besides being important for the study of Mithilā, throws a flood of light on the Turks and the Turkish court in India. Whatever he has written here is on the basis of his own experience. In his description of the invasion of Mithilā by the Sharquis, he has drawn a pen-picture of the naughtiness, sexual indulgence and the unmanly treatment of these Turks. Hence it is evident that a thorough and critical investigation into his works would certainly reveal to us the actual state of culture then obtaining in our glorious land. In filling up the gap of a real people's history of this region, we shall have to take recourse to these literary sources, when other sources are lacking. A survey of this treasure house of knowledge will certainly open a new vista for the social and cultural historians.

There is nothing to doubt about the fact that Vidyāpati had a thorough historical insight. Puruṣaparikṣā is an evidence of this fact. But here a word of caution is necessary. He viewed things political from the standpoint of a courtier and, therefore, lacked the strength of poets like Chaṇḍidāsa and Chaitanya. His being a courtier does not, in any way, mar the beauty of his poetic excellence as he was a born genius. Every court poet has his limitations and our poet was not an exception. An impartial writer, unconnected with the court or the palace, will never use hyperbolic expression because he has not to satisfy the whims of any body, but a writer, maintained by a court, can not claim such liberty of expression as a matter of right. Vidyāpati's power of description is marvellous as all his works would amply show. It may be noted here that his conservatism also stood in his way in looking at things scientifically. He believed in the old social order, based on the Varnaśramadharma and any violation of this system was a source of anxiety to our poet. A typical instance of this aspect of his character can be gleaned through the pages of the Kirti-lata. The passage also refers to the declining moral standard
of the people and the poet bewails. By anarchy our poet did not mean the political aspect of the question but only the social aspect. When the social system based on the Varnāśrama began to crack, our poet felt anxious. His conservation did not allow him to make a sharp break with the past. The conditions were also not favourable for such a sharp break. Like his early and later contemporaries, Vidyāpati, with all the qualities of a great poet and artist, failed to create a school of his own because of his long association with the court life and conservative social and economic outlook. But the fact remains that to understand Vidyāpati is to understand Mithilā and Vice-Versa.


Also Cf. Haraprasad Śāstri—in his introduction to Kīrtitata—Says—

“For the causes of conservatism in Mithilā during the period under review—Cf. K. P. Jayaswal & A. Banerji Śāstri—Search for Sanskrit & Prakrit Mss. in Bihar & Orissa (Patna—1927) introduction only.”
Viewed from the standpoint of cultural history, Vidyāpati is a mine of information as he throws sufficient light on the life and conditions of the people of northern India in general and Mithilā in particular. The distinctive feature of the social structure of medieval Mithilā was the existence of numerous castes and subcastes. On account of the advent of the Islam, the rigidity of the caste system was getting slackened and the relative positions and privileges of different castes were undergoing transformation. The essentially proselytising nature of the faith of Islam⁴⁶ and the professions of social equality and fraternity among its followers opened its door wide to the lower orders of the Hindu society. Its offer had an additional force because it came from those who ruled over a greater part of India and possessed unlimited resources. Hinduism was, thus, faced with the ominous prospect of its number being reduced and gradually being absorbed into the growing field of Islam. The Hindu Caste System, based as it was on the doctrine of Karma, (i) led to the creation of a lesured class composed of the learned and strong with supposed inborn attitudes and inherited privileges; (ii) another class composed of labourers who were assigned a degraded social status and finally (iii) it invested this ingenious arrangement with the most sacred and positive sanctions. The argument was purely scriptural and it placed the inequalities of the caste system on a moral order of which God's will was the guardian and embodiment and the created beings had only to thank themselves for their plight. Hinduism tried to raise a bulwark against the rising tide of Islam by making certain concessions in reclaiming the higher classes back to their old privileges. For a time, it had nothing to offer to the lower classes who began to develop new philosophy of life.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. E. Carpentier—Theism in Medieval India (London 1921)—P. 321—for details.
for themselves and gradually developed the theory of the Bhakti.

The Bhakti ideal stressed love and preferred ultimate salvation to immediate one. In our country, through the centuries, there had been a see-saw struggle between the trend of caste crystallisation, based on social or institutional rather than organic or spiritual heirarchy, and the egalitarian trend, rooted in the conception of infinite worth and dignity of the universal man, that recurrently challenged the traditional social stratification. Between the 13th and 15th centuries of the christian era, the traditional social structure underwent a profound transformation which focussed and intensified the forces that were bringing about new caste alignment. The love, compassion and service, preached by the social reformers in medieval India, belonged to all caste men and it was preached that in this ideal scheme of Bhakti, the greater was the opportunity for receiving God’s prasāda i.e. grace. These reformers had a more significant social levelling influence due to the relative absence of caste rigidity among them. While the process of assimilation was discernible, the digest writers of medieval Mithilā emphasised the necessity of maintaining the Varnāśramadharma, which, according to our poet, meant the observance of the respective duties of various cates. The society was conditioned by economic factors. Alteration in the economic position went a long way to modify the social position of the erstwhile higher and privileged classes. An important factor in the economic life of the people was the administrative machinery. It shared the fruits of the peasant labour, the economic framework of the society worked as

47. Radhakamal Mookherji—The Indian scheme of life (Bombay—1951) P. 16.
49. Ibid—P. 55.
CHAPTER I

best as it could within the limits of its productive capacity. It involved division into classes, disparity of income and a general degradation of the status of the productive labourers. All these factors had to be adjusted with the social system. Through generations of exclusive employment and inherited traditions of efficiency and skill, the quality of the product was excellent and their artistic value was great. The social status and the limited opportunities of village craftsmen discouraged them from making progress beyond certain limit. The peasants and industrial workers lived on a bare pittance.

In the words of Sir John Marshall, seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations so vast and so strongly developed yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and the Hindu meeting and mingling together. Islam profoundly influenced our system and vice versa and that ultimately led to the establishment of medieval theism. The increasing emphasis on monotheism, emotional worship, self surrender and laxity in the rigours of caste were the direct results of our contact with the Islam. The efforts to seek new life led to the development of a new culture. India absorbed certain foreign elements and out of this ferment arose new types of reformers. Mysticism marked the beginning of theological scholarship. Mithilā came to be recognised as one of the important centres of Sufism. There was a fine mingling of Sufism and Bhaktism. The contact between the two cultures gave rise to mystical institutionalism. Sufi conception of a deified teacher was incorporated in medieval Hinduism. The elevation of different vernacular languages was brought about by the contact with the Muslims. It is too well known to be attested that our provincial literatures started with the triple legacy of religion, emotionalism, humanism and doctrinal dissent of love, intuition and man. The Vaiṣṇava poetry of Mithilā and Bengal symbolised the creative power of society and the individual. Curious syncretic cults
and practices arose. Hindus and Muslims developed common traits, habits and culture as one people in the rural areas and in the urban areas there developed a highly intricate and sophisticated common culture. The *Indo-muslim* architectural style represented a complete harmonisation of the artistic spirit of Hinduism and Islam and nowhere does it become more clear than in the Mosque at Ahmedabad and Jaunpur, a fact attested to by our poet in the *Kirtilata*.

Even when such a process of cultural assimilation was going on and an attempt for the unity of outlook was transcending the local and provincial barriers, nothing positive could come out. The urge towards political unification was counteracted by the vastness of the country and the absence of the adequate means of communications. Even then, the great reformers tried to take note of the change that was occurring and they acted accordingly. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is of opinion that the simple faith and democratic ideals of Islam produced a ferment which was focussed by Chaitanya and he had disciples from the lowest strata of the Hindu society and among the Muslims. In so far as Mithilā is concerned, it may be noted that it was the only semi-independent Hindu State surrounded, on all sides, by the muslim rulers. The Mithilā rulers were nothing if not extremely conservative. They failed to keep pace with the growing needs of the time and became rather hardened with their conservative need. It was under the patronage of such rulers that Vidyāpati lived and wrote and under the circumstances, it was impossible for him to make any sharp or remarkable break with the orthodoxy of his rulers. The social attitude of the period is clearly reflected in the contemporary Sanskrit writings. While the kings of Bengal patronised and encouraged the growth of provincial literature, their counterparts in Mithilā paid special attention to the study of Sanskrit. The Oinwāra rulers' patronage to Sanskrit attracted the attention of a pilgrim from Prayāga. During the period, under

review, Mithilā continued to be the homeland of Sanskrit studies with special reference to Nyāya and Smṛiti. Smṛiti was allied with the mimāṃsā system of Hindu philosophy. A host of Sanskrit writers influenced the social outlook of the people of Mithilā. We have an abundance of images from the court life in the poetry of Vidyāpati and some of them also owe their origin to the social needs of the people in general.\(^5^2\)

VII

The geographical factors also influenced the character of the people of Mithilā and according to Grierson, it was a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms. It has not changed its ancestral peculiarities. Mithilā has been a land of rivers. With the Himalaya in the north, Ganges in the south, Gaṇḍakī in the west and Kosi in the east, Mithilā was assured, far more, of her security than other contemporary rulers. This sense of security in the past, provided by geography, made the Maithilas complacent of their strength and they did not pay any heed towards manly acquisitions or royal responsibilities. Wealth and security in a secluded atmosphere enabled them to care more for their luxuries and at the same time to encourage traditional learning which might help in giving legal sanctions to their extravagant ways of living. To these rulers, people, as a whole, did not matter much. The security of the state was a lookout of the rulers who acted with expediency according to the time and circumstances. Security, sometimes, was purchased for freedom. No attempt was ever made to move the people for the sake of the country. This seclusion made them proud of their merits.\(^5^4\) All these resulted in making Mithilā a

\(^{52}\) \textit{HML—I. 161.}\n
\(^{53}\) \textit{Linguistic Survey of India—V. II. P. 4.}\n
\(^{54}\) Cf. पुरुषपरीक्षा (भीतिबिच कथा) — अहो तीरंभुकिवि: स्वमावाद् गुणमार्गिणः भवर्ति ।
static country for centuries to come. According to Grierson, the people of Mithilā are guided by the mint, anise and cumin of the Brāhmaṇīc law in their everyday life. She even guarded with extreme jealousy her teachings and there sprang up rigorous institutions. This exclusive isolation and fear of being polluted prevented her from taking inspiration for writing folk-lores and other things from the sources other than Sanskrit. Even when borrowing from the Sanskrit literature, they relied mainly on the Epics and the Purāṇas. Vidyāpati, too, drew mainly from the Purāṇas. The Maithila scholars intentionally avoided borrowing from the Buddhist and other anti-vedic sources. Buddhists and materialists are described as heretics. The Maithila tradition, represented by our poet, advises us to follow the path that has come down in the tradition of our birth. Ganges was the dividing line between the Brāhmaṇīc culture of Mithilā to the north and the Buddhist culture of Magadha to the south. Since the days of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mithilā had been the cradle of the vedic civilisation, great stonghold of the Brāhmaṇīc culture and traditional learning. The geographical factors were responsible for the insularity of Mithilā.

VIII

For sometime, Vaiśālī remained the centre of the Jain, the Buddhist and other heretical thoughts. As soon as the last great Buddhist emperor Harṣa passed away, all possibility of any royal support to Buddhism died out and the sponsors of Brāhmaṇīc faith raised their heads to exterminate the Buddhist. We shall revert to it, later on, in details. For the present, it may be noted that Kumārila and others did every

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56. Grierson—LSI—IV. 126; Also consult his Edition of the Purusāparikṣā.
thing within their power to uproot the tenets of Buddhism. Anandagīrī, in his Śaṅkaravijaya, refers to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, as an indefatigable and brilliant scholar, in glorious terms for organising repeated massacre of the Buddhists. His Karika or the versified account of the ritual appears to be the oldest. The name of his famous work is Tantravārtika. He regarded the Mahābhārata as a work of sacred tradition intended for the instruction of all the four castes. According to a tradition, his connection with Mithilā was very intimate because his own student Maṇḍana was married to his sister, Bhāratī. Kumārila was determined to bring Buddhism to an end and when he could not achieve his end, he burnt himself in a sacrificial fire in Orissa. After Kumārila Maṇḍana Miśra comes another brilliant star, Maṇḍana Miśra. He is one of the few illustrious names in the cultural history of India in general and Mithilā in particular. Maṇḍana was an upholder of the Vedic social order and the Varnāśramadharma. He was of the opinion that whosoever ruled was to be accepted as a Kṣatriya. He wrote his famous treatise—Mimāṃsānukramaṇīkā—on vedic rituals and orthodox behaviour. He was exhorted by the famous Śaṅkarācharya to take to Saṅyāsa. He wrote a marvellous work—Naiskarmya-siddhi, wherein his impatience with human suffering finds eloquent expression. He gathered round him a band of scholars and if traditions are to be relied upon, his maid servant was also a great poetess. His another important work is Vidhiviveka. According to Maṇḍana, āsraya (seat) of avidyā is the Jīva and his theory of Avidyā-Nivṛtti is identical with Brahma-Jnana. Thus it appears that he belonged to an earlier School of Advaita-Vedānta.

58. Cf the article in the JBRS—XLIII.
Vācaspati, who followed Maṇḍana, was fully conscious of the suffering humanity and he dedicated his whole life in expounding the views of earlier thinkers on the problem of human welfare. Vācaspati was one of the master minds and his work, Bhāmati, (written after the name of his wife) is yet a problem to philosophers and thinkers. Vācaspati was followed by another great scholar, Udayana, who was a strong supporter of the Vedic social polity and fought, with all the strength at his command, against Buddhism. Under the Karṇāṭas (1097-1325 A. D.), the Brāhmanical studies were vigorously pursued at the encouragement of the rulers. The whole period was confined to Brāhmanical literature and ritualism. The main object was to regulate the daily life of the people and to counteract the social and religious disturbances. An eyewitness account of the thirteenth century A. D., Dharmaśāmī (a Tibetan traveller), clearly states that though he was a Buddhist, the ruler of Tirhut, Rāmasimhadeva, offered to him the post of the chief priest. This is just an example of the fact that the spirit of tolerance was still there. The antagonism to Buddhism gave rise to New Logic or the Nyāya in Mithila. Udayana, a great logician, was one of the greatest adversaries of the Buddhist faith. Gaṅgeśa wrote with the object of contending the principles of Buddhism. We shall revert to these points, in detail, later on. These eminent

60. Cf. a passage ascribed to Yajñavalkya—वामस्य तत्वं विशेषं मिथिलान्तक:—i.e. the path of duty can be known from usages of Mithila.

61. Cf. My article—*The Karṇāṭas of Mithilā*—in the *ABORI*—XXXV. 91 ff; My article—*“Mithilāka Saṁkhiṭa Rājanitiik Itihāsa” in Vaidehi Visheshānka of 1960, and Mithilāka Saṁkhiṭa Saṁskriñik Itihas—in Vaidehi Visheshānka of 1963-4, Cf *TM*—Chapter V.

scholars succeeded in stabilising the supremacy of the Brāhma-
nical thought to be cemented later on by the Nibandhakārās
of Mithilā, among whom our poet too occupies a prominent
place. Thus the entire energy of the Maithila scholars was
spent not in bringing out only new thought, though it came
by the way, but in rooting out one of the most progressive
religious beliefs, i.e., Buddhism. Geographically isolated as
Mithilā was, these learned discourses on the Śmṛti rules and
regulations sealed her fate further and paved the way for
orthodox outlook and conservative thinking.

The Karṇāta period has been regarded as the golden age
for Sanskrit literature in Mithilā. Gaṅgeśa, Caṅḍeśwara and
Padmanābha Datta graced the Karṇāta period and Jagaddhar,
Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara, Vācaspati (ii) and Pakṣadvāra continued
their traditions in the Oinwāra period. The writings of
Caṅḍeśwara and Vācaspati (ii) are the most important
sources for the study of our period. The real purpose behind
these writings in medieval Mithila was to preserve the ancient
culture against Budhism. As the Buddhist attack was directed
mainly against the sacrificial rites and rituals, the Maithila
Nibandhakārās wrote books in support of these two aspects,
on the side of philosophy, it led to the creation of a vast
literature on Nyāya and Pūrva-Mimāṃśā and on the social side,
the Dharmaśāstra. These two branches reached their climax
in Mithilā. Books like Smṛtidarpaṇa, Smṛtimahāraṇava,
Chāndogyapaśiṣṭa, Śrāddhapañjikā, Paribhāṣa etc. were written
during our period and Lakṣmtadhara, Graheśwaramiśra,
Śrīdatta, Rudradhara, Caṅḍeśwara, Deveśwara, Gaṅeśwara,
Viśeśwara, Vardhamāna, Harinātha, Vācaspati, and others
flourished during the period under review. Various digests
were compiled. A big gathering of the Mimāṃsākṣas was
held at Mithilā at the instance of Rāni Viśvāsadevi in the
14th–15th century. Such was the cultural background of
Mithilā, when Vidyāpti flourished and wrote. It was by reason
of her secluded position that Mithilā has been able to preserve
her continuity in the evolution of a culture, peculiarly her own and also in retaining intact the fundamental truths embodied in Hindu culture. The comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Tirhut made it the centre of learning and culture in the middle age. Her connection with Tibet and Nepal continued.

IX

Feudalism reached its high water mark in Mithilā during the period under review. The institution of private property brought about a change in the social outlook of the people. Feudalism began early as in other parts of India but it stabilised itself during the Gupta period. Since then feudalism has been the basis of all social and political developments. Property came to be the source of all position and power. Even a rank in the court was to be determined by the closeness of relation with the monarch as well as by magnitude of the fief land. Caṇḍeśwara opined that the ministries are to be on a hereditary basis. This hereditary basis strengthened the bonds of feudalism and deepened the feudal tendency.

During our period, feudalism formed the basis not only of the social organisation but also of the polity. Various feudal titles like Mahāsāmantākhipati, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāmanḍalēśwara, Māṇḍalika, Sāmanta, Rāṇaka, Rauta, Thakkura, Maha-rāja, etc. are known to us from the contemporary inscriptions and literatures. All these titles are indicative of the feudal

64. Cf my article in the PIHC (1953)—Waltair session, and also my article on ‘feudalism’ in the JIH—XXXVII and XXXVIII.
66. Cf. MBH—Sabhāpārava—5.43; Manu VII 48s 54; Yajñavalkya—I. 312. The position, taken here, is not approved of by Kautalya, Somadeva and Sukra.
grades who mattered in the administrative set up. Sometimes the Sāmantas were appointed to look after the administration of a group of villages. Caṇḍeśwara, a feudatory himself, and a minister of the Karnāṭa dynasty under Harisimhadeva, has fully discussed the legal status of the feudatories in Mithilā. These feudatories excercised a good deal of influence on the day to day administration of the state. It was the obligation of the vassals to pay tribute to the king. While preferring the hereditary army, Caṇḍeśwara explains the cause of not preferring the Śrenībala which receive payment for their services. The feudatories had to attend the royal court on ceremonial occasions. These feudatories also made regular grants to their subordinates. These facts are supported by the contemporary literature and inscription. At times the ordinary people were harasssed by the feudal nobility. Here in India, much less in Mithilā, feudalism did not usher into a new era as was the case in Europe. The reference to forced labour and sale of slaves is indicative of the fact that the feudal Corvee had come to stay in this land of the Nibandhakāras. Feudatories also rallied under the banners of their rulers, going out on conquests. The clanish spirit of the medieval rulers and their intense spirit of jealousy, on account of their feudal divisions, accounted for the national calamity that befell us off and on. These feudal princes failed to make a common cause.

During the period, under review, in Mithilā, feudalism reached its apex. We are told in the Sugati-Sopāna that Gaṇeśwara presided over the council of the feudatory chiefs of Mithilā. He was himself the chief of those feudatories.

67. *RR*-60.
68. *Ibid*-4-5.
   Also cf.—a description about a Sāmanṭa in the Gvinda-mānasoltā. *MM*-Introduction-P. VII; According to the Mahābhārata and Manu, Rājās and Ādhīnaras were below the rank of a Samrāt.
69. That was the main cause of Hindu failure in the middle ages.
These feudal barons formed the cabinet under the Karnatitas. They ultimately became so powerful that the post of the prime minister became hereditary and three generation of Candéswara served under Harisimhadeva. These lords also acted as aide-camp of the kings of Mithilá. The different departments of state were under the control of these lords. We learn from the Prákṛt-painglan that Candéswara himself was a great baron and he had under him a protege named Haribrahma. They generally donated lands, tanks, temples and performed Tulōpuruśadāna or Yajña. The feudal chiefs are said to have checked the autocratic power of Sakrasiṁha. Candéswara takes all credit for victory in Nepál. The title ‘Thakkura’ is translated as barons in Mithilá. For Candéswara, caste in politics had lost all meaning, though the hold of religion on politics was yet a reality. The Thakkuras granted lands to the Bráhmaṇas at Simarāmpur and Vīrāswara built a palace known as “Ladder to heaven.” Candéswara’s king also was no better than a vassal and he supplied troops to the emperor. The Varnanaratanākara presents a picture of the contemporary social classes. Some of these classes do exist in Mithilá even today, attached to their master through the medium of land. According to Jyotiriśwara, a king is to be surrounded by Bhūpala, Māndalika, Sāmanta, Rajāputra and others etc. Sāmanta is also called a Rājasevaka. Mutual acrimony and jealousy among the feudal chiefs led to vicious atmosphere. They controlled the entire economic and political life of Mithilá. Vidyapati reveals to us that the barons had turned cheats.

70. Cf.—my article—The Karnatitas of Mithilá—in the ABORI—xxxv. 91 ff.

71. RR—Introduction.

72. Ibid. 70-74.

73. Cf—First volume of the Publications of the First All Indian Maithili writer’s conference held at Darbhanga in 1956—Papers Published in the History Section, Cf—Sugati-Sepāna.

74. RR—4.

75. JIH—xxxviii—202 ; 76—Ibid.

labour was a common feature of the feudal society of Mithilā. But whatever be the nature of feudalism in India, it must be said that feudalism developed here in a way different from the west and the conditions here donot call for any similarity of means and methods. In Mithilā, it developed in a different manner and on a differen basis altogether. Though the set up in Mithilā was feudal, conditions had begun to change and Mithilā’s contact with the other states was growing. It was under such conditions that our poet lived and wrote. He was himself one of the participants in the history of Mithilā and he shaped its course for about eight decades, if not more.

78. Cf El—V. 118—141; III. 221—224; xxvii. 41—47—In the Rāstrakuṭa inscriptions, we come across a peculiar type of feudal land holding barons.—Also Cf—Kosambi ( D. D. )—An introduction to the study of Indian History—PP. 355—56 for the nature of Indian feudalism.
CHAPTER II

POLITY

I

The tradition of an independent political system is as old as the vedic literature in the history of Mithilā. The old monarchical system was replaced by a republican institution in the Buddhist period and the Vajji constitution represented the earliest type of democratic republic in our country. The Lichchhavī constitution was thoroughly organised on a sound basis. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya also influenced the political thought and ideas of the country. The Lichchhavis seem to have enjoyed some sort of autonomy even during the Mauryan and the succeeding periods of our history. Vaiśāli maintained its position for several centuries and even one thousand years after Buddha, we find it as the capital (*Adhiśṭhāna*) of a province of the Gupta empire. Vaiśāla, in the Gupta period, was the capital of Tirabhukti. Tirabhukti continued to be a province under the succeeding emperors and empires and the recent discovery of a copper plate of the later Guptas, discovered from the district of Muzaffarpur, further confirms this point. Somadeva, in his *Yaśasatīlaka*, has given a description of the soldiers of Tirhut. He pays glowing tributes to the Tirhut regiment. Even during the early medieval period, Mithilā, in the background of her ancient past, developed a political philosophy and a system of administration. Under

1. R. K. Choudhary—*History of Bihar*—PP. 67–68; *Select Inscription of Bihar*—s. v. Vaiśāli Inscriptions.

2. Unpublished—its text was communicated to me by the late lamented Dr. A. S. Altekar for my study.

3. Cf. *Yaśasatīlakasandha*—edited by Handiqui—
the Kārṇāṭas, the administration of Mithilā was thoroughly organised. The origin of Mithilā polity can be traced to our ancient political system. In the medieval period, digests of Hindu Law began to be compiled and composed and that marked a new stage in the Arthashastra literature. Somadeva and Lākṣmi-dhara Bhaṭṭa were the two prominent writers of Digests in the middle ages. We further learn from the Vīḍāratnākara of Čaṇḍeswara, that Gopāl composed a digest known as Kāmadhenu.

All these go to show that a new trend to present the digest was coming into light. Čaṇḍeswara, through his Rājanitira-tnakara\(^2\) (a) introduces a new branch of literature. In the branch of politics, the RR is possibly the oldest work in Mithilā. The most remarkable and perceptible change is the adoption of the title Rājaniti instead of Daṇḍniti or Arthashastra. Čaṇḍeswara was followed by a host of writers in Mithilā. Misaru Misra’s Vīvadachandra, Vidyāpati’s Bibhāgasāra and Puruṣaparīkṣ Vardhamāna’s Daṇḍaviveka, Vācaspati’s Vyavahāracintāmaṇī are some of the important works dealing with the Law and legal and administrative matters and as such they are important for the study of contemporary polity. The Oinwāras witnessed the same administrative pattern as that of their predecessors. The question of independent monarchy had receded into oblivion at the time of the composition of the RR. Lawgivers like Vācaspati, Vardhamāna, Pakṣhadhara, Keshava and Narhari etc., continued the tradition of writing digests. Numerous books on the laws for sale, inheritance, loans, possessions, barter, repayment of debts, legal possessions, ownership of

\(^2\) (a) RR—It is divided into 16 chapters—dealing with—( 1 ) Kingship; ( 2 ) Ministers; ( 3 ) Minister of Religion; ( 4 ) Lord chief Justice; ( 5 ) Councillors; ( 6 ) Forts; ( 7 ) Discussion of Policy; ( 8 ) Treasury; ( 9 ) Army; ( 10 ) The commanders-in-chief; ( 11 ) Ambassadors; ( 12 ) Administration; ( 13 ) Exeutive Authority and Punishment; ( 14 ) Abdication and Appointment; ( 15 ) Appointment of a new king by the Minister of Religion and ( 16 ) Coronation. The text has been edited and published by K. P. Jayaswal.
land, rights and privileges of monarch, etc. were written in the tradition, initiated by Caṇḍeśwara. Murari Miśra’s Ekādaśyadīkharaṇa is a unique book on polity and it deals with the domestic and foreign affairs. This book was written as a sequel to his own work “Bādhābhuyuchchaya Lakṣaṇa” i.e. old political obstacles. Caṇḍeśwara was not only a scholar but also an administrator. It has been rightly pointed out that the “traditional inverse proportion between scholarship and wealth did not hold good in his case.”

With Caṇḍeśwara came a change in the political thought in Mithila. He was intelligent enough to keep pace with the growing needs of the time. He had the boldness to differ with the other Dharmaśāstra writers and their theories. He took a liberal view of the rights and duties of a king and citizen. His king was no despot. Caste in politics had become bankrupt in fact as we find that Caṇḍeśwara did not attach any importance to it. It is here that he differed from the other Dharmaśāstra writers and thereby displayed his quick changing aptitude. The king need not be a kṣatriya but he should justify his position by giving protection to his people, and should always seek their welfare and progress. He should be capable of leading the society. Caṇḍeśwara did not attach any importance to the sacrament of coronation as he did not think it essential for kingship. In this respect, we can call him a realist who was not blind to the stark reality of his age. The establishment of Muslim rule had nipped in the bud all hopes of Hindu monarchical revival. There was no way out but to change with the time and herein lay his originality. Inspite of all these, most of his views are traditional. The change in his attitude was due to the fact that he contemplated a dependent Hindu King (i.e., the Karada King).

Caṇḍeśwara influenced Vidyāpati in so far as the latter’s political ideas are concerned. Vidyāpati’s views are preserved in his Puruṣaparikṣa but it should be borne in mind that his views in the PP are not the only nor the final word which

he pronounced on the subject of politics. In order to assess the importance of Vidyāpati as a political thinker, it would be advisable to assess the part which politics played in the formation of his unique personality. Everything about him bears the true mark of greatness. He employs real historical characters to exemplify the truths he has mastered and the message he intends to convey. His allegories, throughout his writings, his interpretations of kings, countries and his symbolism are all laden with politics. His interest in politics seems to have been determined by his love for the kingdom of Mithilā in which he took active part. During his long span of life, he was not a silent spectator of the turmoil and ever-shifting fortunes of the Oinwāras of Mithilā. Mithilā was, then, one of the centres of Hindu kingdom and Vidyāpati was its great citizen. To Vidyāpati, Mithilā was a well-defined unit, with her clearly marked geographical features and boundaries, her language, customs and civilization. Mithilā was the object of his passionate love. It provided the basis of his notions of the state. The vicissitudes of the political life also influenced his thinking. The kingdom of Mithilā was the first constituent element of Vidyāpati’s theory of politics.

It may be noted here that the existence of nearly Muslim kingdoms of Jaunpur and Delhi in the west and Bengal in the east made the benefits of political life extremely precarious. Misfortune enabled him to draw a fruitful lesson from the school of adversity to which he was admitted after the disappearance of his patron friend, the indefatigable hero, Śivasmīha. The Bibhāgasāra is an ample evidence of the fact that he did not lack in legal training. His knowledge of Law was much more than superficial. A full-throated supporter of monarchy, he regarded king as the source of all law. He expounded the theory of temporal as well as spiritual monarchy and that was consistent with the medieval tradition. It may be noted here that his political ideas are nothing more than a general systematisation of traditional arguments and can be traced back to earlier sources. The political ideas, enunciated by Vidyāpati and his eminent contemporaries, are all conso-
nant with the medieval philosophical and legal argumentation. Kautalyan argument for the national foundation of state as the realisation of human ends acted as a beacon-light to the later political thinkers and that was also responsible for the later scholastic conception, that is,—to keep the whole capacity of the potential intellect constantly actualised. This can not be done without unified direction by a single authority. As a court poet, Vidyāpati's respect for monarchy and monarchical form of government was naturally very high.

Medieval Mithila had well organised system of administration, patterned largely on older theories and practices. The writers of the period drew largely upon the ancient political thinkers and made or modified certain changes to suit the local circumstances, created by the then political conditions. We have an account of monarchy in Umāpati's Pārijātaharanātaka, the Varṇanaratanākara of Jyotirīśwara Thakur and in a number of other works written by Chaṇḍeswarā, Vidyāpati and Vācaspati. The codification of Laws, as a result of the advent and consequent stabilisation of the muslims in Indian political life, resulted in the regulation of conduct in various walks of life. The individuality of Maithila tradition is doubly proved by the intrinsic merit and innate strength of these Smṛitis inspite of age-old aberrations. Feudal lords dominated the political life of Mithilā under the Karnātas (1097-1325 A.D.) and they controlled the political power. Haribrahma, the protege of Chaṇḍeswarā, the mighty minister of Harisimha, wrote a panegyric on his patron and that is yet preserved in the pages of the Prakṛta-paṅgalam. The conditions in Mithila had changed and therefore books on Politics had to be adjusted accordingly. Chaṇḍeswarā's RR. in that sense is a typical book on polity and deserves special study. Jyotirīśwara, if read along

5. JBORS—XIII—iii—iv.
6. JASB (Letters)—XVI. 269.
7. A detailed account of the administrative system, as envisaged in Chaṇḍeswarā's RR, can be found in my chapter (chapter IV) contributed to the comprehensive History of Bihar (K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna) to be published shortly.
with Câñḍeśwara and Vidyāpati, can be taken as a reliable authority for a study of the political system of Mithilā. Jyotirīśwara has much to say on various aspects of polity. In so far as the concept of monarchy is concerned, he is further supplemented by Harihara’s Sūktimuktāvalī. Vidyāpati synthesises all the views propounded by other writers.

II

Both the Hindu and Muslim term for politics—Siyaṣat and Dāṇḍaniti—are identical in meaning and significance. The king was held to rule by divine right and to be, in a sense, a god himself, being only tied to the advice of a Monarchy Brāhmaṇa.\textsuperscript{8} If he violated Dharma, consolation could be drawn from the belief that the outraged Law would avenge itself on a tyrant in a second and an inevitable birth.\textsuperscript{9} It may be questioned under these circumstances if a feeling of patriotism ever extended to the people as a whole outside the ruling classes. We have an instance where the mother of Hammirdeva herself stops the Rājput chief from shooting his enemy, Alāuddin Khalji,\textsuperscript{10} and supports the moral rights of the Sultan to rule over the Rājputas. The king, in medieval Mithilā as in other parts of India, followed the old and cherished tradition of paternal monarchs, though this criterion, by no means, can be laid down as a rule for general application.\textsuperscript{11} The contemporary muslim thinkers

\textsuperscript{8} M.M. No. 9—Śivasimha is compared with Rāma in so far as the protection of religion is concerned and with Dadhichi in so far as Dīna is concerned. Vidyāpati calls him the eleventh incarnation—\textit{Ibid—}No. 89; an incarnation of Śiva—\textit{Ibid—}No. 140.

\textsuperscript{9} F. W. Thomas—\textit{Mutual influence of Muhammadans and Hindu in India} (Cambridge–1892) PP. 9–10. Also Cf. Nerukar—PP. 115.

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Todd—\textit{Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān}—Vol. I. 483; Also Cf. \textit{An Arabic History of Gujarat} (Edited by E. Denison Ross–London 1921–28)—Vol. II. 807.

\textsuperscript{11} Nerukar—\textit{Op. Cit.}; 72–73.
considered it to be a high duty of a king not to overlook any irregular acts of his officers. An ideal monarch should be (i) well-versed in the science of punishment; (ii) able to enjoy pleasure; (iii) able to conquer the four quarters; (iv) able to kill all his foes in the battlefield; (v) able to offer oblations to the fire; (vi) able to sacrifice to the deities; (vii) well-versed in learning and kind enough to distribute gold among the supplicants. All these could not be possible without an expert exploiting machinery of which the king himself was the head. Amir Khusrau has rightly observed—"Every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant" (cf. Kulliyat i-Khusrau).

When the Brähmanas themselves became king in Mithilā, they approximated to the Muslim ideal of a Sultan. Vidyāpati declared that plotting against the king was a sin.

Certain fundamental regulations had to be followed. A king should not be heedless in his own affairs as that would mean the loss of his kingdom. It was the duty of the king to protect his subjects and to subdue the wrong. The king should have paternal attitude towards all. He should not give away his rule to other as all men are to him but mercenaries. According to Candeswara, one who protects is the


"In order to hold a Land, one needs troop men;
In order to keep troops, one must divide out property
Only Law creates the riches of a people;
If one of these be lacking, all four are lacking
When all four are lacking, the dominion goes to pieces."

17. Ibid. Tale 13
king.\textsuperscript{18} He was to govern the people in the manner of a father governing his children. The paternal conception of kingship was based on righteousness.\textsuperscript{19} It was the duty of the subject to honour the king and in return the king was expected to protect and maintain them. It was the duty of a king to promote the good and destroy the evil. The fate of a country was linked up with its king. Knowledge in statecraft was considered essential for a king. The \textit{Sirāt-i-Firozshāhi}, supplements the existing Hindu sources on medieval political system. According to the \textit{Sirāt-i-Firozshāhi}, a king should keep himself conversant with every event and should take care in selecting officials and should also be able to strike awe in the minds of his enemies.\textsuperscript{20} It was the policy of the muslim rulers to heavily tax the Hindus with a view to reducing them to poverty.\textsuperscript{21}

Jyotirśvara, who guided the genius of Vidyāpati, was one of the few elites of Mithilā who helped in the formation of some specific Maithila cultural traits. In \textit{Kallola} 2, there is the description of a hero who should be expert in archery and skilful, well-versed in the use of thirty six kinds of weapons and in the eightyfour kinds of kingly devoir and polity.\textsuperscript{22} He has vividly described the court life and has given a long list of administrative officers.\textsuperscript{23} He also mentions the coronation ceremony.\textsuperscript{24} According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the list of officers and courtiers in the \textit{VR} is longer than any other contemporary lists.\textsuperscript{25} Jyotirśvara and Caṇḍēśvara thus complement and supplement each other. Both Jyotirśvara\textsuperscript{26} and

\footnotesize{18. RR—प्रजारक्षकोराजविन्य:— Cf. Raghuvanśa—1. 13—अर्थसंबंधेन्द्रेण श्रानुष्ठाग्न इवविभिः।
22. \textit{VR. XXVI} ; For administrative terms, see P. 8.
25. \textit{Ibid.} XXXIII.
Caṇḍeswara depart from the old titles of Arthaśāstra and Daṇḍanīti and they adopt the term “Rājñīti” (royal policy) for polity. Caṇḍeswara discloses to us the fact that there was a work attributed to Nārada dealing with politics. According to Jayaswal, the Ratnākara is thus valuable in the history of political literature and still more important are the norms which obtained at the close of the Hindu and the beginning of Muslim periods. There is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason. Caṇḍeswara has largely drawn upon the following twenty-five authorities and books—(i) Arthapradipavyāsa (P. 72); (ii) Arthaśāstra (P. 55); (iii) Katyāyana (P. 16, 20, 21, 69, 71, 77); (iv) Kāmandaka (33, 54); (v) Vācaspatayān (54); (vi) Kośah (or Amaraḥ)—(P. 11); (vii) Kośah-Kośakāraḥ (71–75); (viii) Kullukabhaṭṭa (P. 2); (ix) Gopāla (72, 75); (x) Guru (3, 33); (xi) Nārada (12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 56, 62, 68, 71, 77); (xii) Nārāyana (5); (xiii) Nārada (ntōḥ)—(3); (xiv) Rājānīto-nāradaḥ (P. 70), (xv) Nitiḥ (28, 31, 32, 43, 76); (xvi) Nitikalpataruḥ (8); (xvii) Padāṁ (70); (xviii) Pallavakāraḥ (16, 32, 37, 47, 48, 63, 70, 73); (xix) Prārtha (Navayaḥ) (22, 56); (xx) Bārhaspatyaṁ (70); (xxi) Bhūgawatāṁ (70); (xxii) Manu (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 76); (xxiii) Mahābhārata (3, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 39, 45, 67); (xxiv) Maya-Maitra-Viśālakṣa-Manu-Bṛhaspati-Sukraḥ (59); (xxv) Mitākṣara–63, 76. His indebtedness to Lakṣmīdhara is evident from all his works.

King was the chief administrative head in the scheme of Caṇḍeswara and he has rightly drawn our attention towards his divinity. The king was an incarnation of God on earth and the coronation ceremony was held in accordance with the Vedic injunctions. He held the view that a weak or an old

27. RR. Introduction—29.
28. Ibid. 29.
29. RR. 68—महती देवराजसूनरस्ते सत्तर्वति। He has stated it on the authority of Manu.
30. Ibid. PP. 70–74.
king should abdicate and go in for a life of austerity, penance and salvation.\textsuperscript{31} The coronation Oath, as laid down by Caṇḍeśwara,\textsuperscript{32} affirms that the country is god and that the king, in protecting it, will consider it as such. It is the duty of the king to protect his subject.\textsuperscript{33} He defines \textit{Rājadharma} as signifying “protection and benefaction of subjects.”\textsuperscript{34} He believes in the indivisibility of kingship and says—“leadership, if divided, would destroy the state.”\textsuperscript{35} On the authority of the \textit{Rājanitikāmadhenu}, he says that there are two types of king—“\textit{Akara}” by virtue of his prowess and heroism and “\textit{Karada},” dependent on some emperor. That king is happy who himself looks after his whole kingdom.\textsuperscript{36} He put forward the theory that the royal property was such as was owned by the whole people.\textsuperscript{37} He was a supporter of benevolent monarchy. A king should be just and honest. He should love his subjects in the manner he loves his own self and children. He should protect his subjects in times of peace and war and should act wisely on critical occasions to save his kingdom. Caṇḍeśwara envisaged a king who should not only be efficient in his own way but should be the master of details. He should be well-conversant with the minutest details of administration and should possess the ability to handle any situation, arising within or without, successfully.\textsuperscript{37(a)}

\textsuperscript{31} Devasiśa, father of Śivasimha, had acted accordingly.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{RR.} Introduction—P. 25 ff.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{RR.} 2.
According to the \textit{VR.} (P. 9)—a king should be—
\textit{धर्मभीरे भृगुपाले च । सत्त्वेवुत्कितं । शीर्ष वर्धानं । वामाधस्यक्षेत्रं ।}
\textit{परेषारं हरिः सर्वानं दृष्ट्यते गोविशा । मर्यादाने महोदिषि ।}
\textit{यज्ञाय महादेवं ।}
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.} 1.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.} 72.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.} 4.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid.} 72.
\textsuperscript{37(a)} \textit{VR.} P. 8—
\textit{संवैधानिकपूर्णराजा । P. 9. संवैधानिकपूर्णसंवैधानिकपरिश्रमः । संवैधिक}
\textit{संवैधानिक ।}
After finishing his daily usual rites, he should go to his harem in the noon. After his food articles are examined by aides, he should take them. After some rest, he should attend to official duties. He should be a Jitendriya. He should boldly discourage such things as are likely to make him weak and docile, that is, he should avoid intoxicants, anger, bad habits, etc. He should be considerate and well advised. He should divert his energy to secure the welfare of his people. In accumulating wealth, he should possess the qualities of Baka (or Duck), in preserving his strength, he should be like a lion, in diplomacy he should be intelligent like a hare and in dealing with his enemy he should be efficacious like a sheep. He should try his utmost to protect his kingdom by means of fortification. If the kingdom is lost on account of his carelessness and infatuation for things of transitory value, he is deprived of the help and co-operation of his friends and relations. When he grows old, he should call a meeting of all the prominent citizens and in accordance with the seven elements of state, he should hand over his kingdom to his eldest son. Caṇḍeśvara categorically says that a sinful king should not be honoured. At one place he says that in times of need even an undesirable king should not be left in the lurch. He compares his king with a Kalpabṛkṣa and since such a king is endowed with all the good qualities he is to be served by the people. He has further prescribed certain minimum standards of court etiquette and decorum. The court nobles should watch the movements of their king.

From the contemporary records, it may be assumed that there was some increase in the royal power. The king assumed such high-sounding titles as Paramēśwara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Mahārāpati, Kṣitipāla, Bhūpāla, Mithilāpati, Bhujabalabhima, Bhīmāparākrama, Dasamadeva-

38. Ibid. 60.
39. Ibid. 54.
40. Ibid. 51.
41. Ibid. 46.
42. Ibid. 48.
avatāra, etc. All these titles are evidently based on the model of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal. The tradition of the Pāla and the Sena administrative system seems to have been maintained throughout the period with necessary changes called for by the local conditions. Of course, the form of government was monarchical and the succession to the royal throne was based strictly on hereditary principles. The actual position of the Yuvaraṇa in the administrative setup of Chaṇḍeśwara is not very clear. Vidyāpati is very much indebted to Chaṇḍeśwara. He borrowed his political ideas not only from Chaṇḍeśwara but also from Kauṭalya for whom the poet had a great respect. In so far as Vidyāpati's conception of kingship is concerned, he almost literally follows Chaṇḍeśwara. His handling of the polity was naturally, therefore, traditional. What the poet has written about his patron, Sivasiṁha, is ample enough to demonstrate that the king was the essence of all existence, an embodiment of all light and the highest of all. Divine origin of kingship is already there. To Vidyāpati, a king was Ekādasa-avatāra, Deva, Naradeva, Narendra, Bhūmipati, Rāja, Prajāhipa, Nṛpa, Adhipati, Kṣitipāla etc., and certain emblems of royalty, as enunciated in the VR and the RR, are also referred to in the writings of the poet. Vardhamāna, in his Dandaṇviveka, suggests that a king should please his subjects by his action. The poet had a great love for the power and strength of a king.

Vidyāpati enjoins upon his king to possess a robust health for a perfect healthy body alone can serve the end of protection which is the principal duty of a king. He should have a clear knowledge of the scriptures and of the various Vidyās to aid

43. PP. Tale 20—Vidyāpati says—‘He ( Kauṭalya ) whose wrath hurled the nine Nandas to the abode of the god of death, and whose favour endowed Chandra Gupta, the Vṛṣala with a kingdom unopposed, he, Chānaka, a second Brahmā on this earth,........was famed all the world over for his learning and his wisdom.’

44. P. 8—समौद्य सच्चृतः सम्यक्सन्वारार्जचित प्रजा—

45. Cf. Śukranitisāra I. 363–64.
him in dispensing justice.\textsuperscript{46} Following Yajñavalkya,\textsuperscript{47} our poet holds that a king should keep all secrets of his government to himself. According to Vidyāpati, a king should aim at consolidating his power by fixing the roots of his policy deep into the hearts of his subjects which would engender good will in them for him, and in his way he could become unassailable. Although powerful, he should not proceed on the wrong path and he should be capable of suppressing troubles among his subjects. He should treat all with perfect equanimity. Destroying the enterprises of his enemies, he should be intent upon the performance of his own action and striking enemies on weak points, he should conceal his own defects with great care. He should be internally mild and externally cruel. On the authority of Kāmandaka, he also suggests that a good king should always follow a middle path.\textsuperscript{48} He should suppress all unworthy acts. In matters of statecraft, he should rely on the expert advice. He should try to run a benign government and he should not transgress the bounds of established order and should go by the path, shown by the science of polity. Following Umāpati, our poet also called his king \textit{Hindūpati}.\textsuperscript{49} It was the duty of the king to look to the

\begin{footnotes}
\item Our poet considered Śivasimha to be an ideal Hindu prince.
\item Cf. मन्त्रमुखे वेदो राज्यमतो गणे सुरक्षितम्.—
\item Mallīnātha in his \textit{commentary} on the \textit{Raghuvamsa} IV. 8, and VIII. 9—quotes the following—
\begin{center}
\textit{श्वरुचिवे प्रजाना स च समस्त:}
\begin{itemize}
\item \underline{\underline{x x x x x x x x}}
\end{itemize}
\end{center}
\begin{center}
\textit{दश्चेन नृपतिरस्वच्छ दंडः प्रशस्ते}
\end{center}
\begin{center}
Cf. \textit{Brīhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad}—I, 4, II—where Dharma has been equated with truth. Metaphysically Dharma is \textit{Ṛta} or the cosmic building of order, the eternal truth, holding sway over the Universe in the words of the \textit{Arthaśāstra}. According to the \textit{Sūttapāṇi}, Dharma analysis is the discernment of an eternal, orderly conditioned sequence of things.
\item \textit{MM. No. 57}—Umāpati in his \textit{Parijātaharana} called Harisimha the tenth incarnation, while Vidyāpati called Śivasimha, the eleventh incarnation.
\end{footnotes}
observance of the *Varnāśramadharma*. He regarded the monarch as more than a father.⁵⁰ Even earlier than Vidyāpati, Jyotirīśwara knew the essence of eighty-four kinds of kingly devoir and polity, beginning with the control of horses and elephants and ending in statecrafts and decisions at important junc-
tures. Jyotirīśwara’s king was endowed with mercy, charity and friendliness and all other qualities of a cultured folk.⁵¹

The king, according to Maithila thinkers, was perfect in himself. We have a fairly long account of the march of con-
quest of a king and the various kinds of horses and elephants and troops, arms and accoutrements of the men and animals and the sights and sounds on the march and the general state of things as a consequence.⁵² The chief task of a king, as thought of by a medieval maithila writer, was (i) to regain the hidden meaning of the holy vedas, (ii) to crush the enemies of the Brāhmaṇas and Gods, and (iii) to lift the load from the earth and cut off sin.⁵³ Thus in keeping with the earlier tradition of the majesty of kingly office, Vidyāpati also called his king, a protector of the Dharma, which essentially meant the protection of *Varaṇāśrama* rules. Loyalty was a precondition to all protection and the citizens were expected to be loyal to their masters. Religious sanctity was attached to the office of the king in view of the latter’s divine origin. Unquestioned obedience to the king killed the people’s incentive to goodness. Just as it was not

⁵⁰ PP. Tales 17, 18; Cf.—the last Maithili song of the *Pārijātaharana*—

कहाँ जाय परिजातहरणा। चाह वरण करसुनिश्चाजा।

बामन बेंद्र शेर आन पावे। सावुक संग आन जनु आवे।

Cf. the *Raghubhāṣa*—XIV. 67—

नुकसवारसभमानवरस एव वर्मोगुनुना प्रणोतः

⁵¹ VR. Kallola—2.

⁵² Ibid. Kallola—5.

⁵³ Pārijātaharana—P. 30—

भूमिभार नवाबरणाय दुर्गित्केणवशुधात्मनाम।

बेदाय व्यवहारणाय १ परिवाणाय भर्मेय १।

दरसव प्रशमाय दुसं मनसि देशविवधत्रिणाम्।

भृद्धिद्विदद्वाय च सयावलब्धवतारोभुवि।

4 M. V.
desirable to question the authority of god, so was the case with the authority of a king. The change had, no doubt, come after the impact of muslim invasions though the effect was not clearly discernible except in minor technicalities with which the peolpe were less concerned. Vidyāpati also indirectly refers to the coronation ceremony.\footnote{54}

Three classes of Sovereign have been referred to in the 
\textit{RR}—Samrāṭa, Rājā and Adhīśwara. The latter two were below the rank of a Samrāta. A Samrāta collected taxes from all kings.\footnote{55} In support his views, he quotes Manu and says that Sakaras or those paying tributes regularly were known as Rājās and the Akaras, those who paid tribute occasionally on the pretext of courtesy visit to the Samrāta, were known as Adhīśwaras.\footnote{56} Akara\footnote{57} Adhīśwaras were of two varieties—one who rules by his own prowess and awards punishment according to his own will and the other who is exempted from payment of tribute by favour of the emperor. An unnamed Sūrūti is cited in support of the second view. Sūrūti Rājās are also of two kinds—\textit{i) Adhikrtadaṇḍa} has the right to administer criminal justice and whose decision is final in civil case since there was no right to appeal to the emperor; and \textit{ii) Anadhikrtadaṇḍa}—having the right to administer civil justice but without any power to award punishment and having no jurisdiction over criminal cases.\footnote{58} Caṇḍeśwara wrote everything on the basis of the facts before him. Caṇḍeśwara’s own king, Bhaveśa, under whom he wrote his \textit{RR}, was a dependent king and that is why he propounded the theory of a Karada king.

Vidyāpati, who is said to have visited Jaunpur, transports his reader to the Sharqi capital in its best days. Of course the description of Jaunpur is without any admixture of the marvellous. He describes Ibrahim Shah as a powerful ruler and

\footnote{54} \textit{MM}—761—चुंबन राज करब पिजा आगे, कोचन कोरे करब अभिलेख। \footnote{55} \textit{RR}—4. \footnote{56} \textit{Ibid}—3. \footnote{57} \textit{Ibid}—4. \footnote{58} \textit{Ibid}—4–5.
has thrown light on the court etiquette and manners.\textsuperscript{59} To Vidyāpati Jaunpur was a second Amrāvati or Indrapuri and Ibrahim Shah was second only to God. The Sultan was surrounded by a large number of chiefs. Special rows were assigned to the nobles in accordance with their ranks. Distinguished visitors had to wait for being presented before the Sultan ceremoniously. Certain formalities of presentation\textsuperscript{60} were observed. Ibrahim Shah was the typical example of a liberal muslim Sultan who paid all attention to the solution of all problems facing the State.

The concept of the Bhaktimārga was exploited to the full to secure loyalty of the people for the ruling monarch. This essentially ancient term of spiritual importance was employed to give to the political relations between the ruler and the ruled a certain spiritual basis. The earthly\textsuperscript{61} despotic ruler was supposed to be an incarnation of god. The service of a master required a complete and unqualified surrender of personality.\textsuperscript{62} While we have the living examples of Gorā and Bādala, Marco Polo also refers to a rājā of Deccan, who had loyal nobles and who would even burn themselves with him if he predeceased them. The history of our period is rich in examples of supreme sacrifices in the service of a master. Muhammad Shah remained faithful to Hammiradeva until the last breath of his life. Our poet, himself, is the best example of loyalty and he remained as such to the Oinwāras till the last breath of his life. The Oinwāra officials were loyal to their masters.\textsuperscript{63} Vidyapati says—“Kingship’s rule as it were a tree, of which the threefold fruit is glory, virtue and happi-

\textsuperscript{59} Kirtilata (Saxena)—PP. 47–50.
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. my article—Jaunpur, as described by Vidyāpati, in his Kirtilata—in the JUPHS—1956–57.
\textsuperscript{61} Nerukar—120—for exposition and illustrations.
\textsuperscript{62} M.M—No.—774—२२म नर अथवा परम पतिता; Cf. Ibid Nos—775–775 wherein dependence of personality on various factors has been discussed.
\textsuperscript{63} Cf. Kirtilata.
ness; and if that fruit be not gained by a ruler, what need be there for his rule.\textsuperscript{64}"

Vācaspati, in his Vivādachintāmaṇi, opines that a king should be possessed of all good and sterling qualities. He should be impartial and honest. He shall never take the stridhana and that of the minors. He shall have the tenth part as customs duty and twentieth part on those of commodities imported from foreign lands. It this respect, he relies on Viśṇu. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the Hariharasuktimuktāvali\textsuperscript{65} are important in so far as the study of contemporary thinking about politics is concerned. The seventh chapter called "political" is an elaborate dissertation on political truths.\textsuperscript{66} In this section we get some references about the qualities of a king. A king should be (i) well versed in politics,\textsuperscript{67} (ii) equipped with fourfold\textsuperscript{68} niti; (iii) be prideless\textsuperscript{69}, and (iv) should be generous towards his subjects.\textsuperscript{70} He, also, is a traditionalist, though he emphasised the importance of wealth in the social setup.

Thus an overall picture of monarchy gives an idea of the fact that the Oinwāras inherited an organised administrative system from their predecessors, the Karnātas. Feudalism was the basis of political organisation and the king was considered to be an overlord. On the whole, the system was based on the traditional pattern. The overlord was supported by a host of nobles, designated also as Mahāmattakas and Sāmantas, who had strengthened their position in the then political setup. Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chaṇḍeśwara are some of the notable examples. Chaṇḍeśwar, himself, united the office of the Chief Justice with his other important portfolio. While

\textsuperscript{64} PP. Tale-5; Cf. PP. (Pāthaka)-45, 46—fate of State was tagged with the king or the Kṣitipālaka
\textsuperscript{65} Ramanath Jha—Harihar subhāṣita (Patna-1949)
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid—P. 26.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid—VII. 1.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid—VII. 2.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid—VII. 13.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid—VII. 17.
the king was the overall head, important branches of administration were under the supervision of departmental heads, who were, in their turn, responsible directly to the king. The king also granted 'Jūgir' to his employees in lieu of their services to the State. Though there is a reference to the Saptāṅga theory of State in the RR, it is very doubtful as to whether the State, in Mithila, consisted of all of these seven elements. The king also paid attention to the social aspect of the administration and it was one of his important duties to look to the maintenance of the Varnāśramadharma.\(^7\)

III

Generations of Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha families were associated with the rulers of Mithilā as ministers and in the later period it appears that the hereditary Council of Ministers principles were observed in the appointment or the Mantriparigad of ministers. On the basis of the panegyricical element in the literary sources, it may be suggested that there was a substratum of truth in it and the Brāhmaṇas, like the nobles of the Muslim courts, wielded a dominant power and strength in the royal court of Mithilā. Of course their intellectual qualities and political wisdom gave them a commanding position. The king, naturally, turned to them for the conduct of administration. The core of their strength lay in their feudal strength in land. The supreme position, no doubt, belonged to the king who was advised in all matters by a set of councillors. Chaṇḍeśwara has devoted a special chapter on the methods of appointment of councillors and other officers of the State. It was old dictum in our

\(^7\) Cf. Darbhanga District Gazetteer (old edition) P. 16; RR—P. 17; VR—is very important in the sense that no iota of information on the life of a man has escaped the notice of this encyclopaedic writer of Mithilā.

Cf. Vidyāpati—Kīrtipāñkā—P. 7—दरिखसमीरिकरणिणि सहिष्ठित that is, a king should wage a relentless war against poverty. Similar feeling finds expression in Sirāf-i-firuz Shāhī. Cf. PIHC—VI—236, 237 (Aligarh, 1943).
country that a single wheel cannot move, meaning thereby that the king alone cannot run the administration. The Maithila king carried on his administration with the help and advice of ministers and we have at our disposal a long list of ministers, who served under different kings. The RR\textsuperscript{72} has devoted a fairly long chapter dealing with the different qualities that go to make a good minister and their functions have also been categorically specified. It is during this period that we come across, for the first time in the history of Mithilā, an important official of the State whose status was like that of a prime-minister. According to Caṇḍeswara, a prime-minister should be righteous, wise, practical and fully acquainted with the activities of the State. He should preferably belong to royal blood. Only wise and experienced persons should be appointed to this post. Besides being learned and wise, a prime minister should be adept in the art of politics\textsuperscript{73}. He should possess a fair knowledge of "Sandhi, Vigraha,_Yana, Asana, Dwaidha and Aśraya. A king should not ignore his prime-minister rather he should entrust him with all his responsibilities and should always formulate his policies in consultation with him. The prime minister, in return, should identify himself with the king. The prime-minister was called Mahāmattaka\textsuperscript{74}.

A minister should love his work more than his own son\textsuperscript{75} and should always be devoted since an irresponsible minister, sometimes, destroys the tradition of a good administration. A minister should always be free from all economic and financial worries. He should always be happy and live in good company. Unless a minister is free from all worries, it would be difficult for him to think and deliberate upon the bigger policies of the State and advise the king in times of

\textsuperscript{72} RR—PP. 10–13.
\textsuperscript{73} RR—11.
\textsuperscript{74} We learn from the Aṇḍhrābhārhi and Haridīh inscriptions that the prime ministers were also known as Mantri—Cf. R. K. Choudhary—Select Inscriptio of Bihar—S.V., Mithila Inscriptions.
\textsuperscript{75} RR—10.
need. Čaṇḍeśwara, a veteran politician himself, occupied the post of a minister for a number of years. He was himself the Saṅdhivigrahika and Saprakṛtyā Mahāvartika-Naibandaṭhika under Harisimhadeva.⁷⁶ The use of the term Mahāmattaka, for prime-minister in the traditional sources, shows greater power and high pretensions of some of the ministers. These ministers used such high sounding titles as Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Māṇḍalika, Mahāmāṇḍalika etc. They were like the powerful barons of medieval England and their position in the State enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces. Verse 7, of the Kṛṣṇaratnakara of Čaṇḍeśwara, relates that Vireśwara after having stormed the enemy fort, excavated a big tank at Dahivata, a prominent city, and constructed a very high palace. He granted a city of Rāmapura to the Śrotiyas. Čaṇḍeśwara himself offered Tulāpurusadāna after his resounding victories in Nepal. During the period under review, importance of these ministers had immensely increased.

Čaṇḍeśwara has devoted sufficient space to deal with the qualifications and the manners of appointments of Sabhyas or councillors.⁷⁷ The State was taken as an organism and the councillors were the important elements of this body politic. According to Čaṇḍeśwara, king was the head, the chief executive was the mouth, Sabhyas were arms, Dharmasūstrās were hands, Gaṇaka and Lekhaka represented the thighs, fire and water were two eyes and the gold stood for the external internal eye in the body politic. The ’Sabhyas’ were to deli-

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⁷⁶. Under the Karṇāṭhas, there were Brāhmaṇa and Kayastha ministers and traditions continued under the Oinwāras. Śrīdharadāsa was a minister under Nanyadeva and that was the case with Ratnadeva, my ancestor. The descendants of these two Kāyasthas were the pillars of the Karṇāṭa administration of Mithilā. Śrīdharadāsa was also the Mahāmāṇḍalika and a descendant of Ratnadeva was given the title of Raṅgaśa a feudal designation. Vidyāpati also seems to have attained the status of a minister as in the Gerakṣavijaya he calls himself a Mahārāja.

⁷⁷. RR—18 ff.
berate upon all important matters relating to the State and helped in the formulation of royal policies. These Sabhyas had to swear oath of allegiance by gold and fire and in this connection, the ‘Sākṣi’, or the witnesses, also played an important part. It was prescribed that only such councillors should be appointed who are wise and intelligent, men of integrity and character, honest, truthful, learned and devoid of all bad qualities. Caṇḍeśwara made a departure from the past practices when he suggested that in times of emergency, when difficult problems arose and it was found impossible to arrive at any positive decision, a king, in such a situation, should not only depend on the advice of the learned Paṇḍitas, but he should call a meeting of the council and discuss all matters threadbare and, then, arrive at any decisions. In appointing councillors, a king should give first preference to a learned Brāhmaṇa, if not available, to a learned Kṣatriya, and if that is also not available, then to a learned Vaiśya. It was the duty of the king to see that no Śūdras are appointed as far as possible. In the different branches of administration only expert persons are to be appointed. Śūdras, in all cases, are to be avoided as far as possible. This was only natural for Caṇḍeśwara as tradition dies very hard. Following Manu he holds that the amātyas were to be appointed on hereditary basis.

Vidyāpati was of opinion that a minister should bear the burden of administration. It was incumbent upon a minister to find out the causes of discomfiture in the kingdom. If the king was going on the right track, it was expedient to arrange for some holy men to instruct him to the path of righteousness. The ministers had a right to summon holy men to bring the king on right track and even then if the king could not be brought to his senses, the ministers and the

councillors had the right to hold counsels and decide about the succession. They could even depose such kings. With regard to the ministers, whose appointment solely depended on the goodwill of a ruler\textsuperscript{83}, our poet sounds a note of caution when he says that disaffected ministers are not desirable for any State\textsuperscript{84}. The ministers were directly responsible to their masters and the moment they lost that confidence, they\textsuperscript{85} had to quit. They were the advisers of the king. Their security and tenure depended not upon the goodwill and confidence of a majority but upon the whims and caprices of individual monarchs. Inspite of all limitations, the council of ministers played a very important part in the administrative system. If the king was strong, ministers were kept under control otherwise the position was sometimes just the reverse. All important matters were discussed in the council and the decisions, thus arrived at, were generally not disregarded. The king could hardly dare disregard their advice in view of their strong positions as feudal barons. By virtue of their feudal position, they, in most cases, held the key of administrative machinery. The prominence, attached to these ministers by our poet, bears ample testimony to this fact.

The baronial position was the source of all strength to the council of ministers. These ministers, sometimes, carried on political mission and we are informed by Vidyāpati, that Śivasimha’s minister, Amṛtakara, was sent to settle some political matters with a muslim ruler. Almost all medieval governments had intensely exclusive aristocratic organisation. The ministers were generally confined to the cream of aristocracy. The game of war and politics was a preserve of the well-born aristocrats. It is doubtful if all the cultural groups were represented there. From Vidyāpati, we have a list of some ministers, names of which are indicated below\textsuperscript{86}——

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid}—37.
  \item \textit{Ibid}—32.
  \item \textit{Ibid}—41.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{83} Cf. my paper ‘The Kārgītas of the Mithilā’—in the \textit{ABORI} XXXV(91–121) for the powers enjoyed by ministers under them.

\textsuperscript{86} Cf. ( i ) \textit{Kīrtilata}—72—We find the name of Vīshakṣaṇa mantri.
(i) Achyuta—*mantri* of Śiva Simha.
(ii) Maheśa—
(iii) Ratidhara—
(iv) Ratipati and Śankara were great officers of the State—
(v) Vācaspati—was a Parisad.
(vi) Rāuta Rajadeva—a feudal baron.

The ministers, no doubt, bore the burden of administration and the king enjoyed the pleasure of life. All matters of the State were first reported to a minister so that he may know the cause and take necessary action. It was the duty of a minister to save the life of his king. All ministers were always eager to win the confidence of their masters. In all his viewpoints with regard to ministers, Vidyāpati has relied on all the traditional sources. Single-handed administration was never allowed in India by the political theorists.

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(ii) Peterson's *Third Report*—P. 322—Introductory Verse 3—names Achyuta—as a minister—

(iii) *MM*—Nos. 221–224—*मति महेशर ( =मंत्री महेशर)*

(iv) *Ibid* No. 225—*मति रतिघर—*

(v) *Ibid* Nos. 222 and 387 respectively—

(vi) Cf. the final Colophon of the *Śūdrāśarasūcintāmani* in R. Mitra—*Notices*—VI P. 22—No. 20015.

(vii) Cf.—*Kirtipatākā*—Rāuta Rajdeva was my ancestor.

87. Cf. *Raghuvansa*—XIX. 4. Kālidāsa says that the king, after having consigned his work to the care of his minister, solely devoted himself to the service of young women.


89. *Ibid*—37.

C. *PP*—(Pūthaka)–22, 84 ; 24, 38, 43, 45. Ministers were appointed by the king—Cf. P. 165, 168 ; for kings and ministers, P. 166, 198, 207.

90. Cf. *Manu*—VII. 30–31 ; *Yājñavalkya*—*BK*—I ; *Āś*—I. XV ; *Viramitrodaya*—P. 14 ; *Śukra*—II. 5–6. ; K. P. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*—II. 118.

91. *Śukra*—II. 1–8.
Only persons proficient in the science of polity should be appointed as ministers because only such persons will regard the king as Daṇḍadhara (sceptre-bearer) and dare not offend him. Śivasimha’s chief minister was well versed in niti (polity) and was always ready to help the Brāhmaṇas in distress. Mithilā had a long tradition of scholar ministers. According to Vidyāpati, work, character and merit were alone to be respected. All important matters were decided in the council and the council-chamber had a special significance in the administrative set-up. Generally the meeting of the council used to be held in the palace. According to Caṇḍeśwara, important decisions in the council should be taken either in the afternoon or in the midnight. While arriving at any important decision, both the king and the councillors should have free and open mind and at the time they should try to keep themselves free from all types of bad thought and feeling. All secret policies should be discussed but they should not be made public. If any policy is decided upon without due deliberations, that is just like a burning fire. There were various ministers besides the chief. The importance of the offices of Mahāsāṇdhivigrahika, Mahāmudrādhikṛta, Mahāsārvādhikṛta, Mahādharmādhyakṣa, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Prādvivāka, Dharmādhikaraṇīka, Purohitā, etc. had sufficiently increased. Besides these, there were Senāpati, Dūrgapāla, Sāmantā and Dūta. The VR mentions the following—Maṇḍalika, Sāmantā, Senāpati, Purāpati, Mantri, Purohitā Dharmādhikaraṇe, Sāṇdhivigrahika, Mahāmattak, Pratibala, Karṇādhyaṃkṣa,

92. Cf. Vidyāpati—नौकर निकुण गुण नाहे अंक में अतिशय आगर
93. PP—Tale—5, 6, 9.
94. Ibid—Tale—9—Vidyāpati calls Mudrārūkṣa as the masterpiece of Polity.
95. RR—27.
96. Ibid—28.
97. Ibid.
98. VR—P. 8.
Śāntikarnika, Sthānāntarika. We find frequent mention of a large number of officers in the contemporary records, both literary and otherwise. The powers and responsibilities were vested in the council of which king was the head. The contemporary sources further reveal to us that the powerful chief ministers also presided over the meetings of the council. All matters were brought before the council for discussion. The chamberlain had also an important place in the administrative machinery. Promotion to this office was regarded as a great honour and only acute and intelligent persons were appointed to this post.

The administrative departments were not few and far between and all of them were under the charge of respective ministers. The Department of peace and war was under the charge of Mahāsāndhivigrahiya. The history of this department can be traced back to the Gupta age. According to Mitākṣarā, a Sāndhivigrahiya could also issue royal grants. During our period, the meaning and significance of the term did not change and the importance of the office does not seem to have been minimised. Cāṇḍeśvara, himself, held the portfolio of this department, which was held earlier by his father and grandfather. Cāṇḍeśvara also held the office of the chief

99. This Department of transfer seems to have been a unique innovation of the Maithilas who realised its importance even before Shershah. Jayaswal, in his introduction to the RR, has given a long list of such officers.

100. Cf. Sugati-Sopāna—Introductory Verse 5—...mahāmārit mahārāja—pītraitasya mahāsāmanṭāṣṭhyam...chakre maṇḍhīdhumīṁnaḥpatyamāṁśāhāra[rāja]sūkhyum (भू.)..... Also—mahārājaḥ jirāvastesu mahāsāmanṭāṣṭhyo mahāmāritkendrasya śrīgacchera sūtunā;—;
Also—epiteth mahāmārit mahāsāmanṭāṣṭhyam—etc.


102. Cf. Vīṣṇudharmottara—II, 24, 17; Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya—I, 320; EI II. 309; Cf. Ambarnāth inscription of Śaka 782—, JBBRAS—IX. 219; R. K. Choudhary—Select Inscriptions of Bihār—Pala Inc—; Cf. the Prajāsthi of Samudragupta.
CHAPTER II

judge\textsuperscript{103}. During the stormy days, when Mithilā was in the throes of upheaval, Anand Khan was the Sandhivigrahika.\textsuperscript{104} Since this department was of immense importance to the State, only responsible and thoroughly trustworthy persons were appointed. All matters relating to war and peace were under the care of this department. The Department of Law and justice was yet another important element under the control of two chief officers, \textit{viz}, \textit{Prādvivāka}\textsuperscript{105} and \textit{Dharmādhikārāṇa} the former being called the chief judge while the latter simply stood for a judge. The Brāhamaṇas were preferably appointed to the post of a chief judge. We have a long list of chief judges and judges in Mithilā during our period. When Vṛtasimha and Kṛtisimha were at Jaunpur, Harihar was the \textit{Dharmādhyakṣa} of Mithila.\textsuperscript{106} He was the grandfather of Murāri. Jayadhara Lāḍha was the chief Judge of Mithilā in the reign of Bhavasimha. The chief Jurist, during our period, was Dharmādhikārāṇika Vardhamāna,\textsuperscript{107} who flourished under Bhairavasimhadeva. He wrote \textit{Dāṇḍaviveka} which relates to the topic of positive law or \textit{Vyavahāra}. It is a penal code dealing with the offences and their punishment. Another important work of immense legal importance is the \textit{Vivadachintāmani}\textsuperscript{108} of Vacaspatimiśra. He held the office of a \textit{Pariṣat

\textsuperscript{103} Cf. Mitra-\textit{Notices-VI. 66—

\textit{निर्णय व्यवहार-सामान्य}: य: प्रादविवाकः...विचारवाचिपिद्यवर्ते

नपत्युगतिः। \textit{तैनाथ} युध संधि \textit{विमूढः}।

Also—\textit{विचार-वृत्तयों मंडीं चाण्डेचार:। Cf. Vivādaratānākara}

\textsuperscript{104} Kṛtilata—72.

\textsuperscript{105} Cf. Manu—VIII. 9; IX. 234; Tūj—II. 3; Kātyāyana—67; Śūkra—IV. 5. 14.

\textsuperscript{106} Cf. \textit{JASB—XI. (N. S.)—417. Cf. Kṛtilata—72.}

\textsuperscript{107} In his work, Vardhamāna has largely drawn upon the \textit{Vivādaratānākara} of Čaṇḍēśwara. Both Čaṇḍēśwara and Vardhamāna have dealt with the problems connected with criminal law.

\textsuperscript{108} There are various editions of \textit{Vivadachintāmani}. It was published by Ramchandra Vidyāvāgish in Calcutta in 1837; then there is one published by Khemraja Shrikrishnadas of Bombay in 1898. Readings of these two edition entirely differ.
(member of council) in the reign of Bhairavasimha and Rāmabhadra. In the Mithila school of Hindu Law, this work is said to be of paramount authority. It has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of paramount authority. Another important work, dealing with law, by the same author is the Vyavahārachintāmani.\(^\text{109}\) It is a book on Hindu legal procedure. A versatile scholar, Vacaspatiṃśra was the foremost Nibandh writer of Mithila during our period. It deals with the substantive law. Two authors\(^\text{110}\) only can be said to have composed separate works on both substantive and adjective Law. They are Candaśwara in the Vivādaratnakar and Vyavahāraratnākara and Vacaspati in the Vivāda and Vyavahārarachintāmani.

IV

Through these works we can have a glimpse of the administration of law and justice in Mithila. The īśaviveka\(^\text{111}\) based on old ideas, is divided into seven chapters, viz - Introductory, murder, theft, rape, defamation, assault and miscellaneous. In his enumeration of punishment, he quotes a text from Brhhaspati which deals with the fourfold punishment\(^\text{112}\), i.e., admonition, reproof, fine and corporeal. It should be

There is yet another edition of it published by Pandit Laxsmi- 
kant Jha (Patna-1937\()\). A critical edition of this book was 
brought out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganath Jha (Baroda-1942\()\). It was translated into English by Prasanna Kumar 
Tagore in 1863 and then by Ganganath Jha. In this work, 
he has quoted from Halāyudha, Nārada, Candaśwara, Pārijata, 
Ratnakara, Smritisūtra, Kalpataru, Hūrita, Vyāsa, Vaiśnavalkya, Viśpu, 
Kutṣiyāna, Laksminidhara, Prakūṣa, Mitakṣaram, etc.

109. Edited by Ludo Rocher (Gent-1956\()\).
111. Published by Gaekawad Oriental Series—Vol. LII—(Baroda-1931\()\)
112. Cf. वामृष्ठिका धर्मस्थिति चतुर्मा कथितोदमः.

पुरुषं विमवं दीर्घं ब्राह्मणं तं कल्याणं।
meeted out by considering the offender, his pecuniary condition and the particular crime committed by him. He suggests that before inflicting punishment, the following points should be taken into account\(^\text{113}\).

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(i)] caste of the offender
  \item[(ii)] subject of offence
  \item[(iii)] amount of punishment
  \item[(iv)] application of punishment
  \item[(v)] the connection of the offender with august persons and castes like kings, Brāhmaṇas and those associated with gods.
  \item[(vi)] age of the offender
  \item[(vii)] pecuniary condition of the offender
  \item[(viii)] merits of the offender
  \item[(ix)] Locale of the offence
  \item[(x)] Time of the offence—etc.
\end{itemize}

He admits that all kinds of civil disputes arise from greed or ignorance.\(^\text{114}\) According to Vardhamāna, the primary purpose of punishment is deterring the individual from the further commission of such crimes but if that is not checked by mild treatment, aggravation of punishment should be the proper remedy to root out criminal propensities\(^\text{115}\). The award of punishment varies in accordance with the five causes—

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(i)] absolute immunity
  \item[(ii)] mitigation
  \item[(iii)] equability
  \item[(iv)] aggravation of punishment
  \item[(v)] special treatment\(^\text{116}\)
\end{itemize}

Preceptors, officiating priest, Brahmachārīna, kings, children, old persons, lunatics etc, enjoyed absolute immunity. Of the three kinds of corporeal punishment, the Brāhmaṇas are

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113. *DV*—P. 36—जातिद्रुत्य परिमाण विनियोगः परिषदः।
    वनः श्रीतुलोकेदेशः काश्योपशात हेतुः।


116. *Ibid*—X.
honourably exempted from mutilation and death. The Brāhmaṇas, as a caste, enjoy the following privileges—

(i) they must be allowed passage while going
(ii) they can enter other persons dwelling houses for alms
(iii) they can take fuel, flower and Kuśa grass from other’s premises.
(iv) they can speak to other’s wives.\textsuperscript{117}

The traditional eighteen titles\textsuperscript{118} of civil cases are also mentioned. State offences included deviation from the right path of all classes of men\textsuperscript{119}, transgression from the orders of the king\textsuperscript{120} (amounting to contempt of court), causing disruption among the subjects of the city, causing disaffection among the subjects and upsetting the code of conduct of the dissenting communities like the Buddhists and that of the merchants (amounting to sedition).\textsuperscript{121} A judge should be honest, thoughtful, impartial, critical and free from\textsuperscript{122} avarice. During the period under review, the feudal exploitation had reached its high water mark. It is an axiomatic truth that crime is an outcome of definite social conditions and Vardhamāna rightly subscribes to this view. Crime is conditioned by social surrounding, underfeeding and in the sense of despair produced by the denial of justice and last but not the least in the overweening insolence of social superiority. We can easily scan the pages of the DV and find the confirmation of our point of view. Even an unlawful taking of other men’s thing was declared by Vardhamāna\textsuperscript{123} as theft. He has further

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid—
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid—XIX.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid—XXI.
\textsuperscript{120} Cf—Section 228 of the Indian Penal Code—; On P. 135—he names a work “Bālabhāṣaṇa” by Čandaśewara.
\textsuperscript{121} Cf—Section 124A of the I. P. C.; Cf DV—P. 270; Cf PP ( Pathak )—116.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid—P. 12; Cf. P. 32 for Civil Dispute, P. 36, etc.
\textsuperscript{123} He has classified the stealers of moveable property as—
(i) साधृह्वन्त (robbers), (ii) मकाशक्त्सर (cheats), अप्रकाश-वक्स (Thieves)
recommended that artisans and other technical workers should not be deprived of their tools. In the *DV*, there are references to unnatural offences and also to three distinct types of defamation.\footnote{124} A person sentenced to death can require his sentence\footnote{125} by the payment of a hundred gold coins; one sentenced to mutilation by fifty gold coins; one sentenced to transportation by twenty five gold coins. Fines, if not realised, should be commuted into terms of imprisonment but here it may be noted that this rule applies only to the three lower castes. The Brāhmaṇas were at liberty to pay their fines in instalments.\footnote{126}

The *Vivādachintāmānay*ootnote{127} of Vacaspati also deals with eighteen titles of law as described in the *Manuśmṛti*.\footnote{128} Vacaspati

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{निष्ठुर} (cruel), \textit{अहलोक} (obscene) and \textit{तीष्ठ} (severe)
\item \textit{Ibid.—xii, Cf. P. 5} —Where a king is regarded as the wielder of \textit{Danḍa}, P. 13 about witnesses—, P. 57—for various kinds of \textit{Danḍa}, P. 80–88—recovery of lost articles, P. 101–13 for dealers in various kinds of metals; P. 154 for adultery, P. 163 for treatment with the Brāhmaṇas,
\item \textit{Danḍa} has been described by Vardhamāna in the following manner.
\item \textit{Danḍa} (दण्ड)
\item \textit{वाग्यिक} विधन विकल्पना
\item \textit{पीडन} अंगच्छेद (death) प्रमाण (death)
\item \textit{धनदण्ड} सर्वस्वहरण
\item \textit{ताहन} अवरोधन वन्धन विचन (Whipping) (Penal Servitude) (Imprisonment) (Detentionin Reformatories)
\end{enumerate}

—For death sentence, Also cf. *PP* (Pāthāk)—138, 183.

\footnote{127} Edited by Ganganath Jha—
\footnote{128} *Manu*—XVIII.

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has certain peculiarities of his own. According to this Maithila Lawgiver, the Smriti principles regulating the case or Vyavahāra are based on reason and not on Śruti. His views soon came to be recognised as authoritative in different parts of the country. Vācaspati was a versatile scholar and his Vivādhachintāmani and Vyavahārochintāmani are the two famous legal works of immense importance. The following topics have been dealt with in the Vivādhachintāmani—

(i) Debt
(ii) Deposits
(iii) Joint concerns
(iv) Resumption of Gifts
(v) Laws relating to Servants
(vi) Rules relating to the owner and keeper of cattle
(vii) Breach of customs and conventions
(viii) Rescission of Sale
(ix) Boundary Disputes
(x) Verbal Assault (abuse and defamation)
(xi) Assault and Hurt
(xii) Theft and Robbery
(xiii) Act of Violence and Crime—
(xiv) Adultery
(xv) Inheritance; etc.

According to Vācaspati, a king alone is authorised to punish the offender. His responsibility in administrating punishment is admitted here. Those who rob king’s treasury should be punished in several ways. A king shall make good the loss if anything is stolen in his kingdom. A king should punish those who are entrusted with the guarding of the realm if they remain neutral during raid against thieves. A king shall decide the case at his own discretion

129. VG.—Introduction—XXI.
130, Ibid. 317–318.
131. Ibid. 318–19.
132. Ibid. 143.
133. Ibid. 135. Cf. Da. —
134. Ibid. 133. Cf. Manu.
where there is no evidence. A king is not only the head of the executive but also of the judiciary. He should be modestly dressed in order not to intimidate the litigants. The object of the legal procedure is to arrive at the truth. The assistance of Vṛṣalas is excluded in the investigation of law suits. It is difficult to know whether Vacaspati considered Vṛṣalas to be different from the Śudras. According to S. K. Bose, the term Vṛṣalas denoted a person of any caste “who neither performed Brāhmanic rites nor respected the priests who championed the orthodox religion” and ultimately came to be identified with the Śudras. According to Vacaspati and other Maithila Lawgivers, the main quality of the chief judge is his actual capability of conducting legal procedures. The Maithila Lawgiver recognised the traditional four feet of law—Sacred Law, Positive Law, Custom and the Royal decree. Each following one overrules the one preceding it. It may be borne in mind here that the Maithila Lawgivers laboured hard to produce volumes of the Dharmaśāstra literature with a view to protect themselves from the onslaughts of the heretical thoughts. Since the Dharmaśāstra treated life or society as one organic whole, the Maithila law-books deal with all aspects of human life. Vacaspati also wrote Nitichintāmani and Vivādanirṇaya dealing with the polity and Law respectively.

The legal procedure finds its fullest expression in the writings of these lawgivers. The legal procedure was divided into four parts—(i) Plaint, (ii) Reply, (iii) Trial and (iv) Decision. Due importance has been attached to the words of experts. Experts in legal matters are to be respected and each

135. Ibid. 47.
137. G. N. Jha—Hindu Law in its Sources—P. 167.
138. Ibid. 173; also fn.
139. Cf. Tājānovalkya—I. 7—‘तिरंगा: स्त्रीविनाशस्य स्त्राचारः’—Manu I. 108—
140. Cf. Manu—I, 118—इद्धमान्तः आत्मस्मान्तः कृतमान्तः शाश्वतान्तः—
         Vāśiṣṭha—I. 8—‘विद्मान्तः देखे वेधमान्तः चाचारः ते सर्वं प्रस्तुतात्मः’—
and every case must be decided in association with persons who are well adept in it. Cases of ascetics are to be tried by persons versed in the Vedas. The following cases have been declared barred—

(i) The case that has been rejected by the king,
(ii) The one directed against the citizens of a town, the whole kingdom or the elements of state.
(iii) All others which are directed against towns, villages or great men.

In case of wrong investigation, one has a right to another in vestigation by a proper authority. Since the Maithila lawgivers were either logicians themselves or were influenced by the Naiyāyikas, their definition of a plaint is unique. The plaint has been treated by them as a logical inference which takes the form of three syllogism. At one place Vācaspati says that the duties of men are\textsuperscript{141} called “debts” in the sense that it is necessary to perform them and he, thereby, repeats the contention once held by Gotama, the Logician. The plaint should be Loka-siddha, explicit and free from doubts. Its reply should also be well-defined. All kinds of criminal cases should be duly enquired into. The king should conduct legal procedure in accordance with the truth and reject sophistry. The validity of former judgments in cases of similar nature is also recommended. A provision for the review of cases has also been made.

Caṇḍeśwara has also referred to the post of a Prādīvīka or the Lord chief justice.\textsuperscript{142} He should be fully acquainted with legal matters and should possess not only a strong presence of mind but should also be a man of legal acumen and critical wit. His chapter on Danda in the RR\textsuperscript{143} is an excellent one. He believes that it is the deterrent punishment that keeps the subject disciplined. Punishment is considered necessary

\textsuperscript{141} Cf. \textit{PC. (Bombay edition)} P. 2—न्यायचूरुसिद्धांतकोष— referring to the \textit{Nyāyapātra} (IV. i—56–60) of Gotama.

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{RR.} 16–17.

\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Ibid.} 62–65.
because it keeps people disciplined, makes irresponsible responsible, unconscious conscious and makes one lead the righteous path of life. His Vivādaratnākara deals with different aspects of Law. In every city or town there was an officer known as “Sarvārthachintakarn” who was to those village officers as Rāhu is to the planets.\textsuperscript{144} It has been suggested that this officer corresponds to some law-giving authority or justice of the modern times and his very presence struck terror into the hearts of wrong doers. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to agree with the above view. To me it seems that the Sarvārthachintakarn was a powerful welfare officer who looked to the welfare of the people. Since he must have been acting with severity and because of his position and power, he has been compared to a terrible planet. Since he dealt with anti-social elements severely, he has been so described by Caṇḍēśwara. The administration of Law and justice was highly organised under a separate department of justice. The whole of Daṇḍaviveka is a good treatise on criminal law and the works of Caṇḍēśwara, Vācaspati and Vidyāpati reflect the ideals of Civil Law. Crimes were hauled before a court of justice and punishment was inflicted after a proper trial. Methods of trial are also indicated. The social inequality was the root cause of all crimes. Vidyāpati also refers to thieves and swindlers.\textsuperscript{145} He is of opinion that poverty is the root cause of all trouble.\textsuperscript{146} Jyotirśwar details a long list of criminal tribes\textsuperscript{147} and to Vyāvahārika\textsuperscript{148} (Lawyer). Vidyāpati also wrote some Smaṛti works which deal with different aspects of religious and legal rights and duties. His Vibhāsāgara is a very important law book and is regarded as an authoritative work on the Dāyabhūga school of Hindu Law and he has largely drawn upon the ancient Smaṛtikāras. His work formed the basis of later Smaṛti writers of Mithila. The emphasis on the study

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid. 61; cf. TM. 354.
\textsuperscript{145} PP—Tale 5.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} VR—P. 1.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid. P. 10.
of the Smṛtis and the vastness of nibandha literature point to
the existence of an organised legal system in Mithila.149

The contemporary muslim theorists hold that a king can
not carry on his government without punishment, for if he
were not an avenger, God knows what evils would arise from
the insurrections of the disaffected and how many crimes
would be committed by his subjects. Under the following
seven circumstances, punishment is approved.150

(i) Apostasy for true religion.
(ii) Wilful murder.
(iii) Adultery of a married man with another's wife.
(iv) Conspiracy against the king.
(v) Heading of a revolt or assisting rebels.
(vi) Joining the enemies or abetting them in any way.
(vii) Disobedience to king, vice-regent of God.

It was the duty of the king to institute diligent enquiries
and looking to the comforts of his subjects by punishing the
offenders.151 During the period, under review, the Department
of police was thoroughly organised.

149. Cf. S. N. Thākur—Mahakavi Vidyāpati Thakur—P, 64. he
has tried to prove the influence of Smṛtis on the padāvali of
Vidyāpatai—The following lines are quoted from his above
work—

अपन अपन पहुँच सब ते मानोक्ति
भूल हुसा जनमान।
श्रव्वति तरंग हस्ताक्षित संगम
उठ तत्तु निरमान।
आरति पति मंगल परतिघाह
कर्मिनि सरस दान॥

Vibhūgasāgara is sometimes spelt as Bibhūgasārā—Hence both
the forms have been given here and there.

150. ED—III. 254—255.
151. PIHC—VI, 236–37—Among the important duties of a king,
were (i) to make towns, habitable, bridge and frontier walls,
(ii) to establish safety of the roads and (iii) to remove the
wants of faquirs and beggars.
The chief of the Department of Police was known as "Inspector of Others' Conduct." For the maintenance of peace and tranquility in every nook and corner, Rāmasimha of the Karnāṭa dynasty had instituted the Department of Police in Mithila and the system continued till the time of the Oinwāras. A Police officer was appointed for every village. He had to make daily report of all occurrences to the village headman. The system of espionage was also there. The duty of a spy was to make a thorough investigation of every occurrence and submit a detailed report to the king. The PP throws a flood of light on this aspect. Crimes proper were those which were reported to the king by his spies and in which offenders were brought to book by the tribunals concerned. The tribunals were appointed by the king. From the writings of Vidyāpati, Vardhamāna and other contemporary nibandhakāras, it is evident that theft was a common crime. It is amply illustrated by the fact that the DV has devoted a separate chapter on theft. The frequent occurrence of theft is an indirect proof of the fact that the Kotwālas were not very serious about their duties. Though there are large number of watchmen, there is no dearth of wicked persons. Theft seems to have been a common phenomenon in the society.

152. PP—Tale 5 ; Cf. PP—by Chandrakant Pāthak (Bombay—Śaka 1849 )—PP. 203–204.

153. MM.

No. 589—रति अचार गाम बड़ चोर

× × × × × ×

भरभुं भीरि ने देख कोतावर

for an act of theft—Cf. PP (Pāthak)—166.

No. 886—सपनेहु नहि पुर मम कोतवार—

154. Ibid.

No. 336—कत नहि दुरजन कत जामिक जन।

Cf. No. 29—बरे बरे पे हरि गैलबटज जोहि—

referring to watchmen

155. PP (Pāthak)—P. 49–50.
Kotwāla was a very old one but it had a wider significance in the Hindu period. In the Muslim polity, Kotwāla was head of the Department of Police. He was responsible for the maintenance of peace in his area. Kotwāla, originally Koṭṭapāla, is a word of Hindu derivation, and it signifies “guardian or defender of the fort.” During our period, the routine duties of the department of police were carried on by the Kotawāla. His force patrolled the city at night and guarded the thoroughfares. The Kotowāla acted in cooperation with the inhabitants. He took cognisance of every new arrival and departure. Vidyāpati’s description of Kotawāla tallies with the contemporary Muslim records. The Kotwālas played a very important role in the then polity; towns, cities and villages were filled with thieves, pick-pockets, gamblers, adulterers, outlaws, beggars, mendicants, yogins. It was the duty of the Kotwāla to maintain law and order in the city along with his contingent of men. People lived in want. Crime was the result of want and we know that once Firuz Shāh instructed his Kotwāla to bring the unemployed persons to his presence, which was instantaneously done. Vardhamāna has defined theft as an “unlawful taking of other men’s things.” The Kotwālas had to remain cautious during the nights to

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156. Cf.—Hasan Nizami—Taj-ul-Ma’āthir—wherein it is stated that Qutubuddin Aibak established garrisons under Kotwāls in India, and these Kotwāls, later on, came to be known as Fauzārs—


158. Cf, the criminal classes of VR—; and the state of society mentioned in the Dhārtasamāgamanīyaka by the same author; Cf.—Aññ. TFS—334–36,
Cf. also—MM. No. 91—पुराण पुराण पिछ्ने ;
No. 589—अभिप्र दर उपरापदु साति
S. Jha—No. 121—पुराण पुराण बीह अपबाद
No. 169—साजन—पिछन वचन देहै कान
No. 214—चरे चरे पहरी गेखबाद जोहि।

protect the people against thieves and robbers. The contemporary literature gives us an evidence of the fact that with the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the administrative machinery became weak and flexible and even the rulers became careless. The Kotwālas also took advantage of their masters’ slackness and became negligent of their duties.\(^{160}\)

When the protectors, themselves, turned a deaf ear, there was no way out. That is why the subordinates did not conform to the ordinary rules of decency and decorum and neglected their duties.\(^ {161}\) Such instances in history are not lacking. While no positive effort was made to weed out the economic inequality, the volume of crime increased by leaps and bounds in so much so as to force the compilation of a big treatise on criminal Law. The nobles forsook their morality.\(^ {162}\) The night rangers were freely moving.\(^ {163}\) On account of the severe darkness, thieves frequented the village. The watchmen hardly gave a round and even if the thieves were arrested, they were not tried.\(^ {164}\)

Even in matters of judicial administration, caste consideration had its upper hand. The Brāhmaṇas and preceptors enjoyed, sometimes, absolute immunity from punishment. While as a caste, the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed special privilege,

\(^{160}\) MM. Nos—91, 589.
Vidyāpati holds that theft was committed on account of poverty—Cf. PP. (Pathak)
52—All bad works emanated from poverty which was worse than death—
Ibid, 72, 153, 184.

\(^{161}\) Ibid. No. 46—जे पतिपालक से मेल्पावक इती फि बौलत अन

\(^{162}\) S. Jha—No. 233 ; 214.

\(^{163}\) Ibid. No. 186.

For thieves—consult—VR—P. 66—
चोरगणमा, चरण, पावक, हस्तक, वज्जपाय,
प्रभाक्रमण पुर्णगमय चोर—

\(^{164}\) Ibid. No. 81—जागह परविक जाह जनुभोर ; राति अन्घार गाम बड़ चोर
सपनेंठ मारोवर ने देख कोट्टवर, पाल्लहु चोो न करप
बिचार !

Cf. Ibid. Nos. 51, 52, 103,122, 234, 237—etc.—for thieves etc—
they were honourably exempted from mutilation and death sentence. Since the slaves were exclusively under the control of their masters and had no property of their own, they were exempted from fines. Similar was the case with women but certainly opulent women were exceptions. The conservatism had gone so far as to forbid the king to realise fines from the untouchables, mlechas etc. Various types of punishment were inflicted on them but fines were not imposed as that would defile the king. Fines, if not realised, were commuted into terms of imprisonment. This rule applied to only three lower castes and there was a concession to the Brāhmānas in this respect too. This conservatism and partiality in matters of judicial administration proved a deadweight on our progress. The general rule was to inflict punishment upon the culprit in proportion to the magnitude of the crime. It should be in accordance with the degree of hurt caused to the other. Punishment was prescribed even for-offending against a Brāhmaṇa by a lower caste, for striking a king and for reviling the king etc. A Brāhmaṇa should be fined for compelling a twice born do servile work against his will.

V

Since feudalism was the basis of social and political organisation, the status of a man was generally determined by the quantity of land he owned. Hereditary Military army (maula) has therefore, been considered as the main prop of the king. We have a reference to this type of army in the writings of all the political thinkers beginning from Kautilya to Caṇḍeśwara. According to Kane, the maula probably consisted of persons whose ancestors got tax free lands in lieu of services of military

171. *AŚ.* IX. 2.
nature,\textsuperscript{172} Cāṇḍeśwara did not prefer the Śreṇībala because they received payment for their services and fled away from battle field whenever they found their life in danger. He defines aribala as troops that come after leaving the enemy and a king should accept such troops but should not place any confidence in them.\textsuperscript{173} Relying on Manu (VII. 193), Cāṇḍeśwara has also recommended that soldiers from Kurukṣetra, Matsya Surasena and Panchāla should be placed in the vanguard of the army as they were noted for their bravery.\textsuperscript{174} Somadeva, in his Yaśasatilaka, has given a marvellous description of dress weapons and habits of the soldiers of Tirhut, who were also expert in naval combats.\textsuperscript{175}

The conventional four-fold constituents of the army, viz. infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots, have also been recommended by the Maithila writers. Vidyāpati, in his Kirti-lata, has also recommended the Chaturaṅga and also to the use of Singini (horn for storing powder) besides the spear and the sword.\textsuperscript{176} In the Kirtipatākā, there is a reference to the fugitive army\textsuperscript{177} and he further tells us what the Sultan thought of Tirhut’s army and what it turned out to be. Army’s beasts of burden included mule, ass, bullock, buffalo and bheri, Kahal, Dhola, Tablā, Tamburi, Sinhga were army’s musical instruments.\textsuperscript{178} Horses of different qualities were imported for the army.\textsuperscript{179} The fifth Kallola of the VR gives a fairly long

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{172} HDS. III. 200.
\item \textsuperscript{173} RR—35.
\item \textsuperscript{174} Ibid. 35.
\item \textsuperscript{175} Cf. Handiqui—Yaśasatilaka and Indian Culture—60.
\item \textsuperscript{176} Kirtipatākā (Allhabad—1960)—P. 15.
\item \textsuperscript{177} Ibid. P. 15, 21.
\item \textsuperscript{178} BTA. 406.
\item \textsuperscript{179} VR—P. 30.; Cf—Song No. 71 of the Purjataharaṇanataka—
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item पराक्त असवर पुरात वन भूथन भनाहि
\item सहस तु रग रण चढ़त गनौर नयन अयत्तक साहि ॥
\item भाई भाई राज मैल भवकर गजङ गलुड़ दर्ना ॥
\item अन्वरस देलख देवाण आएरे मिरिस मौरिय गम्भ ॥
\item सारांगसर सूरपति तरवेश गाढ़िय पाणि जब्ना
\item ठामहि ठोर ठोक बिनता बुन भाउँ दिमाजदन्ता ॥
\end{itemize}

Cf—Battle Scenes in Vidyāpati Kirtilata.
account of the march of conquest of a king; the various kinds of horses, of elephants, of troops in general, the arms and accoutrements of men and animals, and the sights and sounds on the march and the general state of things as a consequence.¹⁸⁰ Elephants of eight kinds and horses of twenty four breeds are mentioned.¹⁸¹ The RR refers to chariots.¹⁸² On the authorities of earlier thinkers, Caṇḍeśwara has tried to show that on the flank, horses should be kept, then the chariots then elephants and then the infantry.¹⁸³ Commenting on the battle order or the Vyuhas, it has been observed that whereas the love of Vyuhas committed the armies to a cult of position and defensive tactics, the Hindus regarded it as fundamental proposition of warfare that offence was better than defence and that the sword was better than the shield.¹⁴⁸ Following Manu, Caṇḍeśwara further states that a king should not resort to concealed weapons.¹⁸⁵

The military organisation was under the direct control of the Senapati or the commender-in-chief. He should be the leader of his army. As implements of war, bows and arrows have also been recommended.¹⁸⁶ Good horses for the purposes of war should be imported from Kurukṣetra, Matsyaḍēśa and Mathurā.¹⁸⁷ Caṇḍeśwara recommends Saṅḍhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dwaidhibhāva and Śaṅśraya to the king for the protection of his kingdom.¹⁸⁸ A king should, first, try to bring his enemy under control by anyone of the above means. If the enemy refuses to come to terms, then the king should declare war unhesitatingly.¹⁸⁹ A successful ruler should aim at increasing the number of his friends. Before declaring

¹⁸⁰. Ibid. XXVIII.
¹⁸¹. Ibid. 30.
¹⁸². RR—40.
¹⁸³. Ibid.—40.
¹⁸⁵. RR—40. (Cf.—Manu—VII. 87–93).
¹⁸⁶. Ibid. 36.
¹⁸⁷. Ibid.
¹⁸⁸. Ibid. 56.
¹⁸⁹. Ibid. 59.
war, a king should take into consideration the pros and cons of the situation. If a king is surrounded by his enemies he should adopt the tactics of a hare\textsuperscript{190} and by hoodwinking his enemies, he should take shelter under a stronger monarch. It was incumbent upon the ruler to root out the opponent within his territory just as an agriculturist roots out the worthless grass from his field.\textsuperscript{191} Before declaring war, a king should try to assess the real strength of his enemy. In course of war, the enemy should be made to stop at a particular point and attempt should be made to deprive enemy’s armies of their food and equipments. Enemy’s forts should be destroyed and attempts should be made to apprehend them in the night.\textsuperscript{192} An attempt should be made to isolate the enemy as far as practicable\textsuperscript{193} and when the enemy is defeated, a victor should offer prayers to deities and Brāhmaṇas. On such auspicious occasions, remission should be made in respect of taxes and prisoners be released as a mark of victory and he should also try to fulfill the desires of his ministers and even of his enemies.\textsuperscript{194} The Sandhivigrahika was responsible for the military administration and the Department was under the control of the Senāpati and there were separate officers under him incharge of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. It is very difficult to say whether there was any separation of civil and military\textsuperscript{195} functions as we find in the Kiritilata and the Kiritipataka, Quāzi, Khwāja, Makhdum and other participating in battles.

According to Vidyāpati, a king should excel both in love and war on this earth. The extant MSS of the Kiritipataka begins with the details of battle in which Śivasimha is shown fighting. The report of the plight of the muslim army to the Sultan arouses latter’s anger and then the Sultan takes arms and the poets describe the greatness of his preparations and the beauty of his shining arms and weapons. The actual battle

\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.—It reflects the position of his Oinwūra master.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid. 69.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid. 37.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid. 38.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid. 38.
\textsuperscript{195} Kiritiputākā—the poet refers to the sentiment of war and chivalry.
MITHILA IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

is, then, described in the most vivacious and poetic diction. Elephants, chariots, horses were made ready and bows, arrows, spears, mace etc, were brought into use. Vajrāghātā was used to make the Sultan conscious of the situation. Various kinds of swords were used. Nāgārā was used. The Maithila army felt that it was too small and too ill-equipped. Actual fighting has also been described. In this battle the following persons are named—Commander Suraja, Rājanandana, Haradatta, Bhikhu, Puṇḍamalla, Gopālamallick, Jayasiṁha, Harihar, Rajadeva, Kedāradāsa, Sohana, Prince Murari, Rāmasiṁha, Prthvisiṁha, Vidu, Damodara, Courtier Janaranjan, Treasurer Sone, Vidyādhara, Kamlākara, son of Ranadhiradeva, Śrīrāma, Śrī Śakho Sanehi Jha. Puṇḍamalla was expert in archery and same was the case with Gopālamallick. Rajadeva (Raut) was a

196. Ibid. P. 14—for description of arms—and armies—

—तोकि ताम फेनिं बूढ़ हाथि जुड़ नाआ देखि नाम पाहि चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप चाप
matchless warrior.  

Bengal variety swords were used by the Maithilas in this battle. Jyotirirswara has given a list of thirty six kinds of weapons used in the war, e. g., Śara, Śura, Śella, Parigha, Parāśu, Pāśa, Paṭṭiśa, Khaḍga, Bhusundī, Yaśṭi, Mūsala, Kuthāra, Chakra, Tomara, Kadaṇḍa, Gaḍā, Chchurika, Pākhāna, Karpatra, Ankuśa, Tarvari, etc.

When Vidyāpati, along with Virasiṃha an Kṛtisimha, requested Ibrāhim Shāh, of Jaunpur, to suppress the upstart Arslān in Mithila, Ibrāhim Shah complied with. In his campaign against Tirhut, Ibrāhim was helped by Manoharārāja whose army marched towards Tirhut. Qāẓi Khwāja and Makhduṃ were also fighting on behalf of the Shārquīs and it was under Malik Mohammed Gani that Sharqui army crossed the Gaṇḍakī and the two armies met in the field of Raipur. The Kṛtirātā contains a good deal of information about the war and throws a flood of light on the morality of the muslim soldiers, and also on the movement of king’s army.

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199. Ibid.; ancestor of the present writer.
201. VR—P. 61.
202. Kṛtirātā—PP. 76-80
203. Ibid.
204. Ibid. PP. 100-102.
205. Ibid. P. 41—गिरि दरह महि पढ़ ना द मन कोशाम्बा
      तरणि रव मदन पथ धूर्व भरे हर्षस्पर्शा
      तलव शतवाज कत मेरे भरे खुर्क्किबा
      प्रलय धार मदन हुज परव तुर्किबा।

Also Cf.—तुरकष्ठे तुरनउ क अनेकी तुरस्को—
   × × × ×

P. 40—अबे वे भण्टाद शरवत्ता चिकन्ता
      कलीमा कहनाद चल वे जीवन्ता—

PP. 42-43—वाट जाहट बेगारश्चर—
For a detailed study of the problem—also Cf.—the poetry of Mukundarāma—His poetry in Bengali is an encyclopaedia of social history of the 15th-16th century A. D.—

Cf.—Kṛtirātā—P. 21—गारी पानि गौरवा प्रेमन्ते—Inspiring his soldiers by means of abuses—
Vidyāpati's accounts, it appears that the code of behaviour of the muslim army was different from that of the Hindu army. In the wake of their victorious march, they forgot even the minimum decency and decorum of human sentiment. Among the important officers of the army, Vidyāpati mentions Senapati, Dalpati, Raut, etc. Rājputas constituted the core of the army. The strength of a king lay in his army. Vidyāpati has also referred to various types of arms and shields. Thus an overall survey of the military department goes to show all possible measures were envisaged for safeguarding the kingdom from the apprehended invasions of enemies.

VI

It will not be out of place here to say a few words about the principles of diplomacy, enunciated by our thinkers, and also about the legal status of the feudatories. The fate of the country was linked up with the ruling sovereign. It has been rightly held, therefore, by the political thinkers of Mithila, that a king, strong in four-fold army, is powerful according to time and place if he succeeds his own time and place then doth he become the victor. Righteousness was the base of royalty. In accordance with the principles of ancient Indian political thought, Vidyāpati has also enunciated certain fundamental principles about diplomacy and statecraft. He says:

(i) In every kingly policy is knowledge of true tidings counselled; for the policy of those whose true condition is known to an enemy never beareth fruit.

207. Ibid. No.—15; Cf. the Kirtipatākah ; and VR—for details see infra.
208. PP—(Pāthaka)—15, 31, 43.
209. Ibid. 19, 27; Cf. RR—33–38; PP. 39–41, for the duties of Senapati.
210. PP (G)—Tale 29; 6 and 38.
211. Ibid. 32.
212. Ibid. 41.
(ii) Enemies, slanderers and diseases are by their natures dealers of disasters. If measures be not taken against them, step by step they ruin cause.

(iii) In the face of an irresistible calamity resignation verily is wholesome, but, if he has power to resist, a wise man cometh to action, nor wasteth he one moment in delay.\footnote{Ibid. 6—Vidyāpati holds that it is the duty of a king to promote good and destroy evil. The chief possession of a king is his army.}

(iv) When a man’s treasury had become exhausted, when the army had been defeated and servants have become disloyal, then friendship with one well-born is to him as it were a wishing tree of paradise.\footnote{Ibid. 11.}

(v) If a weakling be conquered in a battle by a stronger foe, then skilled agents should he employ to sow dissensions in others’ hosts.\footnote{Ibid. Cf.—Kautilya’s views on Diplomacy.}

(vi) No profit cometh from alliance with or from conflict with men who possess not authority.\footnote{Ibid. 41—For principles of Diplomacy—also consult—Harihar śuktimuktavali—V. 1–20.}

(vii) The strength of a king lay in elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry.

(viii) Fair is it that the equal should fight with equal, for then the victory is a thing of doubt; but they, who with a stronger foe contend, are but moths that fall into a flame.\footnote{Ibid. 3; 20—All the principles enumerated above have been detailed here.}

Inspired by Kautilya and Śūkra,\footnote{Śūkro—IV. I. 51–82. His date is doubtful.} Vidyāpati also prescribed the four-fold principles, viz, Šāma (Peace), Dana (Purchase), Bheda (Separation) and Daṇḍa (Penalty).\footnote{Likhanaṭali—Letter No. 48; In Letter No. 47 he refers to friendship between kings.} Diplomacy, without bravery, according to our poet, was simple timidity; bravery, without politics, resembled the conduct of beasts and hence success ought to be sought by a unified policy.
of the four expedients enumerated above and by striking at the
vulnerable points of the enemy. 220 The diplomatic schemes
should be secret. The alien enemies are not so difficult to win;
formidable are the internal enemies so should he endeavour to
conquer the enemies at home first and then proceed against
those abroad. In conformity with the ancient Indian tradition,
Caṇḍeśwara has also recommended these four expedients and
has suggested that a king should try to bring his enemy under
control by anyone of the above means. 221 A real diplomat
always aims at increasing the number of his friends. The
strength of the enemy should be gauged before any offensive
is launched. 222 In this connection, Caṇḍeśwara has defined
the duties, function and powers of the Dūtas. 223 The
Dwā Dūtas should always meet the king in private and tell
him everything confidentially. 224 A loyal Dūta should
be respected. Expert persons should be appointed to the post
of a Dūta. Unflinching loyalty towards the state should be one
of his main Qualifications. A loyal Dūta should have the follo-
wing qualities—Dakṣa (efficiency), Bhadrata (nobility), Dri-
ḍhata (steadfastness), Kṣānti, Kleśa, Sāhiṣṇuta, Śāntoṣa, Śīla
and Utsāha. 225 If the traditional sources are to be relied upon,
Harasimhadeva of the Karnāṭa dynasty was on friendly terms
with the Yādava king, Rāmaṇadeva of Devagiri and also with
the king of Gorakhapur. 226 Dūtas were also sent to
negotiate. 227 Fundamental principles of diplomacy are well-
preserved in the PP. 228

221. RR—56–58 ; 59 illustration of an intelligence of hare is cited.
222. Ibid. 37–38.
223. Ibid. 42–43.
224. Ibid. 50.
225. Ibid. 47—Caṇḍeśwara has prescribed certain minimum court
etiquettes and decorum for the royal court, nobles
and officials—Cf. Ibid, 48—51.
227. PP ( Pathak )—15, 27.
228. Ibid, 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 202;
for Daṇḍaniti, see 139 and 225.
CHAPTER II

To play tricks was also one of the important aspects of diplomacy.\footnote{229} According to Vidyāpati, he, who tolerates, is great.\footnote{230} A wise man always takes into consideration the possibilities and impossibilities of a situation.\footnote{231} He, who does not work after taking the consequences into consideration beforehand, has to repent afterwards.\footnote{232} The man who can differentiate between iron and gold is wise.\footnote{233} What is the consequence of blocking the course of water that has flown away or of a gift that is presented?\footnote{234} Man as you are, please be mindful of your promise.\footnote{235} Timely action accrues a lac fold profit.\footnote{236} Words of a good man are like engravings over a stone. If the master himself does a wrong, there is no relief.\footnote{237} One should not offend a great personality in his talk.\footnote{238} So long as one has his property in his own hands, he is honoured while nobody cares for the unfortunate poor.\footnote{239} On account of adversity, even fortune sometimes emits fire but that does not always remain constant and, therefore, a great man is he who has patience in affluence as well as in adversity.\footnote{240} One has to enjoy or suffer the consequences of his own action as the course of destiny knows no obstruction.

According to a contemporary muslim source (Sirāt-i-Firuz Shahi), expedition against enemies must not be undertaken

\footnote{229} S. Jha—124.
\footnote{230} Ibid. 156—जे सह से बढ़।
\footnote{231} Ibid. 218—एगमन गमन कूते मतिमान।
\footnote{232} Ibid. 5—नायु गुणि जे काजन करए पाछे हो पचनाइये।
\footnote{233} Ibid. 19—रतु पुस्ति विचरिवन बोधिष्ठो जे बिन्ह आद्य होग।
\footnote{234} Ibid. 25—वेता नीर निरोधक की फल, अवसर बतला दान।
\footnote{235} Ibid. 48—पुस्ति वचन हो अवधान
\footnote{236} Ibid. 79—अवसर वापस हक्क उपकार नाते सुपुस्ति वचन पथ मान करें।
\footnote{237} Ibid. 117—भविष्य अनुगस्तित किंतु ने गोहारि।
\footnote{238} Ibid. 122—रोकिन करिये वड़ा की दोष।
\footnote{239} Ibid. 132.
\footnote{240} Ibid. 172.
for self applause or acquisition of wealth. The soldiery need
be provided with requisite food and provisions and be
treated with care and sincerity so that they may engage
themselves with heart and soul in duties entrusted to them.
Soldiery brings profitable returns. Covenants made with
the nobles, landlords, farmers, generals and feudatories should
be strictly observed. In times of war, soldiers should be
encamped at a distance of one day’s march from the enemy
camp.241

The legal status of the feudatories has been thoroughly
discussed by Caṇḍēśwara, a feudatory himself. The
obligation of vassals to pay tributes to the king
legal status of is evident from the writings of Caṇḍēśwara242
the Feudatories and Vidyāpati. Caṇḍēśwara advises a king
not to place any confidence in the aribala.243
It was expedient for a king to take stock of the existing
situation before embarking on any aggressive policy. Sense
of chivalry also permeated through this political life, since
feudalism was its core.244 Treachery and cowardice were
not uncommon features in those days245 and the political
thinkers did take into consideration all these factors.
Jyotirīśwara also categorises certain elements of diplomacy
in his usual characteristic manner. He uses the term ‘Rājaniti’
for politics and those who administer it are called Tattvajña.246
A king should be well versed in nītijñana. In his description
of the kuttāni, he has brought to light certain typical traits

243. Ibid. 35 ; Cf. PP (Pathak)—2, 31.
244. PP (Pathak)—21, 34, 4.
245. Ibid. 18, 45, 166 (Śvāmidroha ).
246. VR—P. 3—मंशोपन, भूतमरण, देशरक्षा, बालवल्लभा, कोपसंचय,
स्थुलरचना, स्थुलवेख, स्थुलमंग, शंखय—वे राजनीतिक ताख
tतबभाष
Also Cf.—P. 10 ; Cf. PP (Pathaka)—115 for Viṣakanyā
(Poison-girl)
of a *kutiła*. He refers to the various qualities of a hero and enumerates eight worldly attainments in this connection. While enumerating eighty four kinds of kingly devours and polity, he has also detailed matters relating to diplomacy and statecraft. In one of his letters, Vidyāpati has given us a draft wherein the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* requests the king to arrange for the signing of a peace treaty. The poet himself played an impotent part in the then politics and as such he wrote everything mainly out of his own experience. There is a reference to loyalty of officers to Virasimha and Kirtisimha in the *Kirtilata* and also a reference to the fact that Amṛtakara went on a political mission on behalf of Sivasiṃha.

VII

The Hindu princes, sometimes, added festal knots and festal urns or strings of mango sprouts to the decoration of arches and announced the arrival of the guest of honour by a flourish of trumpets. The Hindu manners were sweet and in formal. A guest was welcomed with special form of betel leaf and flowers were offered to the visitors. In case of a distinguished visitor, a platform was raised, flowers were strewn over it and sandalwood paste was held in readiness to

247. Ibid. P. 27—कुटिलार्थात् सर्वदक संहीत्र अस्यन घटक, विषुयाया अहसन सौंपक X - X 1

Cf.—A similar Gujarati work—*Varnaka-Samuchehaya* and also a similar work in Sanskrit—*Mōnasollāsa*.


250. Likhnavali—No. 48; In No. 47, there is a reference to this aspect.

251. Cf. Narendra Nath Das—*Vidyāpati Kaṇṭhāloka*; S. N. Thakur—*Mahakavi Vidyāpati Thakur*; Umesh Misra—*Vidyāpati Thakur*.

252. Coomarswamy and Sen—*Padavali Bangiya*—CXXVII.

253. Ibid. LXIX.—Also—Cf. PP (Pāthak)—170, 176, 181.
rub on the forehead. Ārti was also performed to remove
the possible effects of the evil eye. 254 Dancing was very
much popular and the cult of Kṛṣṇa, as propounded by
Vidyāpati, had greatly stimulated it. Men and women danced
together, sometimes with bells tied to their feet. 255 A king
is endowed with mercy, charity, friendliness and all other
qualities of the cultured folk. 256 Shampooing was an impor-
tant feature of the royal court. 257 Two expert barbers
massage his feet. A respectable guest was offered water for
washing his feet. 258 Dancing and music, which were so
prominent during the early period, began to degenerate
mainly through assigning a special caste for them and by
confining the scope of their development to the amusement
of the upper classes and exclusive service of religion. The
Kṛṣṇa cult, no doubt, rescued the dramatic art from further
degeneration into vulgar tricks of buffoons and professional
jestlers.

Fireworks formed an important part of the state celebra-
tions. The Śivarātri festival was celebrated with fire-works
by the common people, while the more sober and religious
minded kept the night vigil. 259 After the customary worship
of the goddess Lākṣmī, people used to whirl round torches
and burning sticks or fire-brands. Firebrand was an ancient
and familiar boys, game played by whirling a burning stick
swiftly through the air and thus producing the impression
of a circle of fire. The bonfire on the occasion of the
Holi festival was another important feature. People took
omen from it for the prospects of the neat harvest. 260

254. Ibid. CCC.
255. Ibid. LXXXII.—Also Cf. PP (Pathak)—132.
256. VR—Kallola 2.
257. Ibid. Kallola 3; 36 kinds of Shampooing are mentioned.
258. S. Jha—58—चरणपक्षाण (कल्प) आसन दान, महुरुद्व वचने करिए समापान !
259. Nerukar—135—for a celebration of Śivarātri by the soldiers
of Laksmanasena. Also Cf. Carpentier—op. cit. P. 306, for
description of a firebrand.
Dipāwali was rightly designed as the festival of light. It is mentioned in connection with the connubial love by Vidyāpati. It was thought lucky to be with the husband on that day or to win a man’s embrace on this Night of Bliss. There was a flood of illumination all over. Vidyāpati, in his poems, has referred to fireworks. The night vigil and fireworks are elements common to both to Śivarātri and Shab-e-Barāt, which is probably a copy from the former Hindu festival. Shabe-e-Barāt has been described as the “Guy Fawkes day of Islam.” On this auspicious occasion, fireworks were extensively used and homes and mosques were illuminated. Muslim populations, all over India, took active part in this celebrations and Firuz Shāh Tughluq is said to have celebrated it for four days. It is not possible to state specifically, in the present state of our knowledge, whether fire-arms were used in battles and wars by the Hindus. The Hindus were acquainted with the use of flaming shafts but its use was denounced on moral grounds. Śūkra refers to Nālikās and Sataghnas and he

261. PP (G) Tale—38—Cf. PP (Pāthak), 199, 222.
262. Ibid. 43.
263. Crooke—op. cit. 346; Cf. John Frampton—Marco Polo (London 1929) P. 42 for description.
264. MM No. 818—प्रिय मुहूर्त में नाते नाती कामचोरिस देखक बिभागा।
819—तेल बाँटिके पर बाहर धांस धांस गरियं बश्च अगी।
821—तेट तनी मसले कपड़ा पवार, अक्से पिसाइए पानी।
—Wherein it has been shown that fireworks were also used in the Hindu festival of Mahānadi in the south.
267. Amir Khusrav found the young urchins of Delhi playing with fireworks and making the city a virtual “blazing hell of Abraham’s legend.” He also refers to the illumination of mosques—Cf—K. M. Ashraf—op.cit.—P. 301.
268. TFS—365-367.
269. Śūkra—IV. 7. 192-208; Cf.—It may be noted here that Chand Bardayi has used Tunjak for small guns.
also refers to the gunpowder. According to Dikshitar, ayaḥ, kanapa, tulā-guda, aurava, nalika, nārachas, aṅgivāna nad sataghni were all fire arms. The soldiers seem to have used some sort of flaming shafts on the occasion of Dipāwali also known as Sukharūтри. Though these formed parts of state festivals and state celebrations, it is difficult to say whether these were used in war on not.

The philanthropic activity of the kings and ministers also formed an important part of the royal court. Such philanthropic works were guided by the philosophy of Dana. The Dūnaratnakar of Caṇḍeśwara deals with (i) the meaning of Dana, (ii) fit objects of charity, (iii) mahādana, (iv) gifts appropriate to certain months, nakṣatra and tithis, dedicating of wells, tanks for public use and planting of trees etc. In the Dūnaratnakara, we are told that Caṇḍeśwara made a gift of Tulādana, on the bank of the river Bāgmati. Caṇḍeśwara is also called the giver of man's weight gift. Vacaspati Misra has also dwelt at length of the necessity and the utility of Dana. In his Mahādanaanirnaya, he deals with the sixteen great gifts. These ministers were feudal barons and wielded immense political power. Their position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces. The Oinwara rulers have left valuable records of gifts. Devasimha gave away innumerable gifts to the Brahmans, performed Tulāpuruṣadāna and got dug a large tank at Śakkuri (modern Sakari junction of the North-eastern railway in the district of Darbhanga). Śivasimha was a liberal king and


271. PP (Pathak)—198–99.


273. RR—15.


275. Mitra—VI. 3—Introductory verse 4 of the Śivasarasvavasāra.

Cf. PP—Final verse 2—सक्कूरीपुरसरसरबरक्षा देवासिनि द्वार विदृश्यः
noted for his charitable disposition. He also got dug a large number of tanks and well for public utility and undertook various welfare projects for the benefit of his subjects. He not only constructed roads and dams but also founded new cities in different parts of his kingdom.\textsuperscript{276} He is said to have granted some acres of land to a muslin saint, Makhdum Shah, for the maintenace of Khankāh.\textsuperscript{277} Dhrasimhā is said to have followed suit and given away gifts to the Brāhmanas a large number horses, cows, gold and silver.\textsuperscript{278} Bhairavasimhā is said to have dug out hundreds of tanks, gave away towns and pattanas (hamlets) and performed the Tulāpuruṣadāna.\textsuperscript{279} All these were undertaken by the rulers as part of state activities and these institutions, to that extent, were praiseworthy. These big wells and tanks served not only the purpose of water supply but also of irrigation which was essential for the agricultural development of the kingdom. The remains of these tanks and wells, though devastated by annual visitation of floods etc., are there in different parts of Mithila and their number is greater even today than in any other part of Bihar. Studied from the cultural point of view the philanthropic activities of the Oinwara kings are remarkable in their own way and these were actively carried on by the kings and minister.\textsuperscript{280}

Vidyāpati has attached due importance to gifts and charity. Philanthropy was considered to be the best among all types of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{276} R. B. Das—\textit{Mithila Darpana}—67.
\item \textsuperscript{277} Bihari Lal—\textit{Aimi-Tirhut}—83 ; Recently, Prof. S. H. Askari has also published a document from Hajipur which contains an information about Śivasimhā’s Liberality towards the muslims ; Cf. \textit{BPP} (1946–48) ; \textit{Current Studies}—1954.
\item \textsuperscript{278} \textit{India Office Cat.}, P. 1006—No. 3004.
\item \textsuperscript{279} Introductory verse 7 of the \textit{Muhadānamārīnaya}—Cf. \textit{Nepal cat P. 112}.
\item \textsuperscript{280} \textit{VR}—P. 21—reference to 16 \textit{Mahadānas}—\textit{Tulāpuruṣa, Madhāna, Pūrṇa, viṣṇu, hiṃcak, hiṃcakagmi, samsāt, Pratīkula, Mahāmutta, kālpuruṣa, kālakuta, akṣamkṣaṇu, hāṃṣhita, hiṃcakagmi, hiṃcakagmi, hiṃcakagmi, akṣamkṣaṇu, akṣamkṣaṇu}—
public work. A religious belief soon began to prevail among the people that every gift of charity in this world is rewarded ten times its value in the next. The reasons for this ethical and moral development are not far to seek. They are to be found in the economic basis of the social classes. There was a superfluity of wealth among the upper classes and a chronic poverty and need among the lower. This inequality was a social menace. The extreme poverty of the vast masses created a psychology and nervousness among the rich and generosity thus came to their aid as an insurance policy. Attempts were made to relieve their poverty with gifts and not by doing away with the cause of poverty. According to Vidyāpati, one should carry on philanthropic work openheartedly and even be ready to incur some loss on that account. While the rich had the liberty rather right to exploit and accumulate riches, the ordinary people were advised not to be greedy and to remain satisfied with their lot. In conformity with the orthodox views of his predecessors, Vidyāpati, at the instance of Dharmati, wife of Narasimhadeva, wrote Dānāvyākyāvali, a book on religious gifts, and that is even now regarded as an authoritative work. Lived as he in an age of feudalism in Mithilā,
he had to certify everything feudal as good and worthy. All gifts of every denomination were considered sacrosanct and it was urged upon the king to give religious colour to all philanthropic works of public utility.

Every bit of human life was regulated strictly in accordance with the religious codes and local usages and any break with the past was looked with suspicion and frowning eyes. Charity, gifts and other philanthropic works were regarded as parts of royal religious rites. The influence of the Brāhmaṇas made them all the more strict. The huge compilations of the Smṛti literature during the period bears ample testimony to this fact. Righteousness was defined as the performance of duties such as liberality, study of the scriptures and the like in accordance with the precepts of the vedas. Such performance accomplished what a man desired for himself. Righteousness consisted in the remote consequences of this performance. In other words, an abode in paradise was the result of good deeds.287 Good reputation and the acquirement of merit came through generosity.288 All these speak for themselves the true meaning and significance of charity, gift, righteousness and generosity. Viewed from the religious standpoint, generosity and benevolent acts were as good as passport to heaven, but viewed from economic point of view, they acted as shields against the recurring disturbances of the people. The whole thing, if not put in a religious colour, would hardly have been acceptable to the suffering common man whose only recourse was fate and nothing else. The emphasis on loyalty and cult of Bhakti succeeded immensely in securing the abject submission of the people. This detraction of the people from the stark reality of the situation was an indirect aid to the despotism of the king. During our period, the philosophy of gift became more popular. Gift was the main source of income for such Brāhmaṇas as were poor and destitutes. Majority of

287. PP (G)—P. 125.
288. Ibid. Tale 34.
the Brāhmaṇas lived on the charity of others and they, in return, repaid their debt by expounding legal theories in support of king’s power, prestige and the maintenance of the Varnaśrāmadharma. Harihara of the sixteenth century A.D. has emphasised the necessity of such gift\(^{289}\) to the Brāhmaṇas.

 VIII 

The Kośa or treasury has been considered to be an important element of state since its very inception. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a king should try to keep it full to the brim by legal and moral means. Without caring even a fig for his personal interest, he should set apart some good and fertile land and a good piece of pasture ground for the purpose.\(^{290}\) Kośāgāra is the life-blood of a State and hence only such persons should be appointed to this post as are adept in the art of increasing the volume of the treasury.\(^{291}\) He should see that money is not spent on worthless causes. He should save the treasury from being depleted.\(^{292}\) Under the Karnātras, Jaṭeśwara was the keeper of the treasury. Muḍrāhastaka was an important officer connected with the treasury.\(^{293}\) Sometimes, a king resorted to illegal taxation with a view to filling up the treasury.\(^{294}\) It has been prescribed by Vācaspati that the king shall strike with various


\(^{290}\) RR—32.

\(^{291}\) Ibid. 53.—Cf. Likhanāvali—No. 46.

\(^{292}\) Ibid. 54.

\(^{293}\) Likhanāvali—No. 46.

\(^{294}\) PP (Pāṭhak)—166—Cf. Gerakṣavijaya—P. 9.
forms of punishment at those who rob king’s treasury. Following Viṣṇu, Vācaspati says that a king shall have the tenth part as customs duty and twentieth part on those commodities imported from foreign lands. He is normally entitled to receive sixth part. Among the sources of income to the State were mines, treasure-troves, heirless property, customs and excise. It was a part of muslim polity, during the period under review, to keep the Hindus in poverty by excessive taxation and exorbitant demands of the kings. There was a change in the outlook in so far as the conception of State is concerned. According Caṇḍeśwara, the ordinary rule of division and succession cannot apply to a kingdom since royal property is owned by the whole people and all have a share in it. Since the period, under review, was an abnormal one, it led Caṇḍeśwara to explain away the Ṣadabhaṅga as a merely figurative term and he recommended levying of such amount as would be found necessary to meet the requirement of Government. He was opposed to oppressive taxation on any score. Jayaswal has rightly pointed out that in the RR, there is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.

The rulers of Tirhut attached due importance to the forts in so far as the defence of the kingdom was concerned. A Tibetan traveller of the thirteenth century A. D., Dharmaśāmī, has left the following account of the fortifications of Tirhut in the following words...“there was a town called Pa-ta which had some 600,000 houses and was surrounded by seven walls. The height of these walls was about equal

295. VC—143.
296. Ibid. 122.
298. RR. 72—राजकन्या कुन्योधर्माकम कृष्ण प्राणोन्यानम हिन्नवेय बुद्धिन्यानम त्वाद्राक्य बिनाश्योति...”
299. Ibid. 55.
300. Ibid. Introduction—P. 29.
301. Biography of Dharmaśāmī—G. Roerich (Patna 1959)
to that of a Tibetan fort. Outside of the town walls stood the Rājā’s palace which had eleven large gates and was surrounded by twenty one ditches filled with water and rows of trees. There were three gates facing each direction, east, west and south, and the two gates facing north. I did not see the two northern gates, but the others had bridges in front of them. In front of the bridges guards were stationed, more than ten archers at each bridge. These protective measures were due to the fear of the Turuṣka.....It was also said that there were three men expert in swordsmanship”.

The Mithilamahātmya of the Bhadavisṇupurāṇa also refers to fortifications in Mithilā. Jyotirīśwara in his Dūrgavārṇanā, gives an elaborate account of the surrounding of a fort. There is a lot of reference to fort, fortifications and Puraraksaka, Purpati and Dūrgapāla in the VR and Vidyāpati. While discussing the different component parts of the army Caṇḍēśwara has also envisaged certain measures for safeguarding the kingdom. He has categorically emphasised the importance of Dūrā. According to Caṇḍēśwara, a king should fortify his kingdom and he should keep his Koṣa within the fortified area. A fort should

132. Ibid. P. 58.
303. Mithilamahātmya—PP 70-75 Cf. my article—Mithila as gleaned through Mithilamahātmya—in the Prāchya Bharī.
304. VR—PP. 66-67; भेत, वौस, काण्ठ, विनयो, वेरवनं, शुभरसं, बेलिंह, बहादुर, नदी, वापी, विजयरी, कौशिक, अर्थशास्त्र, जलशास्त्र, अंश संबंब, कुशलाहार, चक, असन, गोक्ष, मुकुलार्दा अनेक दशावृषु संपुक्ताहैं—अनेक मार्गघ तन्हा मण्डित, गड, गौरी, मणिव, गणपति, मीरापार, कुमार विजय, रणर्ग, भुगतिह, वांचार्त, अवमन्तार्दा अनेक संपुक्त जन्त, द्वार, गाढ, अपकरण तन्हा मण्डित, हाथी, श्रोच, नौका, पदाति, चुतुरंग संपुक्तं अभेस व्युपुख विषय विवशी गड देपु—
305. Ibid. P. 3—refers to Durgarakṣa, Durgapraveṣa; Vyuhaarachna, Vyuha-praveṣa; P. 8 refers to Purapati.
306. PP (Pitakh )—25, 31, 49, 50, 51, 95, 211.
307. RR—33-38.
308. Ibid. 24.
be constructed at a place which is surrounded by water and grassfields and a king should have his palace within the fort. Candeswara mentions, (i) Dhanadurga, (ii) Mahidurga, (iii) Jaladurga, (iv) Varaksyadurga, (v) Nrdurga, (vi) Girdurga, and in the midst of all these durgas, a special fort should built be for the residence of the king. These forts should provide space for domesticated and wild animals as they are considered to be an important means of defence. These forts should always remain well-equipped. Food, weapons of war, army, learned men should also be there. Some of the specific features of fortifications are outlined below—

(i) Forts surrounded by uplands of which five Yojanas should be waterless.

(ii) Forts made of stone or bricks, meant exclusively for fighting purposes, should be well-equipped with war materials and be prepared to undertake operations any moment.

(iii) Forts surrounded on all sides by unfathomable water are very necessary for defence.

(iv) There should be forts surrounded, on all sides, by thorny jungles and trees.

(v) These forts should be of such height as might not be scaled by a man and all these forts should be surrounded on all sides by the four fold army of the State.

Forts, like the Kosala, constituted an important element of State. For the rulers of Mithila, they were all the more important as there were enemies on all sides. The Mithila rulers, therefore, paid special attention to the construction of forts in different parts of their territory. The fort at Simaraongarh, as attested now by the Tibetan traveller, was supported by stone pillars and surrounded on all sides by water. The ruins at Bhithbagawanpur and Andhratharti give an indication of the existence of forts and similar indications are available from the recent unscientific excavations at Bahera.

309. Ibid. 25.
310. Ibid. 26.
Feristha informs us that the fort of the king of Tirhut was surrounded by seven ditches, full of water and a high wall and the Tugluq king took three weeks to destroy them. The existence of a strong fort at Tirhut is further supported by an unpublished Persian MSS, Basūtinuluns, now preserved in the British Museum and Leningrad museum. The Purpatis of the VR or the Dūrgapālas or the Dūrgarakaṣa of the PP were the officers in charge of the forts and fortification. We learn from verse 7 of the Kṛtyaratnākara that Vireśvara, after having stormed the enemy fort, constructed a very high palace. Most of the ruins of fortifications in Mithilā have, by now, vanished either on account of the ravages of the uncontrolled rivers or levelled down by the cultivators.

IX

As in other parts of India, the village, being the lowest unit of administration, remained practically unaffected by the innumerable changes brought about by the muslim conquest and subsequent dynastic upheavals in Mithilā. The village was, to all intents and purposes, left undisturbed so long as it did not prove recalcitrant. The whole territory of Tirhut seems to have been under the control of one single unit and the village was the lowest ring of the administrative ladder. The revenue collection was done through Grāmapati and Daśagrāmika. Caṇḍeswara throws a very interesting light on the working of the village administration. A Gulma312 consisted of three to five villages. The village officials were (i) Grāmapati, (ii) Grāmadhipati, (iii) Daśagrāmapati, (iv) Viṃśatiśaṅgrāmapati, (v) Sahasragrāmapati Rāṣṭra etc.313 Every village had its own Headman.


Cf. Rīyaz-ul-valōtin—P. 91 Fn.

312. For a discussion on Gulma, see my paper on feudalism referred to above.

313. RR—60.
The village heads were appointed in order of merit and efficiency. It is very difficult to say whether they were elected or appointed. The whole system of administration depended solely on the stability and integrity of the village system. All matters of the villages concerned, social, political, economic, legal and cultural, were solved by the villagers themselves. All matters were reported to the village headman, who, if unable to settle the matter amicably or if he failed to do so in any way, was duty bound to report the same to the higher authority, that is, the head of Ten villages, and the process went on, in case of failure at all lower stages, till it was presented before the Rāṣṭra. The village headman formed the core of the lowest administrative unit and the village administrative system was the bedrock of the entire political system of Mithilā. All categories of village officials were paid by the king and it varied according to their rank and position. The modes of payment, as prescribed by Cāṇḍeśwara, were as follows:

(i) Daśesa—as much land as he could cultivate with one plough.

(ii) Viṁśatīśa—as much land as he could plough with four ploughs.

(iii) Śateśa—got one full village.

(iv) Sahsrādhipati—was given a city or a town and was entitled to have the benefit of a Pura.

The contact with the village administration was regularly maintained through an officer called Snigdha, signifying a
minister close to the king. He was possibly of the rank of a secretary to the village affairs or rural department. The meaning of the word “Snigdha” is not yet very clear but it may be presumed that he belonged to the royal family. His main duty was to look after the various grades of village officers and also to supervise their work. He made known to the villages the royal policy and also brought to the royal court all important news about the village officers. Ordinarily he should be taken as the Liasion officer between the villages on the one hand and royal government on the other. Caṇḍeśwara has made provision for a ministry of rural affairs under a full-fledged minister. The main purpose behind this ministry was to integrate the working of the village administration with the central authority and also to look to the needs of the villages.\footnote{318}

Though the meaning of the word \textit{Tantritaḥ}, in this connection, is not very clear, it may be conjectured that the minister in charge of the rural affairs enjoyed absolute power in the sphere of his activity. The words “Snigdha” and “Sarvārthachintakaṁ” have been translated as royal supervisor and high officer respectively by a recent writer.\footnote{319} \textit{Sarvārthachintakaṁ} was functioning in every city or town and he was to the village officers as \textit{Rāhu} is to the planets. He seems to have been a very powerful welfare officer and since he used to be a man of integrity, his very presence struck terror into the hearts of dishonest persons.\footnote{320} Caṇḍeśwara has himself, at one place, suggested that such persons, officers, and other servants of the state as collect oppressive taxes surreptitiousely or purely out of selfish motive, should be immediately turned out of the state. Thus it is evident that \textit{Sarvārthachintakaṁ} was a terror to such persons as it was the duty of this officer to look to the welfare of all people within the kingdom. Since he must have been acting with severity and dealing harshly with the anti-social elements of the time, he has been so described by Caṇḍeśwara. He had to look to an allround development of the people, living in towns

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{318} \textit{RR}—61.
\item \footnote{319} \textit{BTT}—406—\textit{Cl}. \textit{TM}, 354; \textit{RR}—61.
\item \footnote{320} \textit{RR}—60.
\end{itemize}}
and villages. The scheme of village administration, as envisaged in the RR, goes to show that the king used to take keen interest in the efficient running of the village system.

Even for the revenue purposes, village was the lowest unit of administration. For an efficient administration of the revenue department, the whole kingdom seems to have been divided into a number of fiscal areas, known as Parganā, Tappā and Grāma 321 etc. So long as they paid revenue regularly, there was nothing to disturb them. To collect the revenue, a Choudhary was appointed to each Parganā and the village revenue officer was known as Patwāri. The village accounts were meticulously maintained and the public accounts were kept with thorough accuracy. The Patwāris were also known as village accountants. 322 They were paid out of the village fund at the fixed rate. To enforce the regular realisation of revenue, village police officers were appointed every-where and they had to make daily report of all occurrences to the village headman or to the Choudhary. From the mode of payment to the various categories of village officers, it appears that there was much of feudal element in it. The village headman enjoyed jagir, no doubt, but it would be going out of limits to compare this mode of payment with the Mansabadari system of the great Mughals as a recent writer on the subject has suggested. 323 During the period, under review, we see that the official recognition for the purposes of a grant was withdrawn from the lower social groups and accorded to the Brāhmaṇas who were also the cultivating classes and thereby implying the introduction of an economic basis in the distribution of the village people. It is the Brāhmaṇa minister who now makes land grants and not vice-versa. The question of the occupational basis of the society was no longer there. The landowning aristocracy wielded both political and economic powers from the lowest to the highest level and the Sarvārthachintakam, if he was actually a terror, was a Rāhu for those who wanted to upset the status quo.

321. Cf. the Likhanāvali—58, 55 and 59 for Tappā and Grāma.
322. ST—62.
323. TM—353.
The village administration was run on the basis of a Panchāyat system. There was a Panchāyat in every village and the oft-quoted Panch-Parmeśwara is reminiscent of the old system.\(^{324}\) The Panchāyat managed all local officers, executive and judicial and it continued to function without any interference. It had its own laws. All disputes were locally settled. Mithila had a distinctive local and rural administration consisting of Gulma and Rāstra and the rates of payment to village headman varied according to categories. The villagers lived peacefully and amicably. Every village had it headman, watchman and revenue officer. The villages arranged their own watch and ward, elementary education and sanitation. The village headman acted as both committing and trying magistrate of the crimes committed in the village and Caṇḍeśwara has referred to the fact that disputes, if unsettled, were referred to the higher authority for decision. The Panchayat was elected on democratic basis. The system continued for a considerably long period and continued unabated till the advent of the Britishers. These Panchayatas were held responsible for maintenance of peace and tranquility in every nook and corner of the kingdom. Vidyāpati has referred to an officer designated as Śāntikarani.\(^{325}\) The scope of the government embraced not only the secular affairs but even extended to moral and religious affairs. The officers of the state looked to the maintenance of the rules of caste and religious orders in strict conformity to the holy scriptures. An officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of the canons of conduct. The state brought within its compass every aspect of the life of the citizen. In so far as the administrative system is concerned, medieval Mithila did not lag behind. There was a well organised administrative system modified to suit the changes caused by the then political turmoil.

\(^{324}\) Cf.—Ram Naresh Tripathi—Kabira Kaumudi—P. 56.

\(^{325}\) Cf. Likhanīvali—No. 11.
A study of the Mithilā polity clearly reveals to us that feudalism was the basis of political organisation and the feudal structure is apparent when we look to the epithets used by the ministers. Though the king was at the head of the Government, the feudatories seem to have enjoyed the real power and the baronial council had a greater say in the administrative master. They monopolised all posts of ministerial ranks. These lords were invariably Brāhmānas. They also acted as aide-camp (Rājaballabha—a term used by Jyotirīśwara) and we find that Bhavāditya, a brother of Devāditya, was a “Rājaballabha”. Since the effective control of the barons made the king a virtual puppet in their hands, caste in politics had lost all meaning for Caṇḍeśwara. Sovereign may be of any caste but it should be his primary duty to protect his subjects in accordance with the sacred precepts. To maintain their hold on the people and the government, Caṇḍeśwara made provisions for the ministry of religion (Purohitādītaraṅgāḥ) and the appointment of a new king was confirmed by this ministry which performed the ceremony according to the Vedic rites. The hold of religion on politics seems to be a reality. 326 There does not seem to be any remarkable or revolutionary change in the state policy and the rulers simply followed the time-honoured precepts and conventions. Rules were framed for the guidance of the people in their religious and social observances. The mention of of a separate department of transfer in 14th-15th century Mithilā is indicative of the fact that these feudal barons did not like to fix any officer at a particular place for an indefinite period as that would jeopardise the interest of the barons themselves. Mithilā, in this respect, was a precursor of Shershah. There is also a reference to the system of espionage in the Puruṣaparikṣā and other contemporary works. We come across a long list of officials and administrative terms in

326. RR.—70–74. For the duties and functions of the Grampanchayata in Mithila, see Appendix—a medieval MSS in Maithili language dealing with its function.
the contemporary literary writings, the details of which are

given below—

(i) Bhūpāla—VR—lord of the Earth.

(ii) Māndalika—VR—officer in charge of a Māndala.
Panchobh CP.

(iii) Samanta—VR—RR—Vidyāpati and in other MSS and

inscriptions.

(iv) Senāpati—VR, RR, Likhanāvali, PP

(v) Purapati—VR—RR—PP—

(vi) Mantri—VR—RR—Vidyāpati's writings, Dhūrtasamāga-
mātaka—and in various other MSS.

(vii) Purohitā—VR—RR—PP.

(viii) Dharmaḍhikarana—VR—DV—

(ix) Sāndhitivigraha—VR—RR, Likhanāvali—and in various

other MSS.

(x) Mahāmattaka—Likhanāvali, VR, etc—

(xi) Pratibalakaranadhyakṣa— Possibly the officer combined

in himself some military func-
tions and those of the chief of

a secretariat.

(xii) Šāntikaranika—VR and Likhanāvali

(xiii) Rajaguru—VR—

(xiv) Dūrgapāla—VR—RR

(xv) Thakktūra—MSS and Likhanāvali

(xvi) Snigdha—RR

(xvii) Sarvārthachintakam—RR

(xviii) Dūta—RR—According to Caṇḍeśwara, he should

be well-versed in all branches of literature, talented,
tolerant and patient. (PP—42—54)

(xix) Gulma—RR (P. 60)—It ordinarily means a wood,

fort, and a police station. Fleet translated Gulmika

as a "Superintendent of wood and forests" (CII—III.

52—fn. 4). Dr. U. N. Ghoshal takes Gulmika as col-
lector of custom duties and refers to "Gulnadeya" of

the Arthaśāstra in support of his view (Cf—Hindu

Revenue System—P. 292). Gulma has been taken by

Caṇḍeśwara to mean a group of three to five villages.
It seems that the *Gulma* indicated a small administrative centre of a group of three or five villages in Mithila during the period, under review, or might have been the centre of a police station. There is a reference to *Gulmapati* in the *Panchobh CP* signifying the officer commanding a *Gulma* squadron.

( xx ) *Mahāpilupati — Panchobh CP* — (Chief trainer of elephants)

( xxi ) *Mahāśādhāni — Do* — (Superintendent of military supplies)

( xxii ) *Mahākṣapatalika — Do* — (Incharge of accounts and record departments)

( xxiii ) *Mahādharmanādhiśālikarṇika — Do* — (Chief justice)

( xxiv ) *Mahākarnādhyāṅka — Do* — (Chief or the Secretariat)

( xxv ) *Vārtinaibandhika — Do* — (Digest writers) or Intelligence Officer—Cf *Likhanāvali*

( xxvi ) *Mahāvārtikanāibandhika — Likhanāvali* —

( xxvii ) *Mahouthitthtibāsanika (?)—Panchobh CP—*

( xxviii ) *Mahādandaṁāṇṣiyaka — Do* and *DV*—and other *MṢṢ*.

( xxix ) *Mahāśāmantarāṃṣiyaka — Do* —

( xxx ) *Khaṇḍapāla — Do* — (U.N. Ghoshal regards it as a military official—Cf *IHQ—XIV. 839*. Other scholars regard it as custom Inspector or Superintendent of police, or even as the Superintendent of municipal arms).

( xxxi ) *Mahāvyuhapati — Do* — Chief master of military arrays—

( xxxii ) *Mahādhipārika — Do* — Chief Superintendent of offices

( xxxiii ) *Mahomudprādhīkāri — Do* — Keeper of the royal seal.

( xxxiv ) *Ghaṭṭapāla — Keeper of the mountain pass.*

( xxxv ) *Mudrāhastaka — Likhanāvali*

The *Likhanāvali* gives a list of the following officers:

( i ) *Mahāpatnika Thakkura* —

( ii ) *Mahāmattaka Thakkura*
(iii) Mahāsupakāropati
(iv) Mahāpūrnāgārika Thakkura
(v) Svasrāgārika
(vi) Pāniyāgārika
(vii) Mahādeśanaiibandhika Thakkura
(viii) Mahādevāgārika Thakkura
(ix) Koṣāgāra
(x) Mahābhānugārika
(xi) Dalpati
(xii) Rāut
(xiii) Kāryi
(xiv) Osathī
(xv) Mogaddam

Besides these, the poet refers to the following—

(i) Janapada—
(ii) Paura Janapada (Cf.—Kirtilata)
(iii) Pargana
(iv) Tappā
(v) Grāma

It may be pointed out here that the History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol VI, published by the Bhārtiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, dealing with the period, under review, does not contain even a single line on the pattern of administration as envisaged by Caṇḍeśwara. It may be noticed here that the Oinwāra rulers were, to a great extent, independent and they had their own administrative system, of which Caṇḍeśwara was the political theorist. Mithila, then, was decidedly not governed by Muslim rules and regulations and as such a study of the Maithila political institutions should have found a place in that book. Keeping in view the needs of the time, Caṇḍeśwara introduced a new branch of literature known as Rājniti.
CHAPTER III
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

I

Mithilā, during the period under review, was a feudal state and her entire social structure was based on feudal pattern, though not exactly of the western type. A Feudal basis of the feudal society is fundamentally determined by social organisation the relations between a landowning military aristocracy on the one hand and a vast class of peasant producers on the other. The landowners were militarily an extremely powerful class of which the king was the most eminent. The king along with the feudal barons had all the means of coercion in society. Their sustenance as a non-producing class depended on the transfer to themselves of the surplus produced by the peasants. 1 Śrīdharaḍāsa, in his anthology, Saduktikarnāṁṛta, has collected a few poems relating to this aspect of social life. 2 In a feudal society ordinary folks were condemned to lead a life of poverty. Wealth was monopolised by aristocracy consisting of three tiers landed, official and mercantile. Śrīdharaḍāsa has depicted the pitiable condition of a poor householder. 3 Stanza No. 1175 of the Subhāṣītataratnakoṣa (HOS—42) depicts the merciless oppression of villages whose consequent desolation is emphasised by the cooing of doves in the orchard. D.D. Kosambi says—"Indeed, poverty—of his particular class-seems to be the only reality with which the poet of the classical period came to grips.....the famished householder says to his wife, be patient till the rains, then the pumpkins we can grow without labour by our hovel


3. Ibid.—; for a more pitiable picture of the poverty stricken people; Cf. R.N. Tripathi—Kabita Kaumudi—Vol. III. P. 15 ff.
will feed us as well as any king. Nor does starvation force upon the penurious intellectual the slightest idea of going out to earn something by his labour, the society of the day had conditioned his mentality and that of his fellows. There is no land...the entire family lives just in one room... The people generally depicted here combine infinite leisure with a full measure of wealth... the lower classes remained where they were..."

The inevitability of caste was the common bond that helped the formation of a coherent society and the class structure was maintained by the association of the nobles with the armed retainers. It was ordained that everybody should earn his livelihood according to his caste. Even the social reformers failed to modify the caste structure. From the Buddha to Chaitanya, the reformers tried to enlighten the inner elements through such emotional appeals as *Ahimsa, Bhakti* and love but failed to deliver the goods in so far as their economic life was concerned. Chaitanya did nothing to remove the caste barriers. *Bhakti*, in the practical sense, looked like a homage to a lord. At first flush, people accepted the new faith with the zeal of a convert, breaking the chains of intricate social system, but as soon as they discovered that even these expounders of the new faith did not actually mean what they propagated, they used to get disappointed and reverted back to their original social way of thinking amounting to fatalism. Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, was the homeland of a host of refugee scholars from all over the country. It has been held that Mithilā emerged as the acknowledge head both secular and religious of all


5. *Ibid.*—XLVI.

6. *Ibid.*—LVI.


P.P. 80, 81, 394 *Kṛṣṇa* was a shepherd and not a politician.
the regions north and east of Saraju and had the privilege of being the centre of Sanskrit learning in the east. The circumstances of other social forces of the age kept the mental curiosity of our poet busy in thinking of the nothingness of human life and in trying to realise the glories of the beatific vision. The devotional songs have pictured the gloom which had so long prevailed in the social and political surroundings of Mithilā. Though the picture of feudal society is evident from his writings, Vidyāpati boasts of the proved merits of the Maithilas. In the Vaṁnaratnākara, we are told about the luxury and appalling poverty, the old and established notions about various institutions, the oddities and frivolities and the social inequalities and so on. Times without number we find our poet bewailing at the growing inequality in the society through his Maheśavānis, which depict the life of the common folk. The ordinary man is described as nothing more than a fallen creature and he is always an object of pity.

II

The Kulinism constitutes an important landmark in the history of Mithilā. Why and how this system came to be

10. PP—Tale 5, 35.
11. ibid.—Cf. Gītovidyakatha—अहो तीर्मुक्तिवा: स्वामावाद युगमित्वः भवति: ।
12. VR—introduction—
13. MM—NOS 774–75—हम नर अधम परस पतिता हम निरर्दीस अनाथे ।
14. ibid.—No. 350—निधन का जनों धन फिर्तु होई । करए चाह बछाह ।
15. For reference—Cf. Parmeswar Jha—Mithila—Tutte-Vimarśa; R. B. Das—Mithila Darpana, R. N. Jha—Alavikulaparakaśa and Harihārasutkimuktavati, S. T., TMI; Ghanānanda Jha—Ghata-karīja; Mukunda Jha Bakshi—Mithilabhūṭamaya Ithāsā; O'Malley — Indian Caste Customs. A traditional verse in Mithilā ascribes its origin to Harasimhadeva of the Karṇa dynasty (Cf.—My Paper the "Karṇas of Mithila"—in the ABORI—XXXV—91 ff.)—
शाके श्री ईरिलिह देव नृपते भूपाकु दुष्टे जनि: ।
established in Mithilā is yet a mystery? It is a fact that the Muslim impact had necessitated the hardening of caste-rules to an extreme degree. On account of the geographical factors the maithilas had already acquired insular habits. They kept themselves isolated and their emphasis on the Smrtic Kulinism and its effects—enabled them to solidify their conservative outlook. The idea of maintaining the pristine purity of their race and culture lay at the root of the social reorganisation, based on old ideals. The aim of this social reorganisation was to conserve the purity and uphold the distinctive marks of culture and as a result of which, it is believed by some, new social values came to be established. By its insistence on the purity of lineage, it gave prominence to birth, accomplishment and character. From the language of the traditional verse, it appears that Harasimhadeva simply systematised and helped in the compilation of the Pañjis, the roots of which were already there. The history of Kulinism in Mithila is yet an unexplored field and it would be profitable to go into the details of the system at some length here.

While editing the Bangaon CP, Dr. D. C. Sircar has rightly observed—"Another interesting fact revealed by the Bangaon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihar to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of Koloñcha......one of the most renowned sets of the learned

It appears that Pañjis were compiled in Śaka 1216 = 1294–95 A. D. In the Ghaṭakarīja (P. 14), the date is given as Śaka 1232—1310 A. D.; Cf.—R. K. Choudhary—History of Maithili Literature.

16. Cf. TM. 278—describes Harasimha as "the greatest social reformer who organised Maithila society in a new set-up which is yet extant despite its adverse effects."

17. EI—XXIX. PP. 52–54.
Brāhmaṇas... Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of the east Indian Brāhmaṇs towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāṇcha, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in north Bihar and Bengal.” The Bangaon CP stands further supported by the Panchobh CP, discovered from the heart of Mithilā in so far as the respect for Kolāṇcha Brāhmaṇa is concerned. It is believed that a king, named Ādiśūra, invited a number of Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas. Dr. Sircar says—“...no genuine ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources.” The great scholar of Mithilā, Vācaspati Miśra, refers to a ruler Ādiśūra, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century A. D. According to Dr. Sircar this Ādiśūra became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kolāṇcha Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. He further asserts that the institution of Kulinism was borrowed from north Bihar.

The tradition of the five Brāhmaṇas, invited from the sacred land of Kolāṇcha, is the starting point of Kulinism is eastern India. In so far as Mithilā is concerned, the Brāhmaṇas formed a category by themselves and they are said to have migrated to

Cf.—Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Parika—Vol. LVII—P. 68; Vācaspati’s known date is V. S. 898—841 A. D.; For Ādiśūra—also Cf. —History of Bengal (edited by R. C. Majumdar )—PP. 210-211, Cf.—S. C. Vidyarthi—History of Indian Logic—P. 133—for Vācaspati Miśra, for Śāka Era—etc.—Cf.—JGN JRI. II. 349-53;
Assam as early as the Sixth Century A.D. 22 When the Brāhmaṇas were possibly annoyed at the predominance of the Buddhists in Mithilā, they migrated to Purnea and Assam. The Vaidika Sampradāyikas were the earliest Brāhmaṇa settlers of Assam and they are said to have migrated from Mithilā. They still follow the smṛti rites of Mithilā school in preference to Bengal School. The traditional accounts maintain that a King of Tripura brought five Vaidika Brāhmaṇas from Mithilā to assist him in the performance of a yajña. 23 The Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā kept alive the orthodox tradition of castes and prided themselves on their purity and claimed to be free from the Buddhistic influence. They looked upon the people of Magadha as impure and when some of the Magadhan social practices and customs crept in, it seems that Ādiśūra, who was ruling somewhere in Mithilā, invited the Brāhmaṇas from the traditional Kolāncha and made rigorous rules for the protection of Brāhmaṇanism. Except in cases of religions Yātrā or pilgrimage across the Ganges, fresh initiation was necessary. After the institution of Kulinism was founded by Ādiśūra, it was thought proper to make grants to the Brāhmaṇas, who either hailed from Kolāncha or were related to them. Thus the institution of Kulinism in Mithilā can be traced to Ādiśūra, if not earlier, and it was later systematised by the Karnaṭas in Mithila and the Senas in

22. EI—IIX. 117-124; Cf. EI—III—330 for the Śākadiwipi Brāhmaṇas and Gayāwala. Also Cf. EI—XXI. 219. Also Cf.—Vanger Jātiya Itihāsa (Rājanyakhanda) P. 95; N. N. Vasa—Social history of Kamrupa—Vol I. P. 117 says—“Ādiśūra or Rāṇha worsted Śrī Harṣa.”

23. Cf. my paper—A Critical revaluation of the Nīddhanpur Gps— in the PIHC—XXII P. 493 ff. Cf. Radhakrishna Choudhary—मिश्रकलक संस्कृतिक इतिहास— Also Cf. N. N. Vasu—Op. Cit. III. 63; EI—IIX. 65 ff; The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Assam are said to have been a section of the Mithilā Brāhmaṇas— Cf. Risley—op. cit. 163; N. N. Vasu—Vinaakgeś—XV. 405 IHQ—VII. 743 ff; Vasu—Kamrupa—III—81 ff—He gives a long list and detailed history.
Bengal. The *Pañjis* of Mithilā go back to the time of Nānyadeva. ^24^  

Varnāśramadharma was, no doubt, the order of the day. Caste system is one of the oldest heritage that has come down to us. The fluidity of the early period ultimately gave way to its crystallisation during the period under review. It is curious that inspite of repeated warnings and successive movements against the rigidity of caste system and priestcraft, the system has grown, spread and has caught napping practically every aspect of our life in its strangling grip and it appears, as if, it were the inevitable course of destiny. All movements against the system, Jainism, Buddhism, Vaiśnavism, originated and developed independently but ultimately came to be overpowered by the evils of the system. There is no doubt that caste system is an anachronism in our society. Its rise and development may be traced to the development of the economic system of the country and it has persisted, as such, through the ages. Not only Mithilā, but Bengal, Assam and Orissa have also their own system of Kulinsm and all these states were socially and culturally integrated for a greater period in the middle ages. The system of *Panjis*, in one form or the other, exists in all these states even today and a study of these records is yet a desideratum. The mythical hero, Ādiśūra, is equally claimed by all as the real originator of Kulinsm in their respective states. Since the great philosopher, Vācaspati Miśra, is a Maithila and he lived at the court of Ādiśūra, who seems to have ruled at the north-eastern portion of Mithilā, it may be suggested that he laid the foundation of Kulinsm in his territory and from there it spread to Bengal and other parts. The Brāhmaṇas in Mithilā were already grouped according to their *gotra* and *pravara* and after the system was organised on sound lines by Ādiśūra, the skeleton genealogy came to be maintained as we know that the earliest *Pañji* goes back to the time of Nānyadeva. Ballālasena in Bengal and Harasimha in Mithila are credited with having

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organised the system scientifically. According to O’malley, Harasisimhadeva settled the respective ranks of the three sections of the Maithila subcastes of Brāhmaṇas and made marriage rules for them. It has been held that Harasimha’s intention was to encourage religious observancy among the people of his own land and also to maintain the purity of blood by avoiding the forbidden degrees of relationship and marriages in strict conformity with the Śāstric injunctions.

The Brāhmaṇas were divided into four subcastes—(i) Śrottriyas, (ii) yogyas, (iii) Pañjibadhas and (iv) the Jaibūras. It has been pointed out that “birth, accomplishments and character were the only factors which decided the issue of a social status” and the society adjudged the position of a Maithila Brāhmaṇa on the basis of the approved professions prescribed for them. By its insistence on the purity of lineage, it was but natural to have emphasised on the importance of birth and personal accomplishment of character. Since Harasimhadeva reorganised the society, he is credited with having laid the foundation of Maithila Kulinsīm with the help of his minister, Suryakara Thākur, known as Lekhi in the

25. Cf. MD I. 64; MTV—136-143; MD I. 184; N. N. Vasu—op. cit.—II. 162-63; J. H. Hutton—Caste in India—(O. U. P. 1951)


27. JBORS—III. 516; Cf. PUJ—I (No. 2.)—P. 11

28. JBRS—XXXIII. 55, Cf. TM. 357 ff, ST—63, For mythical stories etc—Cf. Ghaṭakarajā—P. 14 ff

29. Cf. Ghaṭakarajā—P. 17 ff—for details

30. Harisharasuktimuktwali—PP. 32, Cf. Mithilānka—PP. 69, 151

31. N. N. Vasu—op. cit. (Kamrupa, II–158 ff) has dwelt at length the history of the family of Śrīdharadī. The account given here is thoroughly confusing and can not be relied upon because the Mithila Panjis of the Karanakāyasthas maintain a true picture of his family. Sri Bhola Lal Das has
Mithilā Pañji (indicating an officer). According to N.N. Vasu, he was the chief minister of Harasimhadeva and was well-known to all students of the social history of Mithilā. The custom of recording genealogical accounts and measures given a fitting reply to the points raised by N. N. Vasu.

The main points raised by N. N. Vasu are:

(i) Batudāsa was appointed the Victey of East Bengal by Ballālasena (P. 159).

(Cf. बटुढे घोड़े बबबलासन—Dhakur by Kāsidasā).

(ii) Śridharadāsa, youngest son of Batudas, acquired fame by compiling Sukiṭaṇḍāṇa—

Vasu distinguishes between Śridhardāsa and Śridhara Thakur but that runs counter to the Maithila Pañji versions—

(iii) Vijayasena gave Nānyadeva the army with help of which he occupied the territory of Mithila. Nānyadeva was accompanied by the brave warrior Śridhara Thākur (P. 160). He interprets the Andhrathārhi inscription in his own way and translates the second line as—“by Śridhara the effulgent sun among the lotus like Kṣatriyas of Bengal”—(P. 161).

(iv) Bodhidāsa (a great poet and a sage, referred to by Vidyāpati in his PP) is shown here as a son of Śridharadāsa (P. 162)—his son is shown as Ānandakara sad his son as Śuryakara.

(v) Suryakara, succeeded by Pratikara Laksminātha whose son was Amṛtakara, minister of Sivasimha—(P. 164.) Amṛtakara had two sons—Vijayakara and Nityakara. Vijayakara’s grandson Kṛṣṇakara Thākur was the minister of Kāṁsāntrāyaṇa. Of the two sons of Nityakara, Narhari Dāsa was a Śākta and used to visit Kāmstkhya—

(vi) Rāja Viśvasimha (of Kāmrupa) is said to have brought a scholarly Brāhmaṇa, Sarvabhauma Thākur, to his court. At the instance of Sarvabhauma Thākur Viśvasimha brought Narabari to Kāmrupa and appointed him as chief minister (P. 165). Narabari had—
to preserve them were instituted. The task of keeping the records of the Brāhmaṇa families and those of the Karana Kāyasthas of Mithilā were entrusted to scholarly Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas respectively. Such persons are even today honoured and respected as Pañjikāras. The names of Raghudeva Jha and Suryakara Thākur will go down in the social history of Mithilā for their immense contribution to the systematisation of Kulinism. It is a curious phenomenon that the social hierarchy with its carefully regulated marks of honour apportioned to each family prevails even today among the Brāhmaṇas and the Kāyasthas. The two “mulas”, Balāin (Saptā Dera) and “Biarasan” (Kharajpura Dera) are still held in high esteem among the Kāyasthas as are the Śrotiya and Yogyas in the Brāhmaṇ social hierarchy. 32 Śrī Ghanānand Jha has given a long list of the Brāhmaṇas’ social hierarchy according to the Gotra, Pravara and Mula. Under (i) Śāṇḍilya Gotra, there are 42 mulas; (ii) Kāśyapagotra, there are 29, (iii) Vatsagotra, 36; (iv) Śavarmyagotra, 5; (v) Kātyāyanagotra, 4; (vi) Parāsagaragotra

two sons e. g., Rāmadāsa and Payonidhi. Rāmadāsa remained in the State service of Mithila (p. 166) while Payonidhi had two sons at Kāmrupa e. g., Kavikarnapura and Kavindrapatra. 

(vii) Kavindrapatra caused fourteen Kāyastha families to be brought from Mithila (P. 167), reconstructed the society on the lines of Maithila Kulinism at Kāmrupa (P. 168)

—As I have pointed out earlier, these names usually run counter to the ones maintained in the Pañjis of Mithila. About seven decades ago, the grandfather of the writer of these lines, Late Shyamlal Choudhary, travelled all over Bengal, Assam and Orissa and collected and collated the details regarding the Pañjis of the Karana Kayasthas, but unfortunately for us those records are now missing, though the genealogical list of the writer of these lines is yet preserved. For the Kāyastha’s, account consult op. cit. Vol 1—P. 179 ff.

32. Cf. Alavikula-prakāśa, Ghatakaraṇa etc.—; MD and MTV for details.
CHAPTER III

11; (vii) Bhārdwājagotra, 9; (viii) Gautamagotra, 8; (ix) Gārgyagotra, 3; (x) Kauśikagotra, 1; (xi) Kṛṣṇatreyagotra, 3; (xii) Vasiṣṭhagotra, 3; (xiii) Kauṇḍiyagotra, 1; (xiv) Viṣṇubridhigotra, 1; (xv) Maudgalyagotra, 5; (xvi) Alambukākṣa, 2; (xvii) Upamanyu, 1; (xviii) Taṇḍīgōtra, 2 and (xix) Kapilagotra, I mulas. 33 Among the important Brāhmaṇa mulas are (i) Dighwai, (ii) Sarisave, (iii) Pagulavāra, (iv) Khaḍaure; (v) Gangafulavāra; (vi) Yajjuḍe; (vii) Dahibhata, (viii) Sodarapur, (ix) Chativana, (x) Hariamaya, (xi) Takabulley, (xii) Ghusaute; (xiii) Palivāra, (xiv) Tisaute; (xv) Fannevāra, (xvi) Karamahe, (xvii) Sakarivāra; (xviii) Oinwāra; (xix) Khauvāde, (xx) Bahāḍīvāra; (xxi) Darihare; (xxii) Belounchhe; (xxiii) Budhavāda, (xxiv) Kusumāre; (xxv) Jajjude, (xxvi) Ekhare; (xxvii) Paḍe; (xxviii) Uchitavāde, (xxix) Valiyāse, (xxx) Jalaivāra; (xxxi) Maḍare; (xxxii) Satalakhe; (xxxiii) Bisaivāra; (xxxiv) Aḍaiavāra; (xxxv) Paṇchobhe; (xxxvi) Nikutavāra; (xxxvii) Sarouni, (xxxviii) Naroune; (xxxix) Naravale; (xl) Kujoulivāra; (xli) Vasahai; (xlii) Suraganāya; (xlii) Siṅghasane; (xlv) Bhāḍarisame and (xlv) Sakune etc. 34 Among the Maithilā Karanakāyasthas, the main gotra is Kāṣyapa and among the important mūlas 35 are (i) Balāin; (ii) Btara; (iii) Śīśava; (iv) Koṭhāpāla; (v) Nauraṅgavālī, (vi) Paklī; (vii) Vattikavālā; (viii) Mahuni; (ix) Mānadvichha; (x) Basantapura, (xi) Aṭahara; (xii) Gaḍhakaba; (xiii) Oya, (xiv) Gaḍhanidhi—all in order of social heirarchy set up in Mithilā by Harasimhadeva. Among the Kāyaasthas, these are classed as Śrotiyamulas; the same mulas are again classed as Jaibāra mulas and there was third section also. They were generally classed as Bhalamānuṣa and Gṛhausthas. It is further believed that Vaiṣyas also had their own Paṃjis and some such Vaiṣyas are said to be yet extant near the Rahariyā (a railway station in the district of Saharsa). Their (these Vaiṣyas') Āsvajamapatras are written on the Marwā at the time of marriage. It is further believed that the system

34. Ibid—28 38.
35. Ibid—39 ff;—Of MD—Parts I and II;
of Kulinism was also adopted by the Ksatriyas and Rājaputras of Mithilā. The Gopas are also said to have adopted it during the time of Harasiṃhadeva.

This system was followed with strict accuracy since its inception and anybody could improve his social status by establishing marital relationship with the upper class mulas (known as Pātās in colloquial terminology). Mm. Pandit Hari Miśra and Vacaspati Miśra have duly laid emphasis on the kuladharma and kulina aspect of the society. Those who fail to establish marital relationship with the mulas of equal status for at least three generations came to be downgraded either in maternal or paternal side and ultimately came to be reckoned as a Grhaṣṭha or fallen from the original track. If a man of the lower mula continued to establish marriage relations with the upper class mulas, his social status came to be upgraded in due course and this could be done through a system known as Vyavastha or the price paid for either coming down or going up in the inverse ratio or even vice-versa. The custom of the Siddhānta ceremony is still prevalent amongst the Brāhmaṇas and Kayasthas of Mithilā. Sabhāgāchi marriages are yet in vogue. The Paṇjikāras issue the Aśwaṭanapatras to the contracting parties. They maintain the genealogical tables of each and every family and before the marriage negotiations are finalised, they consult the Paṇjikāras and when the clearance certificate is given out, only then the negotiations are finalised. In the case of the Brāhmaṇas, the marriage permit was to be signed by the ruling authority, i.e., the Śrotiya ruler of Mithilā. Thakur’s suggestions that the same mulas were thrust upon the Kāyasthas do not stand in view of the facts stated above.

36. *Ibid.* 45–46—The book is said to have been in possession of Babu Narasiṃha Prasad Śimha of Bhaddi-Durgapur, Patharghat, (Saharsa) from where it was taken away by Shyam Sundar Mahārāja, a Bhāṭa, of Alamanagar, Saharsa.
37. *Ibid.*—47.
38. *JBORS*—III. 516 ff—for details.
The system, thus organised, introduced the system of *mula* in Tirhut. *Mula* indicated either the original homeland or the territorial unit of the *Bijipurusa*. It is doubtful, if anyone else except the Brāhmana had his specific gotra at that time. Other castes adopted the *gotras* either of the family priests or the *gotras* were thrust upon to bring them under the Brahmanical scheme. Territorial names for the exogamous sections are curiously mixed up with the names preserving the memory of a chief who founded the section within the historic times. *Kula* and *Mula* express a circle of agnatic descent, and a man of the same *mula* was not allowed to marry a girl of his own *mula*. Risley has pointed out that wherever exogamy based on *mula* conflicts with that based on *gotra*, the *mula* prevailed over the *gotra*. 40

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40. Risley—*op. cit.*—Lii—Lvii—; Risley says—"...the ancestors from whom the members of the *Kula* are supposed to be descended is much less remote in point of time than the mythic progenitor of the Brāhmanical *gotra*, or semi-historic eponym of the Rājput clan (P. Lvi)... Similar groups exist under the name of *mula* among the *Bais*, a cultivating caste of North Bhagalpur,... these groups are small and very numerous in relation to the size of the caste. A *Panjiār* of the *Bais* claims to have in his possession registers recording the alliances of three hundred families—" (Lvii) —; Cf. P. xlvi—relating to marriage etc.—

Cf. Wilson—*op. cit.* ; O’Malley—*op. cit.*.

Risley has pointed out though a chart Proposita herself does not belong to any of the three *mulas* A, B, D which are barred on the man’s side but her maternal grand father belonged to the *D mula*, which is barred for Propositus—; consequently marriage can not take place. The *mula* of Proposita’s maternal grandfather is not taken into account—

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*Ibid. P. Lvii* Also—Cf. *Ghatakaraṇa*—
Among the Karanā Kāyasthas of Mithilā, the gotra being the same (Kāśyapagotra), Samula marriage is strictly prohibited. Since the introduction of this system marriages came to be performed within the forbidden degrees of relationship and it was obligatory for every person to get a certificate of non-relationship (Āśwajanapatra) between the two contracting parties from the Panjikāras. This led to the institution of a class of Ghaṭakas or marriage negotiators, who had little scruples in indulging in unfair means. Since the keeping of the family genealogies (Pañjis) assumed gigantic proportions, the influence of the Panjikāras increased immensely and they too, like the Ghaṭakas, indulged in extorting money. A critical and scientific study of these Pañjis, yet a desideratum, will reveal to us many relevant points relating to the history of Mithilā. Grierson consider the Pañji records as one of the most extraordinary series in existence. The Ghaṭakas, no doubt, play a very prominent part in the marriage negotiations and they have rightly received a funny place in Maithili literature even in modern times.

The system of Kulinism had its evil effects on the maithila society. It helped the growth of conservative outlook and retarded the social progress to an extent that even today Mithilā has not been able to free herself from its baneful influence. Having no prospect of any political progress, the maithila mind was diverted towards the purity of race and culture and the system, in question, afforded good food for their intellectual diversions. Risley has rightly called the Maithila Kulins as

41. Cf. VR—P. 27—नारदक सहितर असुनि पृथक
Cf. VR—P. 64—निर्वाह ब्राह्मण—गोत्रेयामापकमधु पूर्व द्वारा चार निर्बृह—आधुक योगमध्य उत्तमयोग निर्बृह——तदन्तर गोत्रप्रबरक अनुगति अत्मसंर्थने सद्दहिश कर्माधान निबृह।—It indicates that the genealogical Panjīs were highly valued. In his Dhārṣtamāgama, he mentions about himself as “पल्लीज्वत्म भूमिना”

42. IA—1885 (July). P. 187,

43. Cf. Baidyanath Misra “Yātrī” (Popularly known as Nagarjuna)
—Buṣhabara.
"Bikānu or vendors who married sometimes as many as fifty wives. The Kulinas married only for the sake of the girl of lower families and this ultimately led to the emergence of a worst type of polygamy. Daughters of the Gṛhastas were sold away for monetary gains and most of them turned widows in no time. The system gave impetus to child marriage and the whole of maithili literature is replete with such references.

At that time there was a regular contact between Mithilā and Bengal and Chaitanyakadeva’s second wife was a maithila lady. The Bengali titles, Bhāduri and Ganguli, are said to have been derived from the Maithila mulas.

Vidyāpati was a strong supporter of the system of Kulinism. He was opposed to intercaste marriage or such marriage alliances as ran counter to the established principles of

Vidyāpati’s View of the land. His strict attitude on the rigidity of the social system is clearly perceptible in his poetry and other works. ‘Akalina’ deserves no sympathy and even the beauty was the preserve of the rich and the honoured class. Caste was the determining factor in all aspects of social life. According to Vidyāpati, a man born of infamous lineage was bound to turn out evil minded sneak. According to our poet, a country, where caste rules are not observed, is a mlechcha country. His encyclopaedic writings are the mirrors of the Maithila social life. The most important and the baneful effect of Kulinism was that it killed the initiative of

44. Risley—op. cit.—Vol I. P. 440.
45. Cf. Ram Ekbal Singh Rakesh—Maithili Lokegeet; Cf. Lakhima’s view—in chapter on “Literature,”
46. Cf.—Ghatakarāja; MTV—for details.
47. Cf. Kiritāta—P. 16—जाति अजातिक विवाह अथव उच्चम को पराक
48. Cf. MM—No. 459—कवडु न हो जाति ब्राह्मण व्यभिचार
No. 458—अकुशित सयं तद कर सदमाव
49. PP—Tale 6.
50. Also Cf. S.N. Thakur—Nos 4, 40, 43—
49. PP—Tale 13;
the large mass of populace whose interest now lay not in the society as a whole but in their own sections.

The system, as a whole, had staggering effects on the society of Mithila though we have three divergent views on the subject by three Maithila scholars of our time. Dr. Jayakant Miśra says—"The Panji-prabandha is one of the most important forces in Maithila life...... A sympathetic appreciation of the old custom, which has in the past played an important part in preserving social order and encouraged a healthy rivalry for virtuous and noble life, should, however, prevent us from merely condemning it blindly."  

51 Prof. Ramānāth Jha observes—., "(It) constitutes an important landmark in the history of Mithilā. It was primarily a measure of social re-organisation designed to conserve the purity of the Maithila race and to uphold the distinctive characteristic of Maithila culture, but it set up such new standards of social values that in effect it revolutionised the entire outlook of society and shaped the future destiny of Mithilā. . . . it has weathered—all the storms that have blown over Mithilā without its roots being shaken, much less uprooted."  

52 Upendra Thakur 53 says—"...(it) instead of proving a boon spelt severe curses on the society and caused devastating impact on the morale of the people.—..."

"(i) disintegrated it (society) to the core, fostered bitter jealousy and hatred amongst the newly constituted sub-classes within a class...

(ii) matrimonial alliances turned into monetary alliances.

(iii) Growing demoralisation and the more and more hatred of one section against another infested the very soul of the society."

There can be hardly any ground for any doubt that the proponent of the system was a zealous reformer. His reforms, then no doubt, saved the Maithila society from being polluted by

51. HML—I. 31.

52. Haritarasuktamuktavali—P. 30,

53. TM—362–364.—For a clear and class enunciation of this system, see an article in the Jbors—III—by the late Maharājādhirāja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameswara Simha.
the foreigners who were frequenting Mithilā from every nook and corner. The system had, no doubt, its good points but the time and circumstances combined to degrade it to a status from where it was impossible to rise up. There were already class and caste divisions and the system further created classes within class. Since the king was both the religious and secular head, his pleasure and displeasure could account for the degradation or elevation of any one. His kindness to the Brāhmaṇas is evident from a number of sources. Though drinking of wine was not allowed to the Brāhmaṇas, it was laid down that he would suffer no loss of caste or position if drinking was necessary for saving his life. According to a Muslim source, the Brāhmaṇas were the very keys of the chamber of idolatory. The traditional love for Vedic injunctions was emphasised. Like all other traditional thinkers, Vidyāpati believed in the maintenance of social status quo and advised persons to stick to his own vocation. Purely scriptural arguments were put forward for this social inequality. The earlier flexibility of kulinism disappeared in no time and exaggerated importance came to attached to person born in high mulas. This was bound to result in rivalry among the various groups and this continues even to this day in some form or other and its degeneration came to be discerned in all walks of life and are perceptible even today.

The system of Kulinism had a wider appeal at its very start. It was borrowed and strictly adopted by the peoples of Bengal and Assam, though Risley believes that only the Brāhmaṇas borrowed it in Bengal. The Bengāli Kulapanjikā texts are

56. Cf. Umāpati—Pārijatāharaṇāṇitaka—P. 30 (Grierson’s edition)
57. MM No 45—कःकल्पपेर्म दृष्ट जाए—Cf. PP.—P. 63—“Not by error should there be association of the good with the wicked.”
59. Risley—op. cit. I. 215; Also Cf. Girindanath Datta—The Kāyasthas and Brāhmaṇas of Bengal (1906) for details.
indebted to the rules prescribed by Hari Miśra and Vacaspati Miśra. Their indebtedness to Maithila Smriti rites is evident from the influence that Mithila exercised over Bengal. Bengal kulaji texts came to be compiled after the second half of the 15th century A.D., while the Maithila compilation took place in the early years of the 14th century A.D., if not earlier. The system of keeping genealogical records among the kāyastha of Assam was borrowed from Mithilā. It was Kavindrapatra (a Maithila) who reconstructed the Panji of the Kāyasthas of Kāmrupa and Kayastha titles of these two regions also tally to a great extent. It is believed that the Panjis were in existence in Mithilā during the days of Nānyadeva and if the ascription has any value, then the legendary ascription of Kulinism to Ballālasena does not stand. According to J. K. Miśra—"It may be pointed out that the text on which Bengali tradition makes Ballālasena distinguish persons as Kulinas is that of Vacaspati Miśra who flourished in about the 15th century and thus further confused the early origin of Bengal Kulinism. It is not known when exactly kulinism went to Bengal, but from what we know of the relations of Bengal and Mithilā during the 14th—16th centuries, it seems possible that it went there when the Bengali Scholars used to haunt Mithilā...." It may be mentioned here that names of the women do not occur, though in some of the Brāhmaṇa Panjis, the daughters are recorded not in the families of their birth but in those of their marriages. The Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga had a religious sanctity and he was called a Mithileśa and he could make any Brāhmaṇa a Śrotiya by virtue of the authority vested in him. It is not yet clear when the present grouping actually came into being. The Panjis simply indicated a line to be followed and gradually complications grew. The original panjis are now hardly available and even if they are, they are so technically written that

60. For relevant quotations regarding Vara-Kanyā—see Ghatakāraja—PP. 47-48.
61. HB—I. 624-25.
62. N. N. vasu—op. Cit. II. 168.
63. HML—I—28. Fn. 78.
they practically prove to be a sealed book for a lay man. With the preponderance of the Panjikāras and the Ghatakas (rightly compared to Nārada), the Panji literature, enormous in size and content, has been made more and more intricate. This intricate system is now rapidly growing out of date, though the Sabhāgāchi negotiations are still extant. Custom dies hard and in case of Mithilā it dies harder still.

The Kulinism in Mithilā led to excessive orthodoxy and empty formalism. Distinctions created a barrier between a man and a man and a violation of the new social rules led to social ostracism. The newly created class prided itself on its purity. Except for the purposes of Pīṇḍadāna, going southward across the Ganges came to be regarded as low and impure. If such journey ever occurred, fresh initiation was necessary. The Brāhmaṇa law-givers wrote various gloss on the Smṛitis containing rules with a view to tightening the social system. Relation between castes and various other social groups came to be governed by the rules of endogamy. Acceptance of cooked food from other caste groups was interdicted and pursuit of hereditary profession was insisted upon. Even different castes were discouraged from living together. Over and above these stringent social regulations, wealth was the criterion of social status and prestige. According to Vidyāpati, it was in money alone that a household hath its roots. Wealth determined the wisdom of a man and with its disappearance, vanished all the good qualities of a human being. The villains, serfs and rustics could not distinguish between gold, diamond and glass. It hints at the ignorance of the village folks. It was the wealth and wealth alone that made the life of a man successful. The traditional idealised contented poverty of the Brāh-

64. Cf. MM—No. 460—पनिक के आदर सकका होए।
65. PP. Tale 6—Cf. जावे धनरह अपना हाथ, ताजे आदर कर संग साथ।—Cf. PP. (Pāthak) 86-7.
66. MM—No. 494—वैभवगोट रहत विवेक, तैसन पुरुष काले माहेश्क।
67. Ibid—No. 461—वैभवगोटे मलावुमधः भास, आपन परामिव पर उपहास।
68. Cf. कांच कनक रपे सायमारुङ—
maṇas did not find favour during the period under review as we see that they enjoyed immense power and pelf and controlled the destiny of the kingdom in Mithilā. They constituted a small section of the society and for them wealth constituted a major success in life. In that respect, materialism was gaining ground and under its influence the puritanic indifference towards wealth gave place to a love for the same. In this scheme, Bhavanāṭha Miśra Ayačhi was an exception to the general rule. Mm. Hariharā, deviating from the traditional ideal, states categorically that riches alone make the life of a man successful here on the earth. Without wealth, the full enjoyment of life was impossible. Vidyāpati further gives a note of caution and says that one should not cast greedy look over others’ wealth as greedy persons fail to command respect in the society.

III

In his writings, our poet has rightly emphasised the evils of poverty in the society. The two main classes in the society were the rich and the poor. Poverty was one of the main causes of economic troubles and social immorality and our poet bears ample testimony to this fact. According to Vidyāpati, poverty brings in its train the following evils in the society:

69: Hariharasaktimuktaśāsana—XII, 25
70. Ibid—P. 37 (Introduction)
71. MM—No. 267—एति हरी अथो अर्थिक जीवन जतन अवलोकन तथानित जीवन

72. Ibid—No. 48—एति क्षेत्र पर बन लोभ

73. PP—Tales 3, 35.—Politics and economics were closely interlinked and both influenced each other in the then situation. Political conditions had repercussions on the socio-economic life.
(i) It yoketh men to sin
(ii) maketh men commit theft
(iii) teacheth knavery
(iv) hunger
(v) desire for the unobtained
(vi) complaining language
(vii) garrulity
(viii) unreasonable awkwardness.

Vidyāpati's writings owed their origin to the social needs of the people of Mithilā. His Māheśavīṇīs and other songs depict the life of the common folk. The depiction of the life of a Mahādeva is nothing but a fine representation of the life of a poor common householder of Mithilā. The condition of a common man of Mithilā as described by Vidyāpati in the 15th century, holds good even today. A poor man lived in broken thatched houses, mostly in delapidated condition, and there was hardly any certainty about his two meals. The neighbours were so crude as not to lend even a pie. There was no way


75. For a similar study—Cf. R. S. Tiwary—"Social picture in the Satsai of Bihārīlal"—in 'the JASB (Letters)—XXIV. No. 1—PP. 13-19.
out but to curse the lot and to pray to god for an early deliver-
ance from this curse. The initiative to revolt against the unjust
exploitation was skilfully diverted towards God, who, it was
made to believe, could alone relieve them from distress. The
economic divisions in the society were attributed to fate. 76

It need hardly be emphasised that our poet was pained to see
the glaring social inequalities and his pathetic lines show the
extent of misery that a common man had to experience while
the rich persons were rolling in wealth. There was no end to
peoples’ misery. 77 The poor people were subjected to all kinds
of extortion and exploitation. At times they were even deprived
of their vocations or means of maintenance. The social ine-

76. केवले सुनैहे तेहे हुळे जग।
अपन अपन फिके, भिन भिन माग ॥
77. Cf. MM No. 726—सतिव है, हमर दुख नहिं बोर ।
Cf. Ram Ekbal Singh Rakesh—Maithili Lokesgeet—PP. 161–62
कहहो न जाइहह भोझ बिपतित हाल
× × ×
माज बाप थहे, गेलक फिफर अनाजाह—
× × ×
एकदा पुतर छिन्ना तिनि जेहन कान
राजा नगर से त दिहहन मिकाल
रीजी पूछी छीन जेलक घर घन माल
× ×
छनि तेरो नाम जसतिन प्रतिपाल
तीबरे चरन पर देख कपाल
भनिहित विचारपति सुन्ते हे चंगाल
एक बैरि मोझा हरदुन होज्जन निहाल
Cf.—Kavita Kaunmudi—P. 855.
हे भोझा बावा जेहन कवली दोन
खेलन पभारी मोझा लेहो लेखी छीन
माई सहीदर सेहो मंगेल मीन
घर में न खरी बाहर न मिके रीन
गाँव के मालिक के पवेदहे नीन
एको घोटा छल्व भाई सेल्है तीन
परी विचित्र कान होहै छीना छीन—
× × ×
quality can be gleaned through the mass of contemporary vernacular literature. Beggary was an important social evil and Mahādeva was the greatest beggar. The social attitude is reflected in Gauris’s request to Mahādeva for giving up this bad habit as there was no respect for poor man in the society.  

In the face of such an economic equilibrium, the potentialities in an ordinary human being remained unexploited. The diversion of such huge potentialities towards other end stood in the way of balanced social development. In a poverty-stricken, undoubtedly man-made, society, an ordinary human being was nothing more than a fallen creature and if he, at all, wanted to rise above this state of affairs, he should turn his attention towards God. While the wealthy persons tried to preserve what they had, the poor became an object of pity. While the rich persons had finer cots, the poor had to remain content with a mat. Persons of means were advised not to have associations with the poor as the latter was devoid of wisdom. It was through the idea of Dharma that a general contentment was seen prevailing among the people whose initiative was not allowed to take shape and the poor people were advised

78. Cf. MM—No. 38—आशा हुआ म न तेज ए रे, हुए क पाचु भिक्षारी Gourt’s request—No. 797—निरन्धन जनबीच सवे उपहासप, नाही आदर अनुजन्या

79. Ibid—No. 774—हृम नर अथम परम पतिता
   No. 775—हृम निरदीश अनाथे ।

80. Ibid—No. 350—निरन्धन का जनी जन हिंदू होप, करप चाह उच्छाह ।

81. Ibid—No. 56—आएल बहसण पाव पोंबार, सेजक कहिनी पुछवे विचार। बोछाओन खण्डतरी परिवार चाह, आयोर कहव कत अहिरिन्द नाह ।

82. Ibid—No. 117—पुछ क संगुण जनम गमारोऽहिं नक दुःखिव रतिवंग
   महुजामिनी माहर आज विफळवेते, गोप गमारक संग
   No. 660—जात सोशालिन हीन मतिनी, कुजनक पिरत मरन अन्यो महास विद्विनी हत कुछ देय, शामक लामी मुख कुछ मेह ।
   कवि विवाहपितध अनुमानम, कुड़क कांसु न हुआ समान ।

Cf. PP (G)—P. 63
Also Cf.—No. 361—गामक वहले बोलीय गमार, नगरदु नागर बोलिज असार
to stand by their *Dharma* or duty. The king was the upholder of the prevailing socio-economic system. Provisions were made secure for monarchy without any right of rebellion on the part of the subjects against him if he turned otherwise. The only consolation to the people was that if he violated *Dharma*, the outraged law would avenge itself on a tyrant in a second and inevitable birth. That is why the political thinkers attached so much importance to non-violence. Social stigma was attached to every act in Mithilā. The *VR* tells us about the luxury and poverty, the old and established notions and institutions, the oddities and frivolities, the social inequality and so on. The chief possession of a poor man was his misery. The lower social classes were despised and looked down upon. Forced by the circumstances and the pressure of poverty, the lower classes took recourse to bad means of living. This economic inequality led to the establishment of a resigned social attitude and it came to be embedded in the daily life of an ordinary Maithila. That aspect is perceptible in the vast mass of folk literature and is in keeping with the tradition of the age of Vidyāpati.

83. *Ibid.—No. 45—कत्तेकर साजनि कि कहाँ बुझाएँ, कहाँ थने धरम दुर जाएँ।* ।

Cf. Carpentier—*op. cit.—P. 321; PP (N)—111;—

84. Nerukar—115—Plotting against king was considered a sin.


85. Nerukar—112—For sentiments of Vidyāpali on non-Violence.

Cf. Amir Khusro—*KK—709* for Hindu sentiments on non-Violence.

86. *PP—Tale 13,


—कोकटी कोही पड़ा गाज ! निरहुति गीत कहए अनुराग !

मुन्दर अमलोत फोका मधान \। फिरास केर कहुँ फकवाम \।

जगह आदरण कर में बानह \। अपना अपनी कुल अभिमान \।

देवी व्यासन सम केशो जान \। पाठिन सराहो चौँ चान \।

कहली धन्यक भोजन पात \। किया कर्म में उज्ज्वल हाल \।

दोही क नासो सकलो देश \। धर्म कर्म रत रहॅ नरेश \।

गप्पक रतियाँ कर एन कार \। सप दुखुक औषध फलहार \।

माव भरत पर तहसी रूप \। एतवे निरहु दोहाँ अनुप।
CHAPTER III

IV

The strength and weakness of the Maithila culture, nay of entire Indian culture, in its social aspect can, at best, be studied through the institutions of castes and subcastes. The system engendered snobbishness and pride among the higher castes and, at the same time it induced a spirit of inferiority and servility among the lower castes. On the national plane, it hindered the development of a common humanity. During the period, under review, the system came to be more and more crystallised and the only guarantee for social stability. Men were often to suffer present evil for the hope of future gain and the institution of caste held out such hopes both here and hereafter. This aspect is present in almost all the writings of our poet and other contemporary writers of the period. It may be borne in mind here that the traditional theory relating to the professions was not strictly adhered to, as was envisaged in the system. During our period, numerous castes and subcastes existed and, like their predecessors in the field, the Maithila Nibandhakāras tried to fit in these numerous castes within the framework of the traditional four varṇas. Relying on the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vidyapati has pointed out that a country is a mlecha country where the caste rules are not observed. 88 One should follow the path of the Vedas as that was the only way of righteousness. 89

The social structure, as envisaged in the Smṛiti works of Caṇḍeśwara, Vidyāpati and Vācaspāti, consists of the four primary castes, viz, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sudras and an indefinite number of despised castes. Brāhmaṇas were the most privileged in the contemporary social heirarchy. They had certain special prerogatives. According to a contemporary Muslim authority, the Brāhmaṇas were the very keys of idolatry and the infidels were dependent on them. 90 Drinking of wine amounted to the loss of caste for a Brāhmaṇa, but in case of incurable disease where such drinking was necessary for

89. Pārijataharana (Grierson’s edition)—p. 30.
90. ED—III. 366.

9 M.V.
saving Brāhmaṇa's life, it was laid down that he would suffer no loss of caste. 91 Cows and Brāhmaṇas were venerated and if a Brāhmaṇa could save a cow in exchange of his own life, paradise was reserved 92 for him. Caṇḍeśwara says—"From sunrise to sunset a Brāhmaṇa should not remain idle for an instant, and he should devote himself to his compulsory, occasional and optional duties, as well as other blameless occupations." 93 According to the GR, 94 one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat the same from the beginning, one who has studied a portion of the Vedas should repeat only the Puruṣasūkta (RV-X. 90) and similar texts, while one, who has studied only the Gāyatri, should repeat the Puruṇas. In Mithilā, the Brāhmaṇas formed a category by themselves and during the period, under review, they were the most powerful feudal-lords. Caṇḍeśwara has quoted a passage from Devala regarding the eight grades of Brāhmaṇas, (cf. the Dānaratnākara). He advised consultations with the Brāhmaṇas before taking a decision. The changing situation compelled Caṇḍeśwara, in conformity with the views of Lakṣmīdhara, to concede that no sin was incurred by tilling the soil, if the Brāhmaṇa agriculturist paid one-sixth of the produce as tax to the king, one-twentieth to the Gods, and one-thirtieth to the Brāhmaṇas. 95 Vardhamāna, in his Daṇḍaviveka (quoted earlier) has enumerated the privileges enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas. During our period, the Brāhmaṇas also acted as ministers and Commanders-in-Chief. The Oinwāra rulers were themselves Brāhmaṇas.

The Kṣatriyas came next in the social hierarchy. They had the right to wield weapons for the purpose of protecting the people. The Kṣatriyas came to be identified with the ruling families and the GR defines the duties of a Kṣatriya. All ruling classes were classed as Kṣatriyas 96 and Jyotirīśwara enum-
rates a long list of Kṣatriyas in his Rajaputra-kulavarṇanā—e.g. Somavānśa, Suryavānśa, Ṛṣa, Chauṣṭi, Chola, Sera, Pāla, Yādava, Pāmār, Nanda, Nikumbha, Puṣpabhūti, Śṛṅgāra, Āharūṇa, Gupalṭhajjar, Suruki, Śiṣara, Vākevāka, Gānahāvāra, Suravāra, Meda, Mahara, Vata, Kula, Kachchhavāha, Vayasa, Karamba, Heyūṇa, Chhevāraka, Chhuriyōja, Bhōnda, Bhūma, Viśha, Punḍi-
riyāna, Chouhāna, Chhikor, Chaṇḍella, Chāmuki, Kānchhīvāla, Raṇjakauta, Mūndā-uta, Vikaut, Gualhat, Chāṅgala, Chhabelā, Bhaṭi Mandadatta, Singhavirabrahma, Pāmāra, Khāṭi, Vayasa, Raghuvarṇa, Panihāra, Mūrabhaṅga, Gomata, Gāndhāra, Vardhana Vachchomā, Viśīṣṭa, Varaāhā, Guṭiya, Bhadra and Khurasīna. Almost all the important Rajput names are mentioned here. While Kalhaṇa speaks of only thirty six original Rajputa
tribes, Jyotirīśvara gives here a list of seventytwo clans. Vidyāpati also refers to Chaṇḍela and Chouhāna in his Likhanaṇal. The Gānahāvāra of this is to be identified with the Gaṇḍhaveriṇī Rajaputa of Mithilā, whose history is yet to be written. Gaṇḍhaveriṇī, Pammāra, Bisaiwāra, Kachhawāha, Chouhāna, Kināwāra, Sakharawāra, Chaṇḍella etc. are

97. RT—VII. 1617–18—Cf. KSS—( Tawney’s edition ) I. 72, 140, 151 etc.
98. Letter No. 15.
99. Cf. The description of the Rajaputa tribes as given by Lāla Kavi of Mithilā—

Rāk ṛṣāṃvātraṃ vāṃ saṅgī tī kākṣī Pūruhātraṃ vaṅgā brāhman.

Sur bṛdaya ḍrēnēla bhir chānēla lāmē svaṃki kānē brāhman.

Vīśheṇa samkha saṃgha sennā rvaṅtattār daṅddvār brāhman.

Dāsa kābhāha kākā vishāha kākā kāṅkā. dhrukā prāvāhman.

Dham bhadramā bāmā nisūma bhir gaṁavārīva dhurāmānā.

Dṛṅgar pāṅvikhāna kānē dṛṅgar hāre kāṃbhaya bāṃghāna.

Mītam vījkhaṇṇa bhir Kāla-vārīva kāṅdha haṅkā.

Gīrā kāṃgaṅa kāuva sūva sūvaṅga gāthavār niṃsāha ākā.

Ahaṃ mārāṅga kāṅdha kāṅkhi kānē gāthavār kār māṅkhaṇīa.

Bēla gāthavār saṅgar sīvāha gāḍhā aṃdē bāṅkhaṇīa.

Tāmāra gāthavārā kāla sāmēna rvaṅtattārā sāsāvāhaṇā.

Mīnās vījkhaṇṇa śuddhvērīva bār maṅṭirīva stārīvaṇīa.

Kāmpaṅka dēṅger kāṅdha kāṅkhaṇṇa kāṅkhaṇē sīvāhaṇā.

Tāh kālā maṅṛkāha bān maṅṛkāha arīkhaṇ bāra māṅkhaṇē.
some of the important Rājaputa tribes of Mithilā. The Gāndhavariyas held sway over a greater part of Mithilā in the middle ages and their descendants are still living in the districts of Darbhanga, Saharsa and Purnea. During our period, the Kṣatriyas had lost the prominence they had acquired earlier as we find that the Brāhmaṇas had usurped all political powers. The caste-ridden Hindu society was based on the traditional Varnāśramadharma.

The Vaiśyas held the third place in the social set up. Their occupation was mainly trade and commerce and also money-lending and agriculture. The Śūdras were the lowest in the ladder. Vidyāpati in his Likhñāvali has presented modes of addresses for different classes of people. The Brāhmaṇas were the most revered class among the Hindus. They were devoted to teaching and religious duties. The Śūdras were the most despised and exploited and below them were the untouchables. The VR refers to the aniravāsita (the non-excluded) and the nirvāsita (the excluded ones) and it further gives a long list of the mandajātiya—e.g.—nāgala, tōngal, rāpasī, Teli, Tātī, Tivara, Turia, Tuluka, Turuktaṭārua, Dheola, Dhōṅgala, Dhākala,

For other details—Cf. EHI3 PP. 322, 409, 413-15; Also Cf. VR.—P. 31-32, पान, बिन्द, छोकीर, चंदेर, चंद्र, काँटकि, रठूङ, कर्गुरी, कर्न, दुरेच, युहज少儿—Here there is a reference to thirty six Rājaputa clans.

100. Byrne—Bhagalpur Gazetteer (old edition) P. 172—"It is alleged that the Gāndhavariya Rājaputas still sacrifice fowls in memory of Dai Thakoorani before each marriage."

We learn from Likhāñvali No. 18 that Chandellas and Chauhānas were successful warriors. Generally Rājaputas were employed in the army and they were granted Jāgirs. Vidyāpati in one of his songs refers to Vissaladeva Chauhāna.

101. Likhāñvali—Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 etc. about the Śūdras.

102. Ibid.—4th Stūkā—उच्चाकः कंसामः कंस समकालं नरं प्रति।
निध्वंसे व्यवहारस्ते विन्यस्यते फिक्कनक्कमः।
CHAPTER III

Dhanuka, Dhoara, Dhuniya, Dhalikara, Donba, Do vatrua, Khangi, Sagara, Haati, Dhadhi, Bhala, Cha niddra, Chamura, Gonotha, Ganthi, Gonti, Goara, Gavara, Oda, Sundi, Sava, Pan canava, Pataniya, Parigaha, Chavi, Mundavari, Vinda, Kadava, Nagara—have been termed as mandajatiya.\(^{103}\) Vidyapati also refers to Goara,\(^{104}\) Kaivarta, Dhivara and a number of lower castes.\(^{105}\) The VR also gives a long list of the criminal tribes, viz., Lobhi, Lavata, Laporda, Lampaika, Chora, Juara, Chinara, Lagavara, Peataka, Naka, Kanaka, etc.—He further refers to Malakara, Gandhavanika, Ratnapariksha, Vanitapati,\(^{106}\) Sopaka, Prasadhaka, Gandhakara Mani marmajna, Lipivachaka, Srudhara, Safrajna, Varsi, Varka, Vaurth, Kanvara, etc. He further gives us a list of various kinds of vagabonds, mendicants and beggars, viz.—Jaga, Yogi, Nagari, Bharahara, Bhanda, Chatary, Suratariy etc.

The society as depicted in the contemporary writings, was neither peaceful nor happy as we know that Mithila was surrounded on all sides, by the enemies, internal and external. The social relationship, based as it was on the Varnashrama ideal, was also not very happy. The social relationship was determined by economic tenets and while there were all the evils of luxurious courts, the outcry of the shocking poverty was not absent. The criminal classes, referred to by the VR, speak of the tone of the lower cultural ladder. The depressed and backward classes had possibly no say in the social matter and an evidence, in support of my contention, is furnished by the Likhnavali. Since the Brhamanas occupied a prominent place in the society, they were patronised by the ruling authority.\(^{108}\) They also influenced the king and the royal policy as well. The social picture can be further gleaned through the pages of the Dhurtasamagamanataka and Pancha sayaka of Jyotiriswara. The Sudras and the untouchables

103. VR—P. 1.
104. S. N. Thakur—op. cit. Nos. 3, 8, 20, 27, 35, 49, 73 etc.
105. Likhnavali—No. 59; Cf. Nos. 55–60.
106. VR—P. 8.
107. Ibid—P. 2; Cf. Likhnavali.
108. RR—P. 61.
were the worst affected. Those, who caused injury to others, were declared 'bhṛtyas' by the king. The life of an ordinary farmer is evident from the *Dhūrtasamāgama*. The contemporary evidences reveal to us that highest duty of a Śūdra was to serve the Brāhmaṇas as it ensured for him supreme bliss; whereas service to the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas ensured his occupation. Caṇḍeśwara has prohibited the sale of five specified classes of commodities by the Śūdras in normal times. The Śūdras donot become an outcaste even by selling meat. According to the *Madanapārijata* (231), a Śūdra is allowed to offer oblations to the ordinary fire. Sometimes laxity of rules is also discernible. According to Caṇḍeśwara, the food of a good Śūdra may be taken for the purposes of gaining cows, lands etc. Provisions for emergency have also been made. Even the laws were not favourable to the Śūdras. Even if a Brāhmaṇa reduced a Śūdra to slavery, the former was exempt from punishment. Vācaspati holds that it is meant simply to deprecate the condition of a Śūdra.

During the period, under review, the Karaṇa-Kāyasthas also played a prominent part in the then social polity. Like the Brāhmaṇas, they were also influenced by the social reorganisation introduced by Harisimhadeva. The earliest mention of the Kāyasthas is found in the *Smritis*. The main function of the Kāyasthas was to write and prepare documents of the state under the direct supervision of the ruler. The *Smritis* of Yājñavalkya, Uṣanas and Vedavyāsa refer to

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110. Cf. Act I.
115. *Vīvādaratnakara—146*. For sale and purchase of the Śūdras—
Kāyastha as a caste. The Kāyasthas were generally known for their fraudulent nature and oppressive behaviour because of their influence in the royal court. 118 During our period, the Kāyasthas in Mithila came to be recognised as a caste and there is a lot of reference about them in the contemporary literature. In Mithilā, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas dominated the scene. Karaṇa, as a caste, finds mention in the Smritis. 119 According to the Prabandhachintāmani, the prime minister of Lākṣmanasena, Umāpati, was a Karaṇa Kāyastha. Karaṇa Kāyasthas, believed to have accompanied their Karṇāṭa masters from the south, dominated the scene in the courts of the Senas of Bengal 120 and the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā. Both Baṭudāṇa and his son, Śrīdharadāsa, the famous author of Saduktikarṇāṁrīta, were associated with the Sena Court of Bengal. Vidyāpati, in his PP, has given a detailed account of the Kāyasthas of Mithilā. A Kāyastha belonged to a scribe caste. Kāyastha, as a caste, also did the teaching work. 121 Kāyasthas, generally, did not enjoy very good reputation and in this connection, Vidyāpati gives an example of Saktāra, said to be the minister of a Nanda king of Kusumpura. 122

118. Cf. Handiqui’s edition of Nāṣadha charitaṃ. XIV, 66—where Śrīharṣa traces the origin of Kāyasthas to Chitrāgupta, the scribe of Yama; EI—XXVIII. 100 ff.—the genealogy is traced to Kuṣa and his father Kāśyapa; ibid. XXV. 276 ff.—treats Kāyasthas as Kṣatriyas; ibid. XXIV. 198—refers to the origin of Kāyastha from a Śūdra; Cf. Kane—op. cit.—II (1), 76; Cf. Sodāthala Udayasundarikatha (GOS)—P. 11; My Paper on feudalism—referred to above. The Chauḍella inscriptions throw a flood of light on the subject. Cf. an article by Dr. D. C. Sircar in Bhārīya Vidyā—X. 284; Cf. B. P. Majumdar—op. cit. P. 97 ff.

119. Gautama—IV. 7; Yājñavalkya. I. 92; Manu—X. 22; Kṣtra-swamin holds the views that Karaṇas were Kāyasthas—Cf. Bhārīya Vidyā. X. 281.

120. Cf. N. R. Ray—Vāṅgallīr Itihās—P. 319; N. N. Vasu—op. cit. MD.

121. PP. Tale 13.

122. Ibid—Tale 19.
Certain good qualities of a Kāyastha have also been brought to light by Vidyāpati in his description of a Kāyastha, named Bodhi Dāsa. Though belonging to a lowly caste, Bodhidāsa, in king's service, never did anything that ran counter to the established rule.\[123\] We have already seen above the reference to Lipivāchaka by Jyotirīśvara. Kāyasthas of Mithila have been frequently mentioned by our poet in Kirtilata, Kirtipatākā, Padāvali and Likhnāvali. Some of them, like Amritkara, Amiyakara and others were important men of letters and their place in literary history is as bright as of any other contemporary alumni. Some of the important MSS were prepared by the Kāyasthas. From the Likhnāvali, we learn that while writing documents, the Kāyasthas charged their usual fees.\[124\] They were also known as Thakkuras, Rauta, Datta, Choudhary, Dāsa, Mallick and even Majmulādāra. In the administrative and social set up of Mithila, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas occupied a place second only to the Brāhmaṇas.\[125\] It may be pointed

\[123\] Ibid—Tale 30.
\[124\] Cf. Letter Nos. 58, 59, 56, 57, 55.
\[125\] Cf. the stray accounts in the writings of Vidyāpati, Mithilā Darpaṇa, MTV; N.N. Vasu's—Social History of Kāmrupa (quoted earlier). It may be mentioned here that Suryakara Thākur was instrumental in bringing about the social reform of Harṣimhadeva, while the ancestors of the writer of these lines continued to hold the posts of a minister under the rulers of Mithilā and one of my ancestors earned the Żemindaŗi from a Mughal prince. Like Bengal, the Karaṇa Kāyasthas were next only to Brāhmaṇas in matters of scholarship, saintly life and official status. Loknātha of Bengal was a Karaṇa (HB. I. 88; 575). There is a reference to Karaṇa-Kāyastha in Cunaigār CP; Cf. IHQ.—VI. 55, 58; Sandhyākara Nandi, author of Rāma-charita, was a Karaṇa. Karaṇa-Kāyasthas were also known as Mahākṣapataḷika (Bhandarkan's List No. 84). According to Vaijayantī, Karaṇas and Kāyasthas were synonymous and that view is supported by a Gahaḍawīla grant (EI. IV. 104) where Jalhaṇa describes himself as a Kāyastha and Karaṇa-edgāta (EI. VIII. 153) and by the Ajaygarh Rock Inscription of Bhejaivarman (EI. I. 330); Cf. J. N. Bhattacharya—
out that the Karaṇa possibly had the same vocation as the Kāyasthas and by the time the Karpṭās came to rule over Mithilā, the Karaṇas merged themselves into the Kāyasthas and came to be known as Karaṇa Kāyasthas. Since they were associated with royal duties and official work of importance, they acquired prominence in the society. They were adept in writing the official document and inscriptions. Because of their high education and culture, they were respected in the society. A Karaṇa Kayastha of Ārā (a Śāsanika) wrote Kālacakratantra (one of the esoteric schools of later Buddhism), a Tantric text whose painted covers are of considerable significance to the history of Indian painting. The Karaṇa Kāyastha was a high caste and those belonging to it held important administrative offices since the 6th century A.D. (EI.XV. 301–ff). The professional significance of the term is apparent and even in the middle of the 15th century it was used

Hindu Caste and Sects (Calcutta—1896)–PP. 125;—has pointed the existence of a Karaṇa clan of Kāyasthas in North Bihar, i.e. Mithilā, PP. 188–90 and that the Uttarārāhi of Bengal also claim to be Karaṇas. For the Kāyasthas—also Cf. Bhandarkar’s List No. 34; EI. XVIII. 261; XII. 61; PASB—1880–P. 78; EI XII. 46; XIX. 50; I. 332; XXIV. 101 ff; Beal Records—II. 267; JASB—VI. 882. S. C. Das Pag Sam Jon Zang—Introduction—there is a reference to Kāyastha; IA–LXI. 48; N. Vasu—Kāyasthe Varṣa Nirṇaya—P. 184; IHQ–VI. 60 ff.; Cf. Majumdar and Pusalkar–The Struggle for Empire. P. 477; The Age of Imperial Kanauj. P. 394.

126. Śridhārādīsa composed the Andhrārāhari Inscription of Nāṇya-deva. The Karaṇa Kāyasthas played a very important role in the history of North India—Cf. for details—EI. IV. 250; XXII. 155; XXVIII. 282; II. 309; XI. 146; XVIII. 224–25; IV. 104; XIII. 220; VIII. 100; II. 124; I. 270; XXIII. 6; DHNI—I. 526; 516, 523; II. 625; 726; 1200; 685—Education was the main pecoccupation of the Karaṇas of Mithilā and their tradition is as old as the 5th–6th centuries A. D.—(JRAS–1965–P. 103 ff.). The Karaṇa Kayasthas combined administrative duties with that of a scribe.
in this sense. Karaṇa Kayastha implied both caste and profession.

The VR\textsuperscript{127} gives a further list of forest tribes and other castes.\textsuperscript{128} Among the forest tribes were the Kocha, Kirāta, Kolha, Bhila, Khaṇa, Pulinda, Savara, Chhairāṅga, Mleccha, Gōṇā, Vota, Neṭa, Donvāra. It may be mentioned here that all these tribes lived in the northern part of Mithilā in the Nepalese territory and it was in the territory of the Droṇavāra ruler that Vidyāpati and queen Lakṣmī took shelter after the disappearance of Sivasimha.\textsuperscript{129} The VR refers to Yakṣa, Vidyādhara, Gandharva, Kinnara, Goṇa, Patagonḍa, Savara, Kirāta, Vavara, Bhilla, Pukkassa, Paṁchāri, Meḍa, Maṅgara, as mleccha castes. We have seen above that the chief possession of an ordinary poor man was his misery.\textsuperscript{130} Our poet throws sufficient light on the untouchables\textsuperscript{131} and the Śudras. It was the duty of the Śudras to serve the rich. He also mentions Kaivarta and Dhīvara.\textsuperscript{132} Vidyāpati’s conception about the Gopa (or the Yādavas) is typical. He calls Kṛṣṇa a Gopa but his attributes are significant when we take into consideration the then social attitude towards this caste.\textsuperscript{133} Slaves and untouchables were hated. It was prescribed that fines should not be imposed on untouchables, the mlecchas, the cheats, thieves and slaves as their money is derived from bad sources. Slaves, during the period under review, seem to have been completely under the control of their masters. They had nothing of their

\textsuperscript{127} VR—P. 36. Cf. S. Jha—242 for a class of beggars.

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid—P. 42; Cf. Likhanavāḷ No. 42 for Kumbhakāra; S. Jha—No. 222 for Telī.

\textsuperscript{129} Cf. Likhanavāḷ—this work was written by the poet at the court of Purāṇa Dronavāra.

\textsuperscript{130} PP—Tale 13.

\textsuperscript{131} MM—No. 667—पति धिखे विश्व विचार; No. 120—आए भो विश्व विचार जौकाल जानो; Also Cf. the List of the VR; Cf. Likhanavāḷ Nos. 55–60.

\textsuperscript{132} Likhanavāḷ—58, 59, 61, 69 etc.

\textsuperscript{133} Cf. Thikura—Visuddha Padavāli—PP (Pathak)—91; Nos. 3, 8, 20, 27, 35, 49 etc.
own. We learn from the *DV (Supra)* that while the Brāhmaṇas, as a caste, enjoyed all types of privileges, other unfortunate castes had to groan under heavy and unbearable socio-economic restrictions. Times had, nodoubt, changed as we find that contrary to the rule of Manu, both Lakṣmīdhara and Caṇḍeśwara have emphasised that the Śūdras committed no sin if they gave rice to a Brāhmaṇa for getting it cooked at the latter’s house. Caṇḍeśwara further differs from Baudhāyana when he says that even if the parents become outcastes, they are to be obeyed and served. The lower social classes, harlots and even professional dancers, musicians, and actors were despised and were looked upon as degraded castes in the society. The upper castes combined to exploit the lower castes and classes and naturally the courtier framed regulations that might suit their masters. There were numerous small sects and castes and the economic differentiation was clearly discernible in the daily life of the people. The people were advised to follow the traditional path of unconditional obedience as that attitude alone was considered righteous. The socio-economic differentiation killed the initiative of large mass of workers, whose interest lay not in the society as a whole but in their own section.

The *Grhastraratanākara* throws a flood of light on the contemporary castes and professions. The prohibition of the sale of five specified classes of commodities applies to the Śūdra in normal times but not in times of distress. The parallel set of prohibition refers to good Śūdras and not to condemned ones. Meat selling by a Śūdra was not prohibited. The *Madanpūrijāta* (231) allows the Śūdra to offer oblations in the ordinary fire with only one mantra i.e. namaskāra. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a Brāhmaṇa could

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134. *GR—P. 336.*—Cf. *VR* gives a list of faithful servants viz-भोगार, कोहरि, कुहलि, रजक—P. 14. also नाज ।


eat the food of a good Śūdra for gaining cows, lands etc.—
and not otherwise. 138 Opinions on the Śūdras varied from
author to author and whereas there is laxity in one, there is
extreme rigidity in others. 139 The Vivādachandra and the VC
refer to four classes of slaves, viz.,—one born in the household,
one purchased, one acquired, and one inherited, who are to
be released by the master’s favour. Slavery seems to have
been a recognised institution and we learn from Caṁḍēśwara,
Misarū Miśra and Vacaspati that a master begetting a son
on his female slave should release them both, when the
master has no other son. 140 The position, to which the Śūdras
and slaves were reduced, is evident from the Likhnāvali. 141
Though the traditional professions continued to hold the field,
there was a change in outlook and the different castes adopted
different professions arising out of the then socio-economic
needs. While the Brāhmaṇas had taken to agriculture and
cooking, the Śūdras had gained the status of making grants to
the Brāhmaṇas. Had there been no such change in the contem-
porary situation, Caṁḍēśwara would have hardly ventured to
renounce the importance of caste in politics. The serfs and slaves
in Mithilā were known as Bahiyās. We learn from the Kirtilātā
that slavery was an important feature. It has been rightly
held that in a slave-holding society the ruling classes get used
to highly undemocratic ways of life and it is prejudicial to
the social well-being of the society. 142 Slaves were sold and
purchased. A slave had nothing which he could claim as
his own, even his name or identity. Such an unbalanced social
division was, to a great extent, responsible for the downfall of
the established institutions. Manual labour became identi-
ified with slave labour and hence undignified and discredited.

139. Cf. Vivādaraṁṭikara—146; VC—68.
140. Cf. Vivāda; Vivādachandra; the VC.
141. Cf. Nos. 55 ( for the sale of the Śūdras ); 56; 58; 59, 60 etc.
142. H. J. Nieboer—Slavery as an Industrial System ( 2nd edition
परीदे परीदे बहुतो गुढामो ।
The Śūdras, slaves and the lower orders constituted the majority. In the middle ages their status had improved in certain respects. Lakṣmīdhara, on whom Caṇḍēśwara has largely depended, has pointed out that a pure-minded Śūdra was better than a bad Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to agree with the view of Dr. U. N. Ghoshal that the description of the Śūdra's occupation and status in the commentaries and digests follows the old Smṛiti lines. Both Medhātithi and Viśwarupa seem to be liberal towards the Śūdrams and other lower orders. Instances are there to prove that they also took part in battles and acted as soldiers. The reference to sixty-four Jñātis in the Vaijayantī can favourably compare with the enumeration of castes and classes in the VR of Jyotirīśwara. The appellation 'Śūdra' came to include in the middle ages a large number of lower orders. Sṛidharādāsa's Saduktikarnāmṛta contains a poem composed by Kevaṭṭa Papiha on the sanctity of the river Ganges. If a tradition is to be relied upon, Dhoyī, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, belonged to the community of weavers. The Gopas or Yadavas are said to have composed the famous Lorika ballad, the Dākavacchāmṛta, the Dusādhas are said to have composed the songs of Salheśa and so on and so forth. We are not very sure about the position of the Antyaja, Chāṇḍalas and others. Alberuni says that the Antyaja were beyond the four orders of the Varna. The Chāṇḍalas lived outside the village. The great Kashmir engineer, Surya, is said to have belonged to low caste. While the

144. HCIP—V. 475.
146. Cf. EI—III. 16 ff; VI. 269; XI. 319 ff; XII. 143 ff; etc.
147. R. C. Majumdar—History of Bengal—I. 567 ff.
149. Kane—op. cit. II. Part I. P. 81.
ramifications in the caste system continued in Mithilā, it did not act as a hindrance on the personal achievement of the individual; but the fact remains that all opponents of the orthodox social system were declared as heretics. The differentiation was so marked that even "beauty" was considered to be the chief preserve of the rich and the honoured caste. 151 Even cordial relationship with 'akulina' was not favoured, and our poet went to the extent of pronouncing the judgement that the 'akulinas' deserved no sympathy. 152 Thus an overall picture of the society is of the extreme luxury and appalling poverty. Inequality was writ large in the social system of Mithilā. Slaves consisted of those who were reduced to slavery for crimes and debt. The society abounded in large number of persons who belonged to the lower orders, without any guarantee of protection and safety from the ruling classes and lawgivers.

V

The general condition of women in society was almost the same as in the early phases of history. The ancient texts, while showing contemptuous respect for women, declared that the woman, the Śūdra, the dog and the cow are falsehood i.e. anṛta. 153 The Śūdras and women were placed on equal footing and the society had hardly any respect for them. 154 Marriage by purchase was not unknown, while the married women had to contend against the presence of rival wives. It’s true that Mithilā produced women like Sītā, Gārgī, Maitreyī, Sulabhā, Lakhmā, Dīrmatī, Viśvāsādevī, Chandra-kalā and others, but they were like oasis in the desert. They

151. PP—Tale 6.
152. MM—No. 458—अकुलिन सर्वं बदिकं सद्माव } Cf. No. 459—तत्तकय बलमं चतुर पदपाव } also.
had acquired important status by their personal achievements. Polygamy was not unknown. It has been clearly stated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that even “if there were many wives, one husband is pair with them.”\(^{155}\) It clearly indicates that no woman could have more than one husband. The wealthier classes seem to have maintained a harem.\(^{156}\) Women were debarred from inheritance. Pardā system was also in vogue and the position of widow was practically the same as it is today.\(^{157}\) There has hardly been any change in the status of women in Mithilā since time immemorial. The introduction of Kulinism, in the fourteenth century A. D. by Harisimhadeva, paved the way for further deterioration of the position of women in the Maithila society. The Bhalaṇuṇaśas married as many as forty to fifty wives. Polygamy became the order of the day. Daughters came to be sold regularly.\(^{158}\) There was hardly any departure from Manu’s concept of women.\(^{159}\) Women were so sick of their condemned life that they did not wish to be born again as women and such feelings are extant even today and can be gleaned through the folk songs.\(^{160}\)

155. *HOS*—XXV, 196.
156. *ABORI*—XII, 144–48.
158. Cf. *TM*—364—“... Owing to the exaggerated importance placed on the value of being born in a high Kula, they gave up all their sacred practices and adopted marriage as profession instead. ... Though poor, disabled, illiterate and stupid they were yet the Kulinas of the society, whereas those of the so-called lower grade were held in low estimation and contempt inspite of their learning and wit ...... the condition of women became worse.”
159. *Manu* IX, 3—पिता रक्षति कृमारे मर्चा रक्षति यौनेन।
रक्षन्ति स्वारूपे पुत्रा न खी स्वातन्त्रयांत्यिन्ति।
160. *Kabiṭūkaṇnūḍi*—P, 864—
बेरे बेरे बरजय दीनायण है बावा तिरिया जनमजनि वेंदु।
तिरिया जनम जन वेंदु है दीनायण, बावा है सुरति बहुत वान वेंदु।
सुरति बहुत जन वेंदु है दीनायण, बावा है पुरुष अमरक वान वेंदु।
पुरुष अमरक जन वेंदु है दीनायण, बावा है कौक्य बिहुन वान वेंदु।
कौक्यि बिहुन जन वेंदु है दीनायण, बावा है सौतिन सुतत वान वेंदु।
Also Cf. *Bhejepuri Lokegeet*—P, 5—
इम अथवा सवचीतो मे, कथिन कुटिक संसार।
The position of women in a feudal society has been nicely depicted in the writings of Vidyāpati and other writers of Mithilā. According to Vidyāpati, a woman needeth a youth and never refraineth from dependence on another.\textsuperscript{161} A woman has been compared to a tender creeper which dries up as soon as it is touched or pressed by an ordinary substance.\textsuperscript{162} Women were not active participants in the activities of the state, though we have an example of Lakhimā in the history of Mithilā. Since women were believed to be of weak mind and devoid of all knowledge and wisdom, their social position was one of dependence and pity.\textsuperscript{163} Women had practically no social status in the modern sense of the term. Vidyāpati observes—

(i) Chaste women followeth her lord.\textsuperscript{164}
(ii) Women live a life of dependence.\textsuperscript{165}
(iii) The only refuge of wives is a husband\textsuperscript{166}
(iv) It is through the virtues of her son that a woman is light.\textsuperscript{167}
(v) (Except wife)...... Other women, like flowers or betel, are but sources of pleasure for a moment.\textsuperscript{168}
(vi) ...... in their happy delights doth a woman count upon the kindness of her husband.\textsuperscript{169}
(vii) ...... wife is a handmaid of his pleasure.\textsuperscript{170}

The function and position of a woman were distinctly subordinate and in the long run came to be understood as the

\textsuperscript{161} PP—Tale 21.
\textsuperscript{162} MM—No. 80—\textsuperscript{163} ibid—No. 679—\textsuperscript{164} ibid—No. 713—\textsuperscript{165} ibid—Tale 3.
\textsuperscript{166} ibid—Tale 8.
\textsuperscript{167} ibid—Tale 9.
\textsuperscript{168} ibid—Tale 31.
\textsuperscript{169} ibid—Tale 41.
\textsuperscript{170} ibid—; Cf. Coomarswami & Sen—“\textit{Radha’sati Bangiya}” Rādhā says—“I, a weak girl of scanty wisdom.”
service of the male and dependence upon him in every stage of life. Her life was a state of perpetual wardship and social laws and customs stamped her with a sort of mental deficiency. Rādhā’s characteristic confession about her own sex is a clear indication of the social status of women. 171 The male began to look upon her as a feeble brain not to be trusted too far or in things that matter. The male welcomed and appreciated her help in domestic affairs. She was strictly confined to home and domestic care. All her dreams were concentrated on proving herself a devoted wife to her husband and in trying to please him. The intellectual culture varied according to class. A few women of the nobility had, nōdoubt, all the virtues and such instances have been cited above. They have won their places amongst the scholars of repute, but that does not show the general trend. In the villages, where women formed a part of the rural economy, there was no room for cultural growth. A distinct preference was given to a male over a female. 172

The elaborate marriage rules have been discussed in details by the Maithila Nibandhakāras. 173 Among the forbidden practices of the Kāli age are the intercaste marriages among the three upper castes with the clear intention of creating strictly endogamous castes. Caṇḍeswara observes that girls of other castes may be married by a Brāhmaṇa, one after another in the anuloma or regular order. 174 It may be pointed out here that the Smritis 175 laid down two duties for the

172. Rākeshu—Maithili Lokgeeti. P. 188.
173. Cf. The Agnipurāṇa, 237. 18-19—
174. Cf. Kābitakāmundi—P. 139. Slaves and Women have been placed on the same footing.
175. For different views—Cf. Parāśara-Mādhava, I, 123-27; Madanapārijāta, 15-16, 38.
176. 493-98; Madanapārijāta, 129-33; 133-34. The views of the Smritis, both old and contemporary, are conflicting and sometime
married man—(i) Sacrifices can be performed only with a wife of the same caste and (ii) sexual pleasure can be enjoyed with any married wife. The old exogamous rules forbidding marriages on the grounds of sameness of gotra and pravara as well as sapinda relationship have been repeated and the relationship has been extended to seven degrees on the parent's side—a system made all the more strict after the introduction of the Pañji system in the reign of Harisimhadeva. Candeśwara's views regarding marriage age and rules are, sometimes, confusing and contradictory. He prescribes that the marriage of a girl, twelve or sixteen years old, with a bridegroom of thirty years is commendable but that of a young girl with a bridegroom of thrice her age is still more praiseworthy. In the same vein, he, further, says that the marriage of a nagnikā (below ten years) is praiseworthy. Without any comment he quotes a Purāṇa text in which the proportion of bride's and

contradictory. The Brāhmaṇas, even after marriage, may for sexual pleasure marry girls of inferior castes in the prescribed order. Parāśara-Mādhava (I. 493-98) has two contradictory views—(i) condoning Brāhmaṇa's union with a Śūdrā girl & (ii) requiring a Brāhmaṇa and Kśatriya to avoid her. The Likhnāvalī throws a flood of light on the subject. There was a regular trade of slaves and women for the pleasure of the rich. Such social customs have found mention in the contemporary writings. Slaves and maidservants were attached to the families of the rich persons.

176. Cf. Madan-Parīkṣa, 129-33; Parāśara-Mādhava, 1. 465-66; GR—8-10 and 28-29. Candeśwara pointedly condemns the marriages with the mātulasūta in course of its explanation of a verse of Manu. It may be mentioned here that while the Sagotra marriages are forbidden among the Brāhmaṇas of Mithilā, among the Kāraṇakāyasthas, Sagotra marriage is valid but Samita marryge is forbidden. The system is in vogue since the days of the Pañji-probandha. All the Kāraṇakāyasthas of Mithilā have got the Kāyapagotra.

177. GR—39.

178. Ibid—47.
bridegroom’s age is fixed 8 : 24; 12 : 30; 16 : 32 etc. 179 In case the guardian fails to give his daughter in marriage before puberty, she would wait for three years 180 but she should wait only for the expiry of her three menstruation periods in the contrary case and should have the right to choose her husband. Eight forms of marriage have been quoted by Caṇḍeśwara. 181 He is of the opinion that while the girl given away in any one of the first five forms of marriages can be given only 182 once, one taken in marriage in accordance with the three other forms can be given away afresh to a suitable bride-groom. If there is any fault in the selection of bridegroom, the ceremony of selection is considered sufficient. 183 He has quoted, in extenso, a text from Nārada relating to the rules about the revocation of marriage and also about the fourteen classes of eunuchs and if any of the defects are known beforehand, Caṇḍeśwara says that the girl should not be married to him (i.e. the defective bridegroom). 184 A chaste and gentle wife should not be abandoned. 185 The superseded wife is entitled to Stridhana to the extent of newly married wife or as much as would make their shares equal. 186 Elsewhere Caṇḍeśwara points out that neither death nor mutilation is to be the lot of the abandoned woman. 187

179. Ibid—83.
180. Ibid—42–43.
183. Ibid—54.
184. Ibid—33. If the girl is married in ignorance of these defects the bridegroom should be medically treated and the result should be awaited. When the defect is proved to be beyond cure, the girl should be married to another, even though she has been given in marriage to the former.
185. Ibid—86.
186. Ibid—86; Cf. Madanpārijāta—89; Cf. No, 62 of the Likhānatvā for Stridhana.
187. Vivādaratnakāra—426. According to the Parāśara-Mādhava, she should be denied conjugal relations and participation in vedic rites.
The Maithila nibandhakāras profusely quote from the older Śmṛtis supporting the doctrine of perpetual subjection of women and their dependence upon their male relations at successive stages. They propounded their views in a language that looks new though the theme is almost the same. It is the duty of the husband to protect his wife and keep her engaged in the household work. 188 In so far as property rights are concerned, they simply discuss the views of Yājñavalkya (I.115) and base their arguments on the same. According to Caṇḍeśwara, a father should make his wives equal or unequal sharers. 189 The wife, who has fallen off from her vow, is to get only her maintenance, 190 while the wife of a man dying without son, grandson, and great-grandson takes his property. 191 Caṇḍeśwara refers to the mother and the father as the heirs of a son dying without issue and that applied to one who has left no principal or subsidiary sons and no wife. 192 According to Vācaspati, the widow should perform the first as well as the annual Śrāddha for her husband before she is allowed to inherit his whole property. 193 In some of the texts, 194 the father is preferred to the mother in order of succession and in some mother to the father. 195 There is a complete and exhaustive treatment of stridhana in our texts. 196 Both Caṇḍeśwara and Vācaspati give a wider meaning of the term Saudāyika (dowry) which a daughter receives either before or after marriage at her father’s or her husband’s residence from her father or mother or their respective families. 197 The limitation of stridhana

188. Vivādāratnākara—409 ff.; VC—189–90.
189. Ibid—65.
191. VC—236.
193. VC—237.
194. Vivādāchandra—93.
196. Ibid—511; VC—217.
197. Ibid—
has been interpreted in various ways, and Čandeśwara has completely relied on the older texts. The wife is free to dispose of her saudāyika property or strīdhana at her will. The special rule of succession for the strīdhana have been framed in accordance with the older texts.

The introduction of kulinism gave a great impetus to child and early marriage with the sole aim of preserving the so-called pristine purity of the family and the caste. Marriage, before puberty, became the order of the day. Marriage rules varied according to the caste and the locality. It was incumbent, rather a religious duty, upon every kulina family of getting daughters married before puberty. The Śāstric injunctions, however confusing and contradictory they might be, were there in support of early marriage. A kulina could marry as many wives as he desired and the natural result was that most of these unfortunate married girls hardly met their husbands and their pangs knew no bounds. The pathos of such a tragic system is discernible in the writings of Vidyāpati and other folk songs. Unequal marriages had come to stay. A girl of twelve was married to a man of eighty. Afif has stated that the poorest married their daughters at a very early stage. Vidyāpati’s poetry, in this respect, is self-explanatory and needs no comment. Since women had practically no say in such matters as marriage etc., they resigned themselves to fate and accepted everything as gift either from God.

200. Ibid—516–518; Vīvādachandra 382–84; VC 221–224; Also Cf. Śūlapāni on Yajñavalkya I. 144–45.
201. MM—No. 597—पिया मोर वाटक हम तहनी...... Cf. No. 80—; Cf. Kabiśkaumudi—P. 139; D. S. Singh, Bhojepuri Lokegeta—P. 246; 135 and 347.
202. D. S. Singh, op. cit.—वासा पदसा के लोमे विषाव कहते वारह बरिस के हमरो तमरिया अस्सी बरिसवा के बर खोजमें X X X
203. ED—III. 344.
or destiny. The system of kulinism was largely responsible for unequal marriages and situations arising therefrom. Polygamy, in medieval Mithilā, was also the direct result of this system. The kings, ministers and feudal lords married large number of wives of all ages and they, to all extent and purpose, maintained a harem. The kulina Brāhmaṇa also married a large number of wives.

Regarding the position of a wife, Vidyāpati is of the view that “taking a second wife is the crime of a man who hath abandoned decency” — As a devoted husband himself Vidyāpati regarded “wife as the partener in all pious acts...... the sharer of evil deeds and merits...... and the cause of all happiness in this world...... what fellowship be there where there be no sharing alike of sorrows and joys.” Vidyāpati also refers to the prevalence of Sati, a system which has been looked down upon as a relic of the past, of a barbarous past, “as the last proof of perfect unity in body and soul between a wife and a husband.” This was considered to be of immense importance by women of the middle ages. Only fortunate and holy women could get good husbands. Vidyāpati’s ideal of conjugal life was very high and lofty.

204. Rakesha, op. cit. 60 — विभाग छीट बाल्म शिखर पिठु, बहुत दुख पायत है।

205. Ibid 155 — मनि विभाग चूह गुंब गिरा। Cf. PP. 206, 211-12, 228 Also Cf. Bühler, Laws of Manu. X. 64; Rose—Tribes and Castes. I. 42; Dowson—Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology—chapters on Manu and Mitākṣara—for details.

206. PP (Grierson)—P. 152.

207. Ibid—151.


209. Thākur’s, Patanali—(i) पुने मिके पिला युगमान। (ii) मुक्ति मिक तिष्ठु समाज॥

210. जबो सरोवर हिमवर निकाले परसंद तवड़ समाने। कुमुदिम्र किंग सति सतिकू कुमुदिनी जीवन के निश्चि जाने॥ दयाति किंग हो अच्छ तिरीत
should not look into the bad qualities of her husband and should surrender unconditionally.\textsuperscript{211} The traditional quarrel between husband's sister and wife has been also nicely depicted by the poet\textsuperscript{212} and a reference to the bitter relationship between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is also there. The description about the helplessness of a widow is all the more heartening.\textsuperscript{213} All these and various other examples, interspersed here and there in the contemporary writings, are the typical representations of Maithila life and even today these are the stark realities. Practically there has been no change, dynamic or otherwise, in the daily life of the rural areas of Mithilā. The picture of an unequal match, depicted by our poet, is heartening. A young wife was married to a small boy and wherever she went, she was asked about the small boy's identity. She got perplexed and requested her father to send a good milck cow so that she could bring up her husband with intimate care, but the father was too poor to comply with the request of his lovely daughter for the maintenance of his son-in-law.\textsuperscript{214}

\begin{itemize}
\item[211.] नामारि सैद वाम आमारि के घामपति अपराध।
\item[212.] फिक फिय जेकर फिय पर कोय।
\item[213.] परागत करब न बुल्डूँ दोष।
\item[214.] MM—No. 16—ननदित रसिय रहु वस पहु।
\end{itemize}

ससुरला न बुल्डूँ समाज। निजाम समाज खुल्ड उद्यातीन।
आओर कि कहते वे आज। Cf. D. S. Singh, \textit{op. cit}

5. regarding the relationship of wife with other members of her \textit{Sasurāla}. Cf. Tripathi—\textit{op. cit}. PP. 149-153 He quotes the following \textit{Ślaka}—

\begin{itemize}
\item[213.] एकसरि तराः केवल न देख।
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item[214.] MM—No. 597—पिया के देखत योर रघु शरीर—
\item[215.] इदिया के नेंक पुछे के कानी तोहार—
\item[216.] कहिहुँ वाला के कानी पेनु गार्व, दुव्वा पिषा के पोस्ता जमाई
\item[217.] अधि मोर दाका अधि नाधि पेनु गार्व, कोन विचि से पोस्ता जमाई
\end{itemize}
Marriage was an important social and religious event in the life of a man and woman. Since marriage was also an important *Samiskāra*, the parents took it to be their direct responsibility and a part of religious duty to perform it. It was not a personal concern either of the bride or of the bride-groom but a responsibility of the entire family. In Mithilā, after the introduction of *kulinism*, the negotiations were settled and finalised by professional marriage negotiators, known as *Ghaṭakas*. Since then they have continued to play an important part in the social history of Mithilā. The system, introduced by Harisimhādeva, aimed at preserving the purity of blood, by avoiding the forbidden degrees of relationship and marriages and for that ancestry of every family was correctly recorded and maintained, though the custom of keeping genealogical table is said to be as old as 1100 A.D. The system has since been strictly followed by the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and the Maithila Karanakāvasthas. Those very marriage rules still hold good in social life of Mithilā. That system gave rise to two classes of persons known as *Pañjikāras* and *Ghaṭakas*. When the negotiations are finally settled according to the *Śātric* and *Pañji* injunctions, the *Pañjikāras* are called upon to examine the correctness and purity of the settlement and only then a ceremony, known as *Śiddhānta*, is arranged where both the parties (bride’s and bridegroom’s) sit together and in that meeting the *Pañjikāras* announce the settlement and issue *Aśwajanapatra* or *Adhikāramala* and after that *Śiddhānta* ceremony is performed. That ceremony is as good as half marriage. Among the Brāhmaṇas, such negotiations are also settled in the *Sabhāgachis*, of which the *Saurāṭha* meeting is yet very important even today. This notion of maintaining the purity of blood was greatly responsible for early marriages in Mithilā.  

215. We have given an account of early marriage in the preceding pages. In the feudal age, early marriage was prevalent all over the world—Cf. L. F. Salzmann—*English Life in the Middle ages* (Oxford—1926); For a detailed study of the system as
Vidyāpati’s typical description of the Śiva-Vivāha is a clear manifestation of the marriage rites then obtaining in Mithilā and there is hardly any change in those rites even today. It may be noted here that no aspect relating to the social and religious customs, connected with the marriage rites in Mithilā, has escaped the notice of our poet. Both Jyotiśvarā and Vidyāpati have dwelt at length on the various ceremonies connected with a wedding. All the formalities mentioned in the Nacāri, relating to the marriage of Śiva, are found even today and that shows that there has been a remarkable continuity of culture in so far as the Maithila life is concerned. Besides the śāstic injunctions about marriage, there were rites, caused by the local conditions and requirements, to be performed.

The occasion of a marriage ceremony was of great event in the family and it is practically of the same importance even today. Jyotiśvarā has enumerated a number of ceremonies connected with a wedding. Elaborate preparations were made for the “Lagana” as soon as the negotiations were made finalised. A Vīvahamanaṇḍapa was erected for the purpose.

obtaining in Mithilā, Cf. Grierson—Bihar Peasant Life—PP. 374–86; Cf. an article on the Maithila marriage system by Maharājādhirāja Rāmeśwara Sing in the JBORS—III.

For all minutest information regarding the present day marriage rites and customs in the villages of Mithilā, I am indebted to my wife, Smt. Shanti Devi—There are various padhātis of marriage in Mithilā and in one of the MSS discovered by me, I have found a very fine representation of the Marea (vide plate).

216. VR—PP. 64–65—गोश में उत्तर भव, पृष्ठशोभीत दान निवास, दादशक, नवर्पक, तुताज्ञादाक, नवरछ, समस्तक, प्रीतिप्रदाक, धि आठुका योगसंधय उत्तर दान निवासु, ×—×—×—×—तदस्तर गोश प्रवरक अनुपति अर्थसत्ता ने सदशिण कल्याणिन निश्चु, तदस्तर समार्जन, सेचन, उपेयण, उक्तेश्वर, ॥ पंचमृतसंकार अर्थसत्तान कर आय वथि, ।........................................]

217. MM—No. 909—पनि हे मनाहि मन्दय वस्तुः; Cf. Grierson—Bihar Peasant Life, PP. 374–86,
Kohbara (a house specially meant for the bride-groom and the bride on the occasion of marriage) has acquired a sanctity in the social life of Mithilā. Kohbara is made on every such occasion and is decorated with various types of religions and tantric paintings. Vidyāpati has also referred to the existence of Kohbara in his writings. All religious ceremonies relating to the marriage are performed in the Kohbara and for four days complete abstinence is maintained by the newly married couple. Vidyāpati has also referred to the custom of spreading and spraying Lāvā (fried rice) and the use of Sindura (red vermillion) on this occasion. A vedā (sacrificial post) was also constructed for the occasion around which was sprayed a handful of Lāvā. According to Jyotirīśvara, sana, saṅkha, and sona were necessary for the Sindurādana ceremony. New earthen pots, with religious and social sanctity attached to them, known as Purhari and Pātila, were also considered (as it is today) necessary for the purpose. 'Dipa' (Earthen lamp) was considered to be a sign of happy future conjugal life and all these necessary requisites have been referred to by Vidyāpati. The whole thing was further beautified by a set of varied folk drawings and paintings, popularly known as Aipana, which was and is yet regarded as sacred for all auspicious occasions in Mithilā.

218. MM—No. 903—तौरी संहित वर कोबर जाब—Kohbara painting is a speciality of Mithilā, though this important folk art is now fast vanishing (vide plate).

219. Ibid—No. 231—लावा विषर वेकिक फूल । केसर कुकुम कह सिन्दुरदान 

220. Ibid—No. 903—बेदरेख लावा छिडियाव Cfr. Rākesh—op. cit. for Marwā. Cf. VR—P. 64. अर्थ, पाप, रिटर, आचमनीय, मधुरकेह 

221. Ibid—P. 65—सम, संसा, सोनकेह सिन्दुरदान कह । अभाकार परिच्छद निभायु ।

222. Cf. Brahmapurīga. In Sanskrit—Aipana is known as aparenan, आपोपन, आपकपन, etc. and in Bengali—अपपना—

विवाहीतकंबडु प्रिंतान्ति कर्माद ।

निनिथिकं लुलितेश्वर तथौदेवादुपुनेश्वर च।
Every marriage detail from beginning to end has been nicely depicted in the poetry of Vidyāpati. The auspicious day begins with the Suhāga songs and as soon as the bridegroom’s party (known as Bariṭī) arrives, the Parichchhana ceremony takes place.²²³ There has been hardly any change in all these customs in the villages of Mithilā so far. This Parichchana ceremony is a popular one and a large number of young ladies take active part in organising the show. It is a type of religious ceremony intended to welcome the groom’s party and the groom-himself when he is taken inside. The participating ladies carry a Kalaśa, pallava²²⁴ and a thāli full of other items including the Dipa and receive the bride groom (and the bride as the case may be) with auspicious incantations. After certain formalities, both the bride and the groom are taken to the vedi and then the Genṭha-bandhana takes place. The latter signified the perpetual and inseparable union and in order to perpetuate the Suhāga, the marriage Dipa is kept burning, all through, for four days in the Kohbara. The Chaturthi (fourth day from the marriage) festival is celebrated with due pomp and eclat and Sindura-dāna is again made on that day and in the real sense, Kanyā-dāna is said to have reached its fruition on that particular day.

²²³ Cf. MM—No. 221—पौजारानात्र आर्थन मद्यपदे
No. 301—उनव एपन मुक्ताहार
No. 761—आशिन्धन द्रवोष मोक्तमहार
No. 900—एपन मेटल पुरुर फोरूरू
No. 364—पीन पवोषर पुरुर मेल दाकुर (Padāvalī)
No. 8, 45 for Dipa. No. 78 for Aipana. Aipana is considered sacrosanct for every occasion, for which specific types are there, in Mithilā (Vide—plate).

²²⁴ Ibhid—No. 364—नगर निकट हर आएल झुंझ पाखोंक
परिख्य जलकिं मनाहन........

²²⁴ Ibhid—No. 301. पीन पवोषर पुरुर मेल, करत जाफस नवपल्क देख।
Cf. Thākur—No. 78, Cf. S. Jha—P. 34 for Ghoṛaṭa. It refers to the marriage Vedi, Genṭhabandhana, Madhuparka, Pani-grahana, Kalaśa, Purahara, Aipana.
when the couple breaks the period of abstinence. **Suhūga** songs are enthusiastically sung on all the first four days. **Nichchāvara** is offered for the health and longevity of the married couple. The marriage ceremony ends with **Dvīrāga-mana** ceremony—which used to take place after a lapse of some years—*i.e.* the departure of the married couple. The scene of departure has been immortalised in Mithilā by a class of songs known as **Samadauna**, said to have been composed by Vidyāpati and his successive poets and lyricists.

Prostitution was not unknown. There was no dearth of society girls and prostitutes in the medieval period. It seems that in his description about the prostitutes, Vidyāpati has large drawn upon the writings of Jyotirīśwara, one of the greatest erotic writers of the age. Three types of women have been referred to in the **PP**, *viz.*—(i) one's own; (ii) women belonging to others and (iii) women that are common property. The last one is a harlot and her main desire is to acquire money by any means. She does not show any hatred to a rich man.

225. **Bihar Peasant Life**—Grierson has brought to light the following terms connected with the wedding ceremony in Mithilā—P. 357 ff.—(i) जुमाभोन, (ii) महब्बा (मण्डप), (iii) कोहबर, (iv) बिसिरी, (v) माहुकापुरा, (vi) बवदन, (vii) लावालियाई, (viii) नाहु, (ix) दुआरखाम, (x) जानवासा, (xi) मौर, (xii) कन्यादान, (xiii) गैउखन, (xiv) सिंदुरदान, (xv) दुआरखाम, (xvi) बलुरी, (xvii) लसकाँडी—Presents—समेत, बाजार, दोरा—**Cf. Likhanāvali**—Vidyāpati, in this work, has prescribed a form of invitation to be issued on the auspicious occasion of the marriage ceremony of a daughter—**Cf. VC—XXI**. The present ceremony known as the **Dvīrāgamana** amongst the Maithilā is referred to in this book. Vācaspati also refers to the custom of giving some presents to a newly married bride at the time of bowing down to her father-in-law or mother-in-law or to other elders at the time of her first arrival from her father’s house. **‘Siddhānta’** was, of course, an important ceremony.

226. **PP**—Tale 39.
even if he is worthless, but she shows no affection even to a worthy poor man. There can be hardly any doubt that prostitution was widely prevalent and both the Hindu and Muslim sources testify to this fact.\textsuperscript{227} Amir Khusrau’s description, of a “lustful wench” and Vidyāpati’s description of the harlots as the “highest treasures of passion” and Jāyasi’s description of “public women sitting in the balconies” to bewitch the people, point to the existence of an organised system of prostitution in the society. Vidyāpati’s description of the stylish public women in the market of Jaunpur is marvellous.\textsuperscript{228} Jāyasi also refers to mart of public women who bewitched people by their accomplishments. These public women used to earn their bread by means of bad livelihood. Prostitution seems to have been the legalised social evil. Dancing girls were not unknown.\textsuperscript{229}

Jyotirīśwara has given a detailed description of the prostitutes and the like women.\textsuperscript{230} He considers Vasantasena to be best among the prostitutes. It may be noted here that from an account of the gambling house, he passes to an account a hetaira (Veśyā) and then gives a description of an old woman acting as go-between in love-intrigues.\textsuperscript{231} It may

\begin{footnotes}
\item[227] Nicolo Conti found every street of a town in south India full of courtesans who enticed men “with perfumes and soft appointments and tender age.”
\item[228] Kirtilata (Saxena) P. 34—चन निमिति, घर प्रेम, कोमे विनय, सीमारो का मान। बिनुस्वागी सिन्दुर, पर परिचय अधामन”……उमारि उमारि के द्वारा दिया जाने। It may be noted here that Allâuddin Khalji had fixed the tariff wages for public women and ordered for its regulation—Cf. Tarikhi-Firistha. l. 199; Neruka—op. cit. 146.
\item[229] Saxena—op. cit. P. 42
\item[230] Cf. VR—26–27—मिल्लेन, आचारहान, निर्गति, निरालम्ब—स्वरूप परिष्कार, केशकर संसारक, अस्त्रप्रय, उपनय, दूतीग गतागत, भूमिका आधान”……श्रेष्ठ विन्यास, ताम्बुरक संचय, अज्ञातक पेषण”……अर्थक श्राण….कितिविति रूपिता, कपटतुरणय, चनेंग प्रेम, लोमरे विनय, वाणे सीमाय, सिन्दुर, स्वरूपक सिन्दुर (Cf. Vidyapati—Kirtilata—P. 34).
\item[231] Cf. Ibid—P. 27—वचिक व्यापक सरोवर अभान शरीर मय ग्लाद, तुडवारिखरीय अवजन शरीर नहाद × × × ×
be further mentioned here that his *Pañchasāyaka*, in five sections in verse, deals with the preparation of various approdisiacs, drugs, articles of toilets, charms and philtres and describes the different types of women and various types of *nayikās*. He has described herein the peculiarities of the women of hilly region, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Madyadeśa, Mālava, Gūrjar, Sindh, Drāviḍa, Madra, Pundra, Karnāṭa etc. The story of a fraud lady is the theme of his *Dhūrtasamāgamanātaka*. It also contains an account of the prostitute, named Anaṅga-sena. Dancing and singing girls formed an important part of the feudal society. Women used to be in secret love with the persons other than husbands. Bad character women were there in the society and they were sarcastically known as *Kuḷā*. At the time of announcing the arrival of an honoured guest, the display by women attracted a crowd of enterprising jugglers and others. Dancing and singing were universally popular and inspired village minstrels and versifiers. Such occasions gave rise to some very pathetic songs which are even popular today. The Kṛṣṇa-Cult stimulated dancing. The contemporary literary and artistic sources are often full of terms of physical and carnal love which reflect, beyond any shadow of doubt, the general sexual

Cf. For a similar description—Śri Kṛṣṇakirtana by Chaṇḍīḍāsa.

It may be noted here that Jyotirisvara enumerates a number of erotic terms (कामवस्थान वर्णन) — 10 dasas and 5 arrows of Kāmadesa, 8 Satvikadasa, 4 kinds of Kamaśatikā (embracing) 7 types of Kaṭhināśigama, 10 kinds of Kissing (नयनः, कण्ठ, कपोल, अवर, केशकवरण, मुख, स्तन, खलाट, जलन, नाभि, कठा) etc. PP. 28–29.

232. A printed edition of the text is with me. It deals with the secret possessions of love on the lines of the *aupaniṣadapraṇaraṇa* of Vāsūyana.

233. It *DS* story is to be relied upon, a barber, living nearby a courtesan, usually got payment for shaving her private parts.

234. *MM—No. 46—कुळटा सर वयि प्रेम बढ़ाइए, ते जीवन की काव्या तितिता। एक रमस पूख पापियो, रहत जनन मरि लोट।

No. 91—पड़ जसके दृढ़त बढ़ाइए, होमत रे उपहास

No. 15—पर पुष्प के सिनहं मंदें।

235. Coomarswami & Sen—*op. cit.* LXXXII.
reaction of the then society. The age was mainly responsible for such an outlook. Since women and Śūdras were placed on equal footing, women were treated as an object of luxury and sexual gratification. Prostitutes have been described as shameless creatures who exhibited their beauty for the sake of money. Prostitution seems to have been a well-established institution in medieval Mithilā.

On the basis of the above survey of the position of women in Mithilā, during the period under review, it may be contended that their general condition was far from satisfactory. Jyoti-riswara has brought to light the two sides of the medal. The inscrutable character of a woman has been compared to the horror of a burning ghat. He has further described the female character as unfathomable, darkness, deep and unseen. The regular sale and purchase of Śūdra male and female seem to have been a legalised feature in the contemporary life of Mithilā. Lakhimārāni and Viśvāsadevi are the two notable exceptions in this age of demoralisation in so far as the position of women is concerned. It may be borne in mind here that with the lapse of time, the old notions had undergone considerable change as we find Caṅḍēswara, in opposition to the views of Gautama and Baudhāyana, suggesting that both the parents are to be respected, obeyed and served even

236. Cf. the finds of Bheet Bhagwanpur & other places and the poems of contemporary poets.
237. Cf. JBRs—XXXVII. PP. 121—123; XXXVI. PP. 183—91.
238. VR—op. cit. Cf. Gorakṣanjayānita by Vidyāśāyati. In one of the scenes, the king is shown to be in the midst of the ladies. He is described as engrossed in erotic pleasures.
Cf. song No. 14—क्लेक मरपति तुष्टि सिंगी, काहु आनिन्दे काहु सिहार काहु विद्वेर भयाने मार, काहु वुलाव विलंबि सिनेह
× × × ×
रूपे से नामगर रस सिहार, कौतुक के गावे कस्वक्कल्हार—
239. VR—16—क्षी के चरित्र अद्वैत दुर्दयक P. 53—क्षी के चरित्र अद्वैत दाहन
Cf. S. Jha—77; 59 & 60 for female procurers.
240. Likhīnāvāli—No. 55—दुष्टपाठ करनाथ स्वप्न प्राप्ते—×—×—×
No. 56—for the sale of Śūdra; No. 60.
if they become outcastes. Since the women had no economic and social freedom and security, their condition was pitiable and the prevalence of prostitution can be ascribed mainly to the economic reasons. The practice of Sati was not unknown.

Whether 'Ghunghata' represented the Purdah System of our time or not, it is difficult to say, but the system seems to have come into vogue after the Muslim invasion. No particular attention was paid towards the education of women. The earliest reference to the Purdah system is found in the present version of the epics. Draupadi's public appearance in the gambling hall shows that the system was absent in the Mahabharata. The system, as known to us in recent times, was unknown in those days. The famous Arab traveller, Abu Zaid (C. 10th. cent. A.D.), has pointed out that Indian queens appeared in public without any veil. It is only after the advent of the Muslims in India that this system came into vogue and was strictly enforced by the ruling and aristocratic families. Lakhima Devi, wife of Sivasinha, seems to have been a solitary exception to the rule. The Muslims also strictly followed this system. Thomas has rightly pointed out that "the seclusion of women has been copied from the Muhammadans, but only by the richer classes. Among the poor, it is quite unknown." The factors necessitating the observance of this system were (i) the exclusion of women from the male society; (ii) the raids of Muslims on non-Muslims; and the fear of the ruler or officer demanding a girl for a wife. Muslim conception of sexual morality differed from that of the Hindus. The contemporary records are rich

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141. GR—590—91.
242. TM—336—Bhavasimha's two wives became Sati on the bank of river Vagnati. Lakhima is also said to have become Sati, Cf. BTA—427.
242b. ED—I, P. 11.
242c. Thomas—op. cit. 72.
242d. Todd—II. 952, 966.
with such historical records and deeds. Vidyāpati has also referred to the custom of ‘Ghuṇghaṭa’ or veil. 242-244

The women, in Mithilā, indulged in various acts of sorcery 245 and superstitious beliefs. In anticipation of the arrival of their sweatearts or lovers, they played with various tricks and tried their luck otherwise. Their association with crows is very old. The crow’s call at a particular portion of a house on a particular occasion is considered to be very auspicious. The crawling crows are promised everything. The tradition is so deeprooted that even today people pin faith in it. 246 This association is not very uncommon and these beliefs are parts of our social heritage and tradition and should not be regarded as the product of the period, under review. The tremor of the left eye was regarded as an inauspicious sign. 247 Witchery or the witchcraft has been regarded as a


245. The system is yet in vogue in Mithilā. Few specimens of modern superstitious beliefs can be gleaned through the following lines, supplied to me by my wife—

नन्ददोक अंगना में चानन गाछ, नाहि पर कागा है अछिवास।
देवी रै कौश्य मैया चूरा दरी मोजन, सोचन पढ़ायब दुष्ट होर।
आरे आरे कागा बाह विदेश, हमरो लक्ष बी के किहैं उदेश।
एक बीन चोलिया देता पठाय, हीरा मोगौल बढ़ाय।

246. काफ माय मिव माषह रे, पिव भाभोत मोरा।
कीर भिरभोजन देव रे, मरि कनक किरोरा।
Cf. Kālidāsa’s Yakṣa’s—“स्वि हि तरच प्रियेति”

247. वामा नयन कुर भारम—Cf.—Tulasidāsa—वाम अंग फरकन घो।

11 MV.
very old belief in Mithilā and even today certain villages are famous for witchery. The auspicious ‘Dīpa’ lit on the first day of the marriage or any auspicious occasion, in superstitious belief, is taken to give longevity to the married couple. An oath was considered sacrosanct. Even as early as the 13th century A.D., Marco Polo observed...... “if in going, he hears anyone sneeze, if it seems to him a good omen, he will go on but if the reverse, he will sit down on the spot where he is, so long as he thinks that he ought to tarry before going on again.” All these formed part of the contemporary social belief and behaviour. The unsophisticated villagers placed their unflinching faith in gods and supernatural powers.

VI

Mithilā is well-known for its delicacies. In the VR, we have a list of all the delicacies of Mithilā. Candeśvara and other Nibandhakāras of Mithilā have repeated the old rules relating to the food and drink. The writings of these Nibandhakāras, the Prāṣṭapaieńgala and the poems and other writings of the age throw a flood of light on the subject. Rice, fruits, vegetables and milk were the main items of diet in north India and specially in Mithilā. The PPrm, said to have been composed in some parts of north-eastern India, reveals to us that a fortunate house wife serves hot rice on green plantain leaf with cow’s ghee, fish and nālīta vegetable to her husband daily. The VR reveals in describing the vegetarian dishes. In describing the characteristic curd of Mithilā, his joy knew no

248. Thākur—Padiśvali No. 4—दाहन सकल मेख ! Cf. D. S. Singh—op. cit.—P. 5—दीँगे बसलि सब दीनदी रे, सबलित रे सिर घर आर ! Cf.—P. 11—a quotation from Poet Dharaṇīdīsa—a contemporary of Aurangzeb.
249. Thākura—No. 8. पावल दोप मिधाएक आज !
250. MM—Nos. 61 and 115.
253. VR—P. 13, 8 kinds of milk preparation; and various other kinds of vegetarian preparations are noted here. He refers to the
bounds. Curd and parched rice are even today the most important items of food on the north of the Ganges. Other items included 

\textit{Mugbā, Laḍavī, Sāruṛī, Maḍhukupī, Maṭhā, Fena, Tilwā} (P. 69); \textit{Chāula, Śiro’ila, Khirisā, Khirni, Jhiliyā, Naḍīvi etc.} (P. 13). Jyotirīśvara took delight in describing feasts. In his enumeration of the list of food articles, naturally the milk preparations predominate. The ceremonials observed on the occasions of the feast are described at length. In his days too, in the important feasts, a fine variety of \textit{Chewra} (parched rice) with a heavy coat of thick curd and cream and a variety of sweatmeats were served. It is apparent that the habits of the people of Mithilā have not changed since then. Jyotirīśvara in his \textit{Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka} gives a list of \textit{menu} in which meat and fish are included. This work is as important as the \textit{VR} in so far as the social history of Mithilā is concerned and it tells about the food habits of the people of Mithilā. The items included here are—meat, fish, \textit{Baḍa, Baḍī, Paḍora, Muṅga, Pulse, Curd, Milk, Plantain, Sweats etc.}

The \textit{Nibandhakārās} of our period repeated at great length

kitchen and sitting arrangements thereon (Cf. P. 12—वैक, पीड़ी, पनिगाह, बारी etc.). Then he further mentions \textit{Khalika} (i.e., Kharikā for cleaning the tooth joints).

254. P. 69—दव शराबकल्पमा पूर्णिमाप्राय....चिताल उपर सुदर दव देख, कटारे कान्त उतारे कान्त, पार देखिए यथार्थि।

255. मात्र माथुर-पटोवर-बाँड़का-सालूक-बालूक-बर्ज़न

द्वैका क्षेत्र में सुदर-विवरत प्रायः-प्राकारोपकरः

स्वादिद च पयोपुरां दव नवं रममाफल श्वारा

संप्रति अस्थित साधः सुदरे मिहामदोदितपुष्प। (Cf. Printed Text, P. 5)

256. \textit{DSnāṭaka—P. 5.} भिषिक्या मोर करवे रे। सुदरदिन भिषिक्या मोर करवे रे भा।

\textit{माधु माष वध वटका साजिसि सव} (?) सुनि साग परोसे भा।

\textit{सुदर रितवे परकार करव सव समयना कहन थोड़े भा।}

\textit{तरी दिन वामनाळो दव सुदर सत्वर सोन्य दृष बड़ भावे।}

\textit{केरा संगम रस वेश युग्याभोक भविष्यपर सोतके पड़ गावे।}

Cf. \textit{VR—P. 40.}

Where he gives a list of various kinds of fish and other things found in a pond.
the old rules relating to food and drink. Candaśvara justifies meat eating and he suggests certain rules for the same. According to the GR, such occasions are those (i) when the meat is purified with mantras for the purposes of sacrifice or (ii) where there is the risk of a man losing his life otherwise, (iii) when the meat is procured by the man himself and (iv) when the meat is purchased and taken after the worship of gods. It is thus apparent that meat-selling in those days was not unknown. Candaśvara also describes, at length, the merit of abstention from meat-eating. The GR refers to three kinds of wine or Surā, viz., Paiṣṭi (those prepared from the rice flour), Gauḍī (from molasses) and madhvi (prepared from honery or madhuka flower). Intoxicating drink was not unknown. The nobles and aristocrats took opium as stimulant. In the third act of the Dhūrtasamāgamaṇaṭaka (not clearly marked), Assajati Misra gives the barber a little Gaṇja (country intoxicant) in lieu of payment, which he himself had received from Snātaṇa for arbitrating over the question of the real ownership of Anānga-sena. He is of opinion that all these are forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas while the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are at liberty to take the last two varieties. Drinking or taking intoxicants by women is not approved by our authors and the GR (84) explains that wives of the three upper classes drinking Madya are to be superseded. Candaśvara has given a long list of forbidden food viz., palāṇḍu (rice and meat)
vārtāku, alābu (bottle gourd), Kavaka (fungus with umbrella-shaped flower), Vajrapalli, Nala or Kalambika, Kuṁbhānda, Kuchuṇḍa, Parārika, Nālikera, Nālikuṇāka, rice boiled with tīla, powdered wheat boiled with ghee, onion and garlic etc. The menu was also characteristic of the class division of the then society. While the poor people had to fill their belly with what they got, the rich men had varieties of items served by a host of servants.  

Vidyāpati in his Dānavākyāvalī has given a long list of eatables, viz.,—Mudga, Maṣṭra, Kultha, Turri, Caṇaka, Dhānyā, Rāhali, Suṭhi, Yava, Tīla, Goḍhūma, Kalāya etc. Even in some philosophical works articles of food, used in Mithilā, have been frequently mentioned. The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi of Vacaspati Miśra gives an account of the fourteen kinds of vegetables which should be eaten on the fourteenth day of the dark half of Kārtikamūsa (i.e., Pretacaturḍāśi). The names of these vegetables are—Ola, Kemukāni, Vāstu-kaṇi, Sarṣapaṇi, Kālāni, Nimbaṇi, Jayā (Jayanti), Śaliṇci, Hīmocikā, Paṭola, Saulphaṇi, Guḍūci, Bhaṇṭakī and Sunīṣṭaṇaka. All these vegetables are even now very popular in Mithilā. There was belief in those days that if any one took these vegetables on the Pretacaturḍāśi day, he became free from Pretatva. The kitchen in Mithilā is known as Bhansā, and cooking is known as Bhānasa and our poet refers to it. Cooking was also considered to be an art and the chief cook came to be known as Mahāṣṭapakārapati. On the occasion of marriage ceremony, cooks were recruited and the services

261. For a detailed account, Cf. Taśastilaka Cauṇu—Bk. III. PP. 401-404 for modern meals etc. Cf. Grierson’s—Bihar Peasant Life—343 ff.
262. Dānavākyāvalī (Banaras—Samvat. 1940) PP. 111-113.
264. Thākuri—No. 24—भानस तेलक शाण्ड—refers to a large number of eatables mainly prepared of milk. In his Kṛtyamahāvarga, Vacaspati says that one should not eat Sema in the month of Kārtika.
265. Cf. Likhnāvali, 75a
of sweatmeat makers were also requisitioned. The Śūdras were mainly employed to do the menial work while some of them were entitled to eat the Ucchiṣṭa (remnants left in the dishes of rich men or the Mā-lika). The actual producers could hardly enjoy the fruits of their labour. Gānjā was also used. Among the various qualities of rice known to the authors of Mithilā are the Tulsidhāna, Prasūtikā and others. We learn from the VR (supra) that the following articles of food were in common use—rice, pulse, barley, millet, peas, oilseeds, sugarcane, onion, garlic, poppyseeds, methi, mangrall, farhi etc., while Vidyāpati, Vācaspati and others have referred to a number of fruits. The nobles, besides taking intoxicating drink, also used opium as stimulant. Mithilā, being the granary, provided for a variety of items in so far as eatables are concerned and Maithilas took delight in eating and enjoying.

VII

The manifest complexity of dress must be considered to be the result of ethnic diversity and climatic variety which have not yet yielded to the gradually assimilative process of Indian culture. Costumes were given a secondary importance in Indian life. In the middle ages, the Hindu spirit, beaten on political and military arena, more and more turned its attention to the religious field of domestic dimensions. It found the field of devotional religion and picked up the story

266. Ibid—40.
267. Ibid—55. Cf. No. 57 for the hard lot of the Śūdras; Cf. चोखंभ—961 for details; Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
268. S. Jha, No. 114—वसु उपजाए कारिक जे काज, जे नाहि जेमणे तकर काज।
269. DSmāṣaka—P. 5. Said to be given in lieu of payment.
270. Likhāvali No. 52, Kane—op. cit. I. 397. प्रसातिका मच्छेदशे शाखान्ति—ascribed to Rudradhara of Mithilā.
271. Nerukar—123.
272. G. S. Ghurye—Indian Costumes (Bombay—1951) P. 16.
273. Ibid—17.
of Kṛṣṇa. The defeated Hindu spirit planted the shrub of erotic sentiment, affecting the dress as well, and that is evident from the writings of Jyotrīśwara and Vidyāpati. Dress is also a clear index of the contemporary social life and Mithilā can be cited as one of its best examples. In matters of dress, the social divisions are clearly perceptible. The lower classes, under circumstances, reduced their clothings to a bare minimum. The kings, nobles and high caste rich persons were nicely dressed and generally used head dress, and turban, known as Pāga. Pāga is still the national head-dress of the people of Mithilā and is used generally on all ceremonial occasions, though confined now to the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇa Kāyatsthas only. Every Maithila is supposed to carry with him a Dhoti, waterpot, almanac and a religious book with him. Dhoti was the most common dress for male while Sārī was common for women. Some good Sārīs were

275. Even in matters of dress, the existence of two distinct classes in society is evident. The contemporary literature and other evidences point to the existence of disparity in society. The common man had nothing more than a minimum protection from cold, rain and tropical sun and the tradition of a broken thatched house is yet a reality and can be gleaned through a number of folksongs—दुर्खी मरैया म गुजारा करवे हो; Cf. D. S. Singh—op. cit. No. 22; P. 123 ff.
276. Pāga—Cf. Bihār Peasant Life—p. 143-49; Ghurye—op. cit. 138—Its reference is found in a verse of Amira Khusrav. Pāga making was an important art.
278. Thākur—No. 43; Cf. MM—No. 67. Vidyāpati’s list of dress, cosmetics and other accessories portray a picture of social standard. Our poet is particular in mentioning even the smallest and minutest thing of household use and that gives an idea of his critical insight. Cf. MM—No. 257.
imported from southern India. The Brähmaṇas and other religious persons used sandal paste on their foreheads.

The vast ocean of Vidyāpati’s writings contains innumerable references about the actual dress, ornaments, cosmetics and other accessories of decorations. Not only local materials or cosmetics were used but articles of different varieties were imported from distant parts of the country. Mithilā was not isolated from other parts of the country and the regular contact with other parts is indicated in the contemporary sources. Contemporary paintings of the Chandabāna, by Muhammad Daud, relating to the story of Chandā and Lorika (also referred to in the VR), depicts the hero as naked to the waist, with no shoes and having Kundāla in his ears. The heroine wears Chūri, armlet, Sāri, close-fitted garment on the upper part of the body and something like a scar on the head. 279 Āṅgiya and Cholis of Lucknow find a prominent place in Maithili folk songs. Chunri is the most covetable piece of female attire and it finds its place in the mirror of the folk-mind, i.e., the folk songs of Mithilā. Chunri figures as the garment marked as a present to a female. It is a red colourd Sāri with a particular type of border and manufactured in the western area, to which the singers of Maithili songs look up as the proper region 280 to visit. There are indications to show that the Maithilānis also preferred the Madras Chunri. Rājaśekhara, in his famous Kavyamimāṁsa, has given a lucid account of the various forms of dresses, such as upper garment, bodice, lower garment, girdle and veil. 281

279. The MSS was discovered by Professor S.H. Askari and its contents were published in the Current Studies. Prof. Askari was kind enough to show to me his typed notes—Cf. BTA. 173; Dharmaswāmi, the 13th. century Tibetan traveller, refers to the use of footwear in Magadha. Cf. G. Roerich—Biography of Dharmaswāmi (Patna 1969).

280. Ghurye—op. cit. 172.

281. Upper garment—उपररासिंग, उपरयवसन, उपरयवासस्, उपरसिंगक, संव्यान, स्तनासुक, स्तनोत्तर; Bodice—कंटुक, कंटुकिका, सूरपत्स; Lower garment—अम्बर, अंश्वक, अन्तरीय, जातनासुक, निवसन, परिशश्न, वसन, बास, बासस, बासक; Girdle—कंतिसुन, काँची, मेखला, रसना, रचना; Veil—अव्वूठन
CHAPTER III

Jyotirîśwara's works throw a flood of light on the subject. He gives a list of thirty kinds of clothes including the home made clothes viz.—Dukūla, Kṣauma, Kośeya, Kanakapatra, Vicitra, Meghavarna, Megha-udumbara, Śrama, Kṣirodhaka, Karpūrachauka, Karpūratillaka, Gaṅgōṣāgara, Muktāpada, etc. were known as thirty varieties of paṭambara (costly clothes). 282 Besides these, he supplies us with a list of twenty kinds of dēsiyapāṭṭavastra and thirteen types of nīrbhūśānavastra. 283 He has given a list of various kinds of tents and from this list we learn that mosquito-curtain (masahari) was also known to the people. 284 A sage should have the following requisites—Kamaṇḍalu, Tarutvaca, Ko‘pina, Antarvāsa, Vahirvāsa, Vibhuti, Vṛksi, Aksamāla, Dārupātra and Karanḍaka. 285 Regarding the dress of a hero, he refers to a costly towel and Paṭambara dhoti. 286 The costumes differed with the classes. Nobles, warriors, merchants and richer section of the society favoured more clothing, rich apparel, silken stuffs, velvet shoes and varied types of dresses. The Brāhmaṇas did not use the sewn clothes. Petticoats and breast garments do not seem to have been very popular with the ordinary run of people. Dhoti and Dupaṭṭa were the common item. Young unmarried girls generally used to wear Lahaṅga, Ghaṅghra and Kaṅcuki.

Vidyāpati, in his writings, has given a list of popular dresses and cosmetics. Nīvi-baṅdhana has been frequently used and it seems to have been the most popular aspect of the dress culture. 287 Sandal paste was used by both male and female.

283. Ibid.
284. Ibid—P. 23. चैमा, वारिगइ””ससहरी’’”’ट्टौटी””etc.
285. Ibid—P. 43.
286. Ibid—P. 12. पत्ताम्र तोती उत्तरीयपट आदर्श आधि उपनीत कर—
287. MM—Nos. 245—नीवी ससरि भूमि पाठि गेध

282—नीवी मोष करए पार Cf. Thākur, Nos. 13, 36, 42, 85;
61—निवि बन्धन इरि किये दूः
81—निवि निरासिक, पूज़ल आस, तत्त्व औ देखि न आवेप पास ।
66—कूजक नीवी आधि मेरावबलकि
72—निवि बन्ध के जान फि मेखा ।
Women used Kumkuma, Kasturi, Aguru and other scented oils. The tilaka mark on the forehead was considered an auspicious sign and the custom of putting on a tilaka mark was prevalent in all parts, more specially at the time of journey. For the married women, use of ornaments all over the body was essential. The use of vermilion was compulsory for a married woman, popularly known as Suhāgina. The widow threw away all her ornaments and jewellery and wiped out the scarlet line of vermilion from her head. Amir Khusraw describes how a Hindu woman decorates her eye-brows and hairs. Women spent a major portion of their time in cultivating physical charms and gracious looks. Married women used Sindūra, collyrium in the eyes, colour on the soles, palms and fingers, ornaments and varieties of costumes, coloured their lips and were very fond of flowers. The rich women used golds and precious stones while the poorer section had to remain satisfied with lead and silver. The tattooing of arms by women was a regular feature. Amira Khusraw stands substantiated by Vidyāpati. Keeping long hair by women of Mithilā and Bengal was a pet custom and like their counterparts in Bengal, the Maithila women were very particular in decorating their hairs. Collyrium and Menhdi were very popular with the women. Menhdi was used to paint the palm, nail and legs and is yet very popular in Mithilā.

288. Ibid—Nos. 218—रघुण्ड चानन सूगमद कुंकुम | Cf. Thākur, 38.
115—कुंकुम कोलेख नखलत गोरि | Cf. S. Jha, 62.
95—चोन्दने आनि आनि बंग लेपव |
94—सूगमद तिलक अगर अनुकूलित | 96—तिलक दप सूगमदमसी बदन सरिसन करशङ्गी |
247—कपूर चन्द्रव चानन चान बंग हम लेपव |

Cf. No. 117 Also Cf. Barbosa—I. 205 (for a similar custom in South India).

289. Ibid—No. 68—केस कुंकुम तोर लिर क सिन्द्र | 290. Coomarswami & Sen—op. cit. CXVIII.
291. Matlaur-Ameer (Lucknow—1884) 200.
293. MM—No. 116—पद्राज वक (= मेहदी)
customs varied from place to place. It is associated with numerous songs.

Again we have to fall back upon Jyotirśvara for a crystal picture of the cosmetics. The Pañcasāyaka deals with the articles of toilets and charms of women. Various hints have been given in this book regarding the beautification of one’s body in different seasons and of different parts. Various types of paints on different parts of body have also been prescribed. Jyotirśvara’s claim of describing the secret possessions of love in this remarkable work is fully justified. In the VR, he has given a list of the ornaments used by heroine. Some of them are yet in use. His heroine’s smile “ripples along like the waves on the ocean of milk moved by southern breeze” and is like all the white and pure things. Her decorations and beauty, coupled with the proverbial smile, is killing to the young men who happened to see her. Khopā and Kājara have been depicted nicely both by Jyotirśvara and Vidyāpati. Flowers were also

294. भन भन राज भन भन बेवहार।


296. VR—P. 4-छौटी, सिंदूर, सूर्या, एकभूरी, चुंबि, बला, भोज, शिका, पदमसुग, कद्द्र, नूतुर—Cf. P. 7-कुण्डक।

297. कुमुद, कुंद्र, कद्र, कास, भास, कैलाश, कूटरें, पीपुसूक कामना।

298. Ibid—P. 5-पूर्णिमा के चान्द अरुंध पूर्ण अहसन सुंदर। भेट पाक बी देश भाम विस्तर आंध। काजर द कल्तों अहसन भाज क......फोपा परवाक पलब अहसन अपर......etc......he, then, names the eight standard types of Nyikas-sahajnya, चिंत्रेख, चुताची, उपवशी कोर, रस्मा, तिल्कोपामा, देवजानी।

299. Ibid—and also P. 33—he has used a number of similes with Kājara, P. 16, 18 etc.

Cf. MM-Nos. 71—नवन के काजरे मुख शमि में

77—काजरे कार सहोयन लोचन

79—नवन के काजर अघर न मेल

81—काजर दूसे पखालं चालि

90—नवन जुग तुष काजर रेड

96—काजर अंजने न कह भोमा

115—अघरक काजर अपलक भोई
used for decorating hairs. 300 Mekhalā or Kamardhani was also used. 301 The nobility used valuable Sāris. 302 Śaṅkha and moti (pearl) were also used as ornaments. 303 The frequent use of Śaṅkha in Jyotirtṣvara and Vidyāpati is an evidence of the fact that it was used by the females of Mithilā, though its use has now become obsolete here, while in some parts of Tirhut, it is used even now on the occasion of the marriage ceremony. Colt and Āhgi are also referred to as part of female’s apparel. 304 Some type of umbrella was also known. 305 Looking glass was not unknown. 306 Both the rich and the poor had their own way of dressing themselves up according to their means. The evidences at our disposal go to show that the young people indulged more and more in decorating themselves and thereby adding grace and beauty to their physical charm. Various kinds of ornaments were used by women. The stylist women used antimony for the eyes, vermillion for marking the parting of the hair, musk for the breast, betel-leaves for the lips and dentifice for the teeth. We find the use of vermillion by Muslim women in imitation of Hindu ladies. It was not tantamount to infidelity if they used it to beautify their persons to please their husbands. There are indirect references to Chatthī in the Muslim sources.


300. MM—No. 89.
302. Ibid—No. 24—नोलपटर।
303. Ibid—Nos. 95, 159, 737; Rakesh-P. 54—मुद्रेव से मदुला जोगनिया के वेष—
Cf.—संस कर चूड़िं मन कर तोड़िं गालमती दर रे।
पिंया बयि तेज़िन कि काज नखारे बुना सह्यिे सब बाल रे।
सीव के हिंदु पोषिकर दूर पिया बिनु सबहि निराश रे।
Cf. VR—P. 17 for मदुला।
304. VR—P. 35—; Cf. P. 4—for ornaments.
305. Ibid—P. 34—छाता, छाता, छात्रप्रकार, दोपर।
306. दरण काजर देख अाख।
CHAPTER III

(BTA-431). The Hindu women also used the caste-mark (Coomarswami and Arunsen—CXXXII; CXVII).

Betel leaves formed an important item of physical decoration and personal charm. While the flowers were used to decorate hairs, betel-leaves were used for the decoration of lips. 307 The Maithilas were adept in the use of betel-leaves and the VR has prescribed quite a good deal of means for the use of betels. 308 He has enumerated the different kinds of limes and spices used in preparing the betel-leaf. Tāmbula was also known as Pāna as early as the 13th century A.D. and the Tibetan traveller, Dharmasvāmi, has used it as such. The word also occurs in the VR. Jyotirīśvara has enumerated thirteen qualities of Pāna and has given a list of the varieties of spices and betelnuts imported from other places. The rich persons kept Tāmbulapātra by their bedside. 309 Pāna was offered after lunch and dinner and was also known as Mukhaśuddha in Mithilā. It is offered to all types of guests and friends. Tāmbula was mainly used to decorate the mouth and the lips by both the males and females. 310 The Bāṅgalāpāna was very popular in Mithilā. 311 There is a famous adage, yet prevalent in Mithilā, that betel-leaves and makhāna (a kind of water fruit) are not available in heaven and hence one should taste them while living otherwise he will have to repent in the heaven. The dealers

307. Cf. MM—No. 89; Rakesh—op. cit. P. 103.

308. Cf. VR—P. 13—स्यापक सीप दुबे चुम्बायोग अभसन अकार मुक्तक कुष्ठन, सिमुकक कण्डलगा, शीवृक एक, सिमुकः दोष क जातीष्ठ, काशी के मुखमें, मध्य पांचीरक भौमसेन कप्रूर, खपनातीक सरसा पूरा। तिरुरतिक साहिब, फकरे संभोगे दागायोग पृव्वत पंजिका, कड़, डिक, कपाय, क्षार, उण्ण, मस्तु, मुखमेंक, सरस, स्वाद, सरस स्वादक, काश्पिक समानक, पवित्र, तेरह गुण सम्पन्न...स्वागुर दबाव अभसन पान। Also Cf. P. 24—पान कप्रूर के विनियोग।

309. Ibid—P. 15—विशिष्टतमसुक्पात्र एक; P. 27—सामुद्र क संघ; P. 28—मुक्त पृव्वत, तानुबाल—एकर विनियोग कर; P. 16—पान कप्रूर; P. 20—पान क करनी; P. 26—पान नाधिका; P. 64—पान; P. 70.


311. Rakesh—103.
in betel-leaves were known as Tamboli. ‘Pāna’ was very popular among the Muslims. Vidyāpati, in his description of Jaunpur, has given a vivid account of the contemporary social custom.¹ ² Pāna offering was common both among the Hindus and Muslims.³¹²

The VR further refers to the prevailing custom of shampooing, beds and various kinds of clothes used in Mithilā. When the king goes to his gymnasium and bath (samarahara), he is seated on an elaborate throne of wood and the four shampooers (mardaniā) come with perfumed oil and thirty six kinds of shampooing are practised on him.³¹³ After his bath, a mirror is brought to him. Two expert barber servants were employed to massage his feet at the time of sleeping in the night.³¹⁴ There is an elaborate account of the bedstead, bed clothes and the appurtenance of the bed room.³¹⁵ The bed was richly decorated with various types of articles, jewellery, flowers and all necessary equipments and object of beauty were kept there. The VR has also given a description of bed in connection with the description of the prostitutes.³¹⁶ Sayyā, Ochchaona, Seja etc.

³¹² Saxena—op. cit. PP. 40–43. Cf. पानक सर सोनाक टेका। Also Cf. पनाखु in the same book.
³¹⁴ ED—III. 290.
³¹³ VR—P. 11—gives a detail of समरहर; various kinds of oil; सोनु गोदू, किसिमु कान्दू धरणति जन चारि मरदनिया उपनीती भड़—then he details 36 kinds of shampooing; after waters collected from Ganga, Yamuna, Narmada, Saraswati, Godāvari, Tamasa, Tamraparna, Vītasā, Kauśikī, Vāgavi, Kaveri (12 rivers) in golden jar are brought for his bath. Cf. Kritisal—कुस्तह के तेज आँध्र भड़।
³¹⁴ Ibid—P. 14—नाट जन्तुक पदर स्माधुन न करते आँध्र।
³¹⁵ Ibid—P. 14—हि शक्ति के दानत पवन, मानिक के पासि, मरदनिक दिखा, सोना के पति, स्फारिक, द्रव्यां, पदमरांक द्रव्यां, अहु धार दीर्घ, भद्राल धार फण्ड, तेज भोट एक पत्, तको उपर कम्बल चारि……येतेग मात्रक गण्डुभा एक……चारिकु जोन बान्क जैत्रोग माहिक उपर देख आँध्र।
³¹⁶ Ibid—P. 27—श्रवानक किन्यास—In his description of the कामवस्था वर्णने he also refers to श्रव्या. Cf. P. 28. श्रव्याकों उपर नायक नाथिका इ दुःथो एकवस्थ महम्म—In his upavas वर्णना he has given a very nice simile—Cf. P. 38—जनिन देवता के श्रव्य श्रव्य विरचक भांछ।
are the most common equivalents for bed in Mithila. Vidyāpati has also used the word 'Seja' in his poems. 317 Vidyāpati has also referred to the use of Nepāl blankets and other types of clothes 318 viz.—Karṇāsikā Vāstra 319 (a very soft cloth), Saromavastra, 320 Kṣaumavastra, 321 Kauṭeyavastra, Kuṣavastra and Kṛmījastra. 322 It is apparent from the Dānavokyāvali that coloured dresses of various types were in use e.g. red, blue, cream, sky and yellow colours found favour with the people. Uṣṇīṣa or the head dress, better known as Pāga, in Mithilā, was common. 323 Both silken and woollen clothes were in use. It is not exactly known whether there was any footwear in use on not. The thirteenth century Tibetan traveller, Dharmasvāmi, says that when he was seen wearing boots but speaking Sanskrit fluently, he was taken to be an impostor. Dharmasvāmi says that shoes with leather soles were used by the natives. Some sorts of footwears seem to have been in use, 324 possibly affected to the feet above by straps. The VR also mentions Camāra 325 and as such it may be presumed that leather work was not unknown. Vidyāpati, in his Kirtilata, has also referred to the existence of shoe-shops in Jaunpur. 326 The evidences, at our disposal, reveal to us a clear picture of the contemporary dress and costumes of both the upper and lower classes.

VIII

Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, was passing through a period of political uncertainty and as such insecurity charac-

317. Thākur, No. 22—दुनाहूँ चित्ता से ज बोझाए।
No. 52—दुनि से ज नुति रहल।


319. Ibid—232—Cf. P. 233—तूलवत काप्सिक बख।


321. Ibid—234.

322. Ibid—234—35—पट्टवत, सूःकोमजवख, बुक्को सम्मवख; वल्कुर्द्व बुक्को कौमदरविय, हरिद्राकवख; P. 236—नैलाढकर, आविक्कवख।


324. Cf. VR—P. 32—मोजा, सरमोजा; P. 34—चरण परिहृले।

325. Ibid—P. 1.

326. BTA—462.
terised the life of the people. There were incursions both from east and west and political stability was fast vanishing. Sometimes the Oinwāras raised their heads as independent rulers and even went to the extent of issuing gold and silver coins but this much can be asserted that internally they enjoyed autonomous status. The marching soldiers were legally entitled to forced labour from the villagers. 307 The Muslim soldiers had little respect for the Hindu way of life and they cared little for the protection of life and property of the ordinary people. Time had changed and the centre of political and cultural gravity was fast shifting towards towns and cities. New towns were coming into prominence. Dharmasvāmi has referred to a very populous town in Mithila and also to the marches and counter marches of conflicting armies in Vaisālī.

Vidyāpati’s description of Jaunpur is without any admittance of the marvellous and he transports his readers to the Sharqi capital in its best days. His description may be taken as the first hand report of the relations between the Hindus and Muslims at Jaunpur. 308 Mithila’s contact with Islam had become an established fact and she had either to wage wars against the Muslims or to fight for their Muslim masters. Jaunpur, in his days, was a very fine city having beautiful gardens, culverts, embankments, ponds, houses, mosques and temples. The city was highly decorated and there were very fine roads. 309 The chief centre of attraction was the market place. It was an 310 ocean of people. People from Telanga, Chola, Kalinga and Bengal flocked here. All types of people

307. Cf. Kiritātī—ब्राह्म जानत बेरगारचर।
308. Ibid—P. 25 ध्रौं दुरुस्के मिठु वास, एक धर्ममे अवोका उपहास। कतहु बगिकतहु बद्र, कतहु विसादिक कतहु छःद।
309. Ibid—P. 25 कतहु अहोका कतहु थोजा, कतहु नकल कतहु रोजा। कतहु तम्चास कतहु कूँजा, कतहु निमाज कतहु पृष्ठा।
310. Ibid—Vidyāpati uses the word—नरसुध्र—Cf. P. 48 for details.
could be seen there. All these peoples spoke their own languages. The market was a very busy place.\textsuperscript{311} Practically every aspect of human consumption was sold in the market.\textsuperscript{312} There used to be great rush in the market and it presented a very splendid site. The market was flooded with all types of cosmetic goods.\textsuperscript{313} Janapada, according to Vidyāpati, indicated a city or a town.\textsuperscript{314} Even in his poems, Vidyāpati has drawn a line of demarcation between a village and a town— as Gāma and Nagara.\textsuperscript{315} Frequent references to city and towns in the contemporary literature are indicative of the fact that a city was distinct from a village. At one place, it has been said that the villages are situated scatteredly.\textsuperscript{316} It was a common belief that in the town people purchased youth.\textsuperscript{317} There are innumerable references, though in a poetic and fanciful language, to the unsophisticated villagers, Kugāma, Gamāra etc. and to the sophisticated ways of living of the townspeople.

\textsuperscript{311} Ibid—P. 28-हाट करेओ प्रथम प्रवेशा। अष्ट्राकु घटना वाखार, कैट्री, पसरी, कौस्य, केेकार, प्रतुर पौरवनाद-पनहा, सोनहा, पकानहा, मछहा, एत.

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid—P. 30-स्नहु रूप्रीचन्द करेवा और वस्त्रु विकारे आए बाजे मानुसक मोइस नीसि वर आई चाँग। जैगर आनक तिलक आन को चाँग। याताहु ताह परलों के बख्ता मांग—Cf. P. 34-We have seen above the description of the stylist public women.

\textsuperscript{313} Ibid—P. 28-कौर, कैसर, गंथ, नामार, काजल Cf. VR-P. 6-काजर सिन्दु; P. 10-हार माण मानिक मुक्ता मुर्वाण रजत; P. 11-कृतुरी, कुरुर, कुरुम, अगर, चंदन, बाबाद, मायाशिर, पानीर-eight types of गन्धद्रव्य।

\textsuperscript{314} Ibid—Cf. Likhanāwali-47; Cf. VR—quoted earlier—; PP— (Pāthaka) 13.

\textsuperscript{315} Cf. Thakur—No. 27-गामही वहसे बोहिम गैंभार नगरहु नाम बोहिम संसार—No. 35-नगर—No. 83-नगर।

\textsuperscript{316} S. Jha—No. 44-ढामे ढामे वस गाम the word 'home' has also been used for गाम, Cf. No. 166-इंगे एकतरी पितातमनही गाम। No. 108-नगरहु नगरी तोहि सवे आन।

\textsuperscript{317} Ibid—No. 110-जीवन नगर बेसाहव रूप No. 123—

No. 226—

12 MV.
We learn from the contemporary sources that a town was usually provided with temples, tanks, wells, ponds, market and other amenities of life. A town was not only an administrative centre but also a military base and an important centre of trade and commerce. In the very first Kallola of the VR (Nagara Varṇanā), Jyotirīśvara refers to the noises and sounds of the city, through playing of all kinds of musical instruments and shouts of the people and all kinds of seemly and unseemly acts which would come to one’s sight in a city with its motley crowd. The poet refers to a number of towns and places in his PP—viz.—Kusumapura, Kosala, Ujjain, Kāmpila, Pāṇḍu, Gorakhpura, Kośāmbi, Yoginipurā, Mathura Śālmalipurā, Banaras, Devagiri, Rādha and many others. Caṇḍēśvara throws an insufficient but welcome light on the town administration. It may be noted here that in the Rajnitiratnakara, there are provisions for both the village and the town administration. While the officer, associated with the village administration, was known as Snigdha, the Sarvārthacintakam functioned in every town or city. All types of people lived in the town. Even

318. Rajadharmakāṇḍa—P. 42 ff; Sukranitīra—I. 431–33; Cf. Thākur—No. 17 for वैर; No. 19. for क़ाव; No. 29. for लर्व; No. 33. for छाक; No. 39. for कृत; No. 41 for floodwater. According to Vidyāpati, Sea is unfathomable. Cf. No. 44.

319. PP—(Pāthak) 76, 103, 112, 114, 118—(modern Parna),

320. Ibid—121.


322. Ibid—174.

323. Ibid—128.

324. Ibid—87.

325. Ibid—13, 201, 202 (Modern Delhi).

326. Ibid—35.


328. Ibid—59; for Kāsi—229, 197, 213; Manikarṇikā—60.

329. Ibid—61.

330. Ibid—145, 162; Prayāga—162–63; Sarayusamāgama—177.

331. RR—P. 61—तेसां प्रामाण्यं काल्प्णयं पुष्पकार्याणि वेदं हि राजीवयस्वद्विवः निम্বस्ताति प्रयोदतिनिः। नगरे नगरे चैवं कुस्मास्ववार्थविचिन्तकः।

332. VR—1 ff.
the dancers and musicians had a place in the city. 336 The VR, in its first Kallola, 337 deals with the nagara varnana. If the extant leaves be taken as index of the then town life, it may be said that the town was inhabited by all sorts of lower castes and classes, criminal classes and various kinds of beggars and mendicants. 338 The city was full of noises and sounds, through the playing of all kinds of musical instruments and singing of ballads and songs connected with the Lorika, and all kinds of seemly and unseemly acts. The VR did not neglect the country side.

Village life seems to have been normal. The villages seems to have been self contained. People led a simple life. Śrīdharadāsa, in his Saduktikarṇāmyta, has given a fine description of ordinary villagers by quoting the poems of Yogeśwara and Subhāṅka. 339 They were without the sophisticated manners of the town dwellers. On seeing a woman, they played rustic tricks like jumping across the well, ascending the tree-tops, overturning the bullock-cart and singing in a low voice. 340 The villagers took delight in entertaining guests and housewives felt happy on such occasions. 341 The court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, Śaraṇa, has drawn a vivid picture of the agriculturists and

336. Cf. DSnātaka—Jyotirīśwara gives a description of the house of a prosperous farmer Cf. P. 41—; Cf. Act I—मधवं, पेक्ष, पेक्ष, विहितमूलकमुखरिष्टिहरुबाहुः महिः सम्मोहनतंवहसः हरे तद्रो सब्दरत्नबालापवद्यकाः शरि पंपतुकन्याजसपरिरस्कहलनमस्वभार-रमणिव्यासाः परिसर सब्दरत्नादिविवावस्मूहं कस्वदि महावणस्वास्मजन विलोक्षेपदि।

337. It is unfortunate for us that the first nine leaves of this Kallola are yet untraced which might have proved a very useful source of information.

338. VR—P. 2—The Chatarīya (a class of beggar) is mentioned by Vidyaśāti. Cf. S. Jha—No. 242 जस्तन चातरिया अम अह जन्म ।

339. Saduktikarṇāmyta—I. 84. 2—P. 123 of the POS—XV.

340. Cf. Ibid—4 (P. 124)—We are told that in the month of Chaitra, they tried to kiss the women while they were asleep in the open.

341. Ibid—P. 303.
peasants in his poems. A study of the RR reveals to us that the village system was organised on a sound basis (Supra). All matters relating to the village life were discussed in the village Pañcāyata. There was a minister in charge of the rural affairs in addition to an officer known as ‘Snigdha.’ It appears that the king took keen interest in the village affairs. All village disputes were settled by the Pañcāyata. There was an officer in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the canons of conduct. The ordinary village in Mithila remained unaffected by the contemporary political crisis and dynastic changes. Unbroken continuity has been one of the basic features of the village life in Mithilā. The rich and the ruling class generally lived in towns. So long as the villagers continued paying revenue, they remained safe and undisturbed. The village, though divided in toлас on caste or class lines, presented a scene of co-operation and amity. All types of people inhabited the villages. Hāta, bāzars and lanes were common to both the town and the village. The Likhnāvali gives a clear indication of the fact that village life was one of mutual co-operation and friendship and on all social occasions mutual help was sought for. Their unsophisticated life has been nicely described in the contemporary literature. Very few village names are known to us from contemporary literary sources. Majority of the villagers identified themselves with the prevailing conditions of the time and they had grown fatalist. The villagers were mainly agriculturists but there were other avenues as well. Like the town, there were merchants, perfume sellers, dealers in lacs and conchshell, woodcutters, blacksmith, goldsmith, oil driller, betel-sellers, sweatmeat-makers, servants of various types in every village.

342. Ibid—p. 278.
343. Thakur—Nos. 35, 50, 83.
344. S. Jha—Nos. 86, 166, 44.
345. Cf. the colophons of the MSS—Nepal Catalogue; Catalogue of Mithila MSS.
346. Cf. The Likhnāvalī.
Dramatic performances seem to have been the most popular form of entertainment during the period under review. Both the king and the people seem to have exhibited keen interest in these performances. Dance and drama have been the unique contribution of Mithilā and through a study of these arts we can get a natural expression of the innermost spirit of Mithilā. We have no definite idea about the stage etc., but it can be inferred that the performances were held either in the palace or in public places. 347 It may be noted here that Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇaṭa dynasty, wrote a commentary on Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra. During our period, dancing seems to have attained prominence and maturity as we find Jyotirīśwara devoting more than three sections to this particular art. The sixth Kallola gives an account of music and dancing. He enumerates three kinds of dancing viz.—Nṛtya-varṇanā, Pātraṁtyavarṇanā and Preranṛtyavarṇanā, 348 (for details see infra). The Pātra is a dancing girl, practised in thirty two kinds of movements and in thirty two kinds of graces. 349 The Preranā is a male dancer. Various kinds of dances are then described. Folk dance was very popular in a land of excessive orthodoxy and that the tradition was so deep-rooted that even as late as the 16th. century A. D., Maharāja Subhaṅkara Thākur wrote Śrīhastaṁuktāvalī in Sanskrit dealing with the various kinds of art of dancing on the traditional line.

The people shared the joys in dancing and theatrical performances. 350 The drama seems to have been patronised both by the kings and the commoners. The dramatic performances were accompanied with dances and songs. The Kirtaniyā drama was very popular in Mithilā and it was said

347. Cf. L. Renou—The Civilisation of Ancient India—P. 161; Cf. my article Sanskrit Drama in Mithilā—in the JBRs—XLIll.
348. VR—P. 48 ff.
349. Ibid—XXX. for further details see the section on ‘Art’.
to be associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. The earliest and oldest drama in Maithili language is the well-known Dhūrtasamāgamanātaka of Jyotirṣwara Thākur. The drama is a farce, a typical prahasana, fulfilling almost every condition prescribed in Sanskrit literary criticism.\(^{351}\) The songs are like the songs of early Kirtaniyā drama and are interesting in the total development of the play. The second important drama is the famous Pārijātaharana of Umāpatī.\(^{352}\) The main text is in Sanskrit but the songs are in Maithili. The origin of Kirtaniyā drama is ascribed to Vidyāpati who is said to have given its present form and character. Vidyāpati wrote Maṇīmāñjari and Gorakṣavijayanātaka, whose printed edition is now available. It is believed that these two dramas used to be staged in Mithilā. The Sūtradhāra in the Gorakṣavijaya proposes to carry out the orders of Śivasīmha by proposing a play on the success of Gorakṣanātha.\(^{353}\) All these go to show that dramatic performances were very popular in Mithilā and the Kirtaniyā dramas drew all sections of people under one canopy. Dhōla, Mṛdanga, Tablā and Jhāla were usually pressed into use at the time of dance and drama. There were regular actors, singers, Bhūtas etc. We shall refer to these items in detail when we come to the description of art and literature. Open air theatres were not unknown.\(^{354}\)

Games and sports were not totally unknown. Duels, wrestling, footballs and various other types of games including Gambling and Chaupara are known to us from the contemporary sources. Wrestling is as old as the days of Pāṇini.\(^{355}\) The VR has given a very fine description of the Mallayuddha\(^{356}\) or a wrestling match. Here we have a number wrestling’s terms,

352. Cf. My article referred to above.
353. For literary appreciation—See Infra under heading ‘Literature.’
354. T. N. Ray—*Kuṭṭinimatam*—Verse 931, says that actors and actresses were honoured by kings and rulers. For musical instrument. Cf. *MM*-No. 110—रटति राजसमहति (वीणा) कविनाभ (लालस्थ्रविशेष), रघुराम के मुरलि विशेष।
356. *VR*—P. 45 ff.—‘ओष्टनिझव वाहनाद छाँझ दुःख भूभाल मंत्रण।’ वन्ध पच्छु
meanings of which are not yet clear. An account of gambling is rather long but very interesting, though some of the terms, mentioned here, are now obscure. Gambling was one of the chief sports. 357 Gambling is called ‘Jūa.’ Through a fashionable gambling house, Jyotirīśwara bewilders us by his familiarity with various games that are on; as well as by his knowledge of the ways of the men who gather there. Gambling has been a very old tradition in India and this had not lost its charm in the medieval period. This game was an important means of recreation and to some it was a hobby. The lyesured class indulged in dice-playing and gambling and sometimes heavy stakes were kept. 357a

Hunting was also an important past-time. Hunting presented an image of war. 338 In chasing, dogs were also pressed into service. Here we have the unique description of a royal cavalcade going out to hunt in the jungles, armed with varieties of weapons and with the types of dogs that are led in the bash. The contemporary sources reveal to us that all types of urban and rural games were known to our people and the feudal landlords, sometimes, maintained a host of combatants and wrestlers in their courts. 359 The popular outdoor game

अह. एक फरके बाहो दाख. अमोके पभसि वाह वाकी फलाकें भरेल भूमि मह। ....
मुमि तुक लागि ठोकवा कवि भूमि मह। अमोके माणफें मरे
विदान रायि पालि मीठु ऑके मूमि पालि रायि उमरि एक ठार मवाह। ....

357. Ibid.—P. 23 ff. नागरक दक्षिण, जुआ योगिनीक, आयतन दे खों, सत्विखंय, उज्ज, चोरस, खंगन्ध, बातावन, बिचिङ्ग, बियुकाइल, झतहाय भोतर दीर्घ, जठसति हाप फाप, फोंच, P. 24. ...........पणि मूमि अपूर्व चेटसार एक भेदु .........तयोदश प्रकार के खेलेरोहते भेदु ......... details various types of plays in PP. 24–25–26.


358. VR—P. 35 ff.—Eight types of elephants, 10 types of dogs, have been mentioned here. Cf. Mūnaseḷaśa IV. 13, referring to 21 kinds of hunting; Hammirāmahākavya—IV. 38 ff.

359. Cf. for details Vajjyanit—114–147; Abhidhānaeintāmaqi—117 ff; Manasellāśa—P. 229; Penzer—KSS—II. 200. Trisāsīsalākā—III. 68; Daśakumāraharita—6th. Ucchvala, Where ladies are seen playing football. Polo was also known in the Chalukyan kingdom. Cf. A. K. Majumdar The Chalukyas of Gujarāt 359–60; Cf. Manasellāśa P. 35; Hockey was also known.
was football. Vidyāpati has given a very nice description of
the Kandukakridā in one of his poems. The word ‘gena’
for football has also been used here. Both the adults and
children took part in games. Women generally indulged in
‘Chauri,’ ‘Sāmāchakeva,’ and various other types of games.
On such occasions as Holi and Kojāgara, special types of
games were played and the folk literature is replete with such
references. Dice and chess were not unknown. The Dwatta-
Viveka of Bibhākara refers to Rājā Rupanārayaṇa playing
chess with Sikandar Lodi at Patna. This game was very
popular in Mithilā. Kite-flying was a very popular pastime
in Tirhut. The nobility also enjoyed the pigeon-flying, cock-
fighting and ram-fighting. Animal fight, especially on the
occasion of Sukrāti, was witnessed with great enthusiasm.
Choranukhi, a game of hide and seek, and similar other games
were also very popular. Most of these games are yet
extant in Mithilā and other parts of north Bihar. Kabbaḍḍí
is fast decaying.

Since hospitality was one of the important cultural traits
of the people of Mithilā, the lawgivers have assigned a place
of utmost importance to the visiting guests. The royal court
also took measures to arrange for the stay of the foreign
travellers and we know that a Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita of Prayāga
was cordially received by Rāmbhadra of Mithilā. The

360. Thakur—No. 14—कराडुः कुमुड कनुकरी अमरि…
गेन दे शेखन देशिं निखार…”
Cf. No. 16. Where the word Khela (खेल) has been used.
For words associated with ‘खेल’—Cf. the VR—37; 38; 39.

361. Cf.—सिकन्दरपुरमिरी गुल्दौरोदरकीड़िया
दिनं गमयति चयं चिकित्सागररिविकृतिः।
प्रचण्डवियुधसुन्दरकोरिकोरिप्रभा—
समाजितपद्धाबुद्ध चिन्हि मित्रः मायं नय—Cf. R. K. Choudhary—
History of Bihar P. 172.

guests, in Mithilā, have been treated as gods. Creation of
alms-houses and inns was regarded as an act of charity and
the Dharmaśāstra literatures contain various references about it. Caṇḍēśwara has approved of it and has pleaded for
the entertainment of guests and goes on to suggest that hos-
pitality is a duty of the householder. Rāmasimha’s request
to Dharmaswāmi to accept his hospitality is an indication in
this direction. Though a Buddhist, he was offered all sorts of
comforts by a Hindu King. Giving food to a visitor was
prescribed in all circumstances. Even in alms-houses, food
was supplied free of cost and if there was
any mishap, it was the duty of the king
and the people to perform all religious
rites connected with the deceased. Infirm,
old, blind and helpless people were there and
it was a part of the social and political duty to look to their
interest. There were rest houses and other public places
meant for the retirement and recreation of the people and
such places were known as "arāma"—Benevolent persons made
a gift of ‘arāmas.’

Astrology was a widely practised science in medieval
Mithilā and all sorts of people resorted to it for guidance.
Before starting any new venture, everybody consulted an astrologer for advice. Vidyā-
pati seems to have been well conversant with
the predictive astrology. Superstitious beliefs held
the ground. Fatalism seems to have been the normal norm

364. Cf. Yājñavalkya—1. 121; Pāṇini—1. 38.
365. GR—309; Cf. P. 295.
367. MM—No. 576—चिन्तिस्वत (= मकंड) तेसर सेलूक्यार i.e. Maṅgala
in the third is considered to be a mārakṛṣa. Cf. Dīnacākhyāvali—6-8.
368. Thākur—No. 42—वासिक्ययुक्त कृतक आरम्भ; Cf. PP—( Pāṭhak ) 25,
118, 74 for fate and karma, No. 4— for witch.
of human life.\textsuperscript{369} Powers of sorcery were known to the people of medieval India and Kamarūpa, the centre of tantric faith, finds frequent mention in the contemporary sources. We learn from the Muslim sources that the secret power was possessed by the Brähmaṇas. They knew how to convert men into animals.\textsuperscript{370} Though in our ancient texts, like the \textit{Rāmāyana} and the \textit{Smṛtis}, fatalism has been decried as the creed of cowards and sluggards, the fact remains that the astrologers enjoyed enviable position in the court and among the people. Needless to say that blind faith in astrology exerted baneful influence on the society and helped people in becoming more and more a fatalist. The poor people resigned themselves to fate and they were made to believe that their sufferings were ordained by their respective stars. The \textit{VR} gives an account of the astrologer with the names of treatises and the computation he can make.\textsuperscript{371} It was the general belief that good or bad luck of a man is determined by the creator.\textsuperscript{372} Belief in past and post-life is also indicated in a number of writings by our poet.\textsuperscript{373}

Amongst the typical Maithila superstitious belief and omen is the custom of \textit{Khanjana-darśana}.\textsuperscript{371} The common belief is that in the 8th. or the 12th. lunar day in the fullmoon day of the month of \textit{Āświna}, one should perform \textit{sānti} (also called

\textsuperscript{369} \textit{Ibid}.—No. 47—कड़म के दोषे विषयदेव में साधि; Cf. S. Jha—\textit{op. cit.}—\textit{MM—op. cit.} for a number of references.

\textsuperscript{370} \textit{ED}—III. 663; Cf. \textit{PP} (Pāthak) 8, 12, 195.

\textsuperscript{371} \textit{VR}—P. 23—मानस, खण्डखाल, भावतति, विषयवल्लक, सोमशेखर, विषयबरो; राजमार्तग्न, हङ्गयुध, वराहमिहिर, श्रीपति संहिता, नन्दसंहिता, देवकसंहिता, चन्द्रसंहिता—पन्द्रह तिथिः; सतास्व नक्षत्र, सतास्व संयोग, सात वराण, वारह राशि, आठ वर्ष, बिंदस बरा, वारह मुहूर्त, दश, पक, क्रम, विकल्प; महादिद दूर्भविलित भान्त केवल तारा के अनुपे, युर शुक्रके। केन्द्र, सुतह बुकादि योगे सम्भित सतबृहुणसंहरमण्ड लम्ब मद्य।

\textsuperscript{372} S. Jha—Nos. 112, 238, 247, 233, 244 & others.

\textsuperscript{373} \textit{PP} (Pāthak)—166—167, 215, 225, 222; Cf. Folk—Song—विषय कहरीने सक।

\textsuperscript{371} Cf. Caṇḍeśvara—\textit{Kṣitigarbha-kapala} PP. 360—373. (BI—1925); Govindānanda—\textit{Vāraśiktyakamūdi} (BI—1902) & Raghunandana—\textit{Tīkhaṭṭa}.
nirājaśānti). If after the conclusion of this ceremony, the
every is chased by the king in the direction of the Khanjana
bird, he is fast subdued. This bird is rarely
Khanjanadarīṇa seen and is hence considered auspicious, 372
specially when the sun is in the asterism of
Hasta and it desappears as soon as the sun reaches the asterism
of Rohini. Only a specific type of this bird is auspicious and
that a fat Khanjana, with long neck and black throat, having
dark colour from neck to mouth, is taken to be beneficial.
Various kinds of this bird—viz, Samantabhadra, prabhādres,
anubhadra and ambabhādres in chitrakṛta and Gopita colours
are known. The observers of the chitrakṛta and Gopita colours
fall to misery. The sight of Samantabhadra is considered to
be the best and propitious. Some important beliefs associated
with the sight of this bird are as follows—

(i) if seen on a curd vessel or stack of paddy—an indi-
cation of good.
(ii) if on a quagmire—it predicts good grass
(iii) if on the dung of a bull—indicates profusion of cow’s
milk.
(iv) if on grass—acquisition of clothes.
(v) if on Sakatā tree—sale of the country.
(vi) if on house top—failure.
(vii) if on the face of a person—imprisonment.
(viii) if on Śuci tree—disease.
(ix) if on the back of a goat or a sheep—speedy meeting
with one’s beloved.
(x) if on the bone of a dead buffalo, camel, ass or in a
burning place—evils, death, disease and fear.
(xi) It is auspicious at the time of sunrise but not at the
time of sunset.
(xii) if seen falling to the ground, it indicates the coming
of wealth.

372. KR—366–373—It is believed that the places where it vomits,
voids its ordure or performs sexual intercourse abounds with
coal, glass and gems respectively. Its dead, wounded, diseased
and bleeding conditions indicate similar state for the observers.
Shaking of its wings or drinking from a water course is a
bad sign.
(xiii) if found soaring in the sky, it means future union with one's relations.

(xiv) if seen on lotuses in the morning, on cow, elephant, horse and serpent, it gives an indication of a kingdom to the observer.

(xv) if found on bones, ashes, etc., it is a bad indication.

There is a long list of such indication about this bird in the KR. The sight and the utterance of the name of this bird are auspicious. At its sight, the following mantra is to be enchanted—"O, You, the son of a sage, practising Yoga, you disappear with the advent of summer but reappear after the close of the rains. I bow down to you, Khanjana who are full of wonders." If the bird is seen in the south when the star "Agastya" is on the horizon, this bird fulfils the desire of the observer. There was also a provision for the worship of the Khanjana bird. In his KR (Chapters-19 to 22) Caṇḍeswara discusses the various aspects of astronomy with special reference to (i) Sun's passage from one sign to another; (ii) to the new moon and (iii) to the eclipses. Vidyāpati, too, has referred to this bird and its qualities in a number of poems. 373

The contemporary sources throw a flood of light on the standard of morality of the people. The social habits and the methods of living have been discussed earlier and we have also taken into consideration the views of the contemporary nibandhas. There was a good deal of difference between the prescribed codes of behaviour and usual practice. Both the nibandhakāras and the poet held up high principles before the people. The

373. Cf. S. Jha—Nos. 99, 201, 204, 209, 224 etc. Thākur No. 15; Cf. VR—P. 23—Where Khanjan has been brought into picture in connection the coronation ceremony—So far as the critical insight of Vidyāpati is concerned it may be pointed out that nothing escaped his notice and even the minutest social usage has found a place in his poems. In one of his poems, he refers to the system of keeping Sūri at the Dhekula, a custom yet prevalent in Maithila homes—Cf. Thākur—No. 24. पौरण बौधि पदोऽरो चयन असति तुम परिपाति। He further refers to the fact that a dead scorpion is made alive if kept in cowdung—Ibid—गॉवर्व बाल्य गीत पर मेलह, एकर होवत परिपाति।
aristocracy squandered money over wine, women and dancing girls. References to drinking clubs are not few and far between. \[374\] Caṇḍeśwara permits drinking on special occasions. \[375\] The amorous way of life finds fullest expression in the writings of Jyotirśwara and Vidyāpati. Bribery and corruption were also not unknown. Illegal gratifications are referred to in the writings of Caṇḍeśwara and others. Caṇḍeśwara advises his king to save his people from such dishonest officers. \[376\] Quacks were also not unknown. The whole state seems to have been a main set of idlers. \[377\] Treachery was also a feature in the social life. \[378\] Caṇḍeśwara, quoting Devipurāṇa, shows that if one does not talk or behave indecently, he incurs the wrath of Bhagwati. \[379\] This relates to the Udakaseva mahotsava, when all sorts of sexual forces and drinking habits were let loose. The nature of the festival is not clear and authorities are all divided on this point. \[380\] The sexual urge found its fullest expression amongst the people on the occasion of the Madanotsava, when both the young and old looked forward for free-mixing and sports. Caṇḍeśwara supports the view that people were free to use indecent songs and dances on this occasion. \[381\] The exotic literature and sensuous representations in art of Mithilā are indicative of the sensuous suggestiveness of the period and the general tone of the upper strata of the people. The Belwa door frame (Saran), the image of Śivapārvatī in Śukhāsan pose from Jaimanglāgarh and the “man-woman” in embrace on a relief at Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhanga) are indications

375. GR—394. Cf. S. Jha—No. 77—for harlot; No. 2—for night rangers; Nos. 140, 152, 209, 213 PP (Pāthak) 51, 99; for 64 types of sexual knowledge.
376. RR—54.
377. PP—(Pāthak) 38, 41.
378. Cf. Ibid—वंचक कथा।
of how the wind blew and in which direction, during our period, in so far as the general tone of morality was concerned.

Suicide was not unknown. The *Tirthacintāmaṇi* (47–52) and the *Gaṇgāvākyāvali* (305–10) contain a high eulogy of suicide at selected spots in Prayāga and its environs. There is a similar approval of suicide at Vārānasī by entering fire and so forth (*TC*-347). Suicide by starvation in the Gaṅgā was also prescribed (*TC*-263; *GV*-267–92). The frequency of the religious suicide, prescribed by our *Nibandhakūras*, goes to show that it had come to stay as a religious custom. Suicide was allowed under exceptional circumstances such as extreme illness or otherwise. The Dharmaśāstra writers have generally condemned suicide and the Law-givers have prescribed punishment for those who committed or attempted to commit suicide. There should be no mourning for those who wilfully die.  

In Mithilā, the system of committing suicide or practising *Jaúhara* by Rājput women continued till, at least, the Mughal period and a family document confirms it. Religious suicide came to be forbidden in the Kali age. In the feudal age distrust and disappointment reigned supreme and the desperate people resorted to the meanest level. Instances of poisoning and killing one’s own chief or master are not lacking in history. The fortune-seekers, in their desperate attempt, to reap the fruits took to all means, fair and foul. Vidyāpati has given an instance as to how poisoning was resorted to as means of achieving the end.  

Thus an overall survey of the social life of the people gives us an idea of the manner and general character of the age. It may be noted here that the authors of the period have contradictory and divergent views regarding the caste system, marriage and other social customs. With regard to the *Śūdras*

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382. Kane—*op. cit.* II. 924–929.

383. The document is in possession of the writer.

383a. Nerukar—82.; for Suicide, Cf. U. Thakur—‘*History of Suicide in India.*’
also, there is a difference of opinion. While some emphasize the Śudras’ duty of serving the Brāhmaṇas, some seek to relax the rules relating to the dealings in forbidden commodities. The old religious disabilities of the Śudras are also relaxed by some. With regard to the social behaviour there is a similar attitude. Old rules, with minor changes here and there, are repeated. Women’s authority over the Stridhana is accepted. The practice of religious suicide is sanctioned and stands attested to by Ibn Batuta who refers to the Hindus drowning themselves voluntarily in the Gaṅgā as an act of spiritual merit. The veneration of cow continued in the same spirit as it was in the past. The GR (294) specially forbids the killing of cows in honour of guests. Cow had not only a religious but economic value as well. According to Kane the authors, on Dharmaśāstra, in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices with the dicta of the ancient sages, were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments. But living as the most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government, they were driven more and more to revolve within their narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. 389

IX

Economic Life

Village, as the lowest unit, continued to be the backbone of economic life in Mithilā, as in other parts of India. Mithilā was then essentially a rural and agricultural area with an almost stereotyped economy. In the remotest part of a village, hardly any remarkable change is perceptible even today, though its face is fast changing and is now on the threshold of a new revolution. The fate of every village was almost the same. It was

always uncertain and the villages were subject to such natural calamities as fire and flood. For agricultural purpose, they had to rely mainly on the course of monsoon. The physical conditions made them fatalist. Simplicity and fatalism were the remarkable aspects of socio-economic life. Village was the unit of economic organisation which aimed at a harmonious coordination of specialised functions. It determined the economic outlook of the people. The production, in those days, was meant mainly for local consumption. Since there was no fixed standard of living and the method of production was crude, the low standard of economic life was perpetuated by the force of circumstances. It was natural that in a feudal society, peasants and artisans were condemned to lead a life of poverty. The landed aristocracy, officials and mercantiles monopolised a major portion of material wealth. The condition of an ordinary man can be gleaned through the contemporary writings, to which we shall come later on. The people were, possibly never under very affluent circumstances. They hardly earned two square meals, sometimes only one, a day and a bare minimum cloth to cover their nakedness. During the period, under review, times had changed. Trade and commerce had come to stay. Currency in one form or other had developed. The growth of town had brought in its train some sort of middlemen in the society. While the rights of the rich came to be protected, the position of the middle class seemed to be a bit better. We learn from the Bengali literary sources that literate persons were regarded as ornaments of towns and they claimed rent free land and houses. The issue of coins and the growth of trade helped the slackening of the rigours of feudal bondage and the people were now in a position to sell their labour for monly in preference to a life long slavery.

CHAPTER III

It is very difficult to say as to who owned the land but we see that in Mithila the king and the barons made land grants to the people. With the growth of population and limited means of other avenues, pressure on land increased. In view of the unsettled political condition, a large number of people had to seek their livelihood by falling back on land. Possibly the tillers had no proprietary right on the land. Canḍeśwara refers to the Navānna festival.\(^{387}\) There is a reference to the production of wheat\(^{388}\) and barley\(^{389}\) in the Maithili sources. The joy of the peasants knew no bounds when there was a bumper harvest.\(^{390}\) A large variety of sugarcane was also produced.\(^{391}\) The Vṛ refers to rice, pulse, barley, millets, peas, oil seeds, sugarcane, onion, garlic, poppyseeds, spices like mārī, methi, maigraila, Churā, Farhi and fruits like mango, date, plantain, melon, pomegranate, orange, fig, lemon, Jāmuna, jackfruit, banana, khorbufa, sugar, spirit, sweet, betel leaf etc.\(^{393}\) Land was the mainstay of economic life and agriculture was the chief occupation of a large number of people. Except a few craftsmen and servants, all were engaged in agriculture and the peasant was regarded as the backbone of the state. Barani has prescribed that a negligent peasant has to be ejected. Banana trees were grown in almost every family in Mithila.

No stigma was attached to agriculture. Plough was the chief agricultural implement.\(^{393}\) There was also some crude means of irrigating the land.\(^{394}\) In the agricultural economy,

\(^{387}\) KR—P. 363.
\(^{388}\) KR—P. 257, 278.
\(^{389}\) Sadukti—II. 136. 5.
\(^{390}\) Ibid—II. 84, 3; II. 176, 3.
\(^{391}\) Ibid—II. 84, 3.
\(^{392}\) Supra—Cf. Dānavakyavali—P. 41, 111, 196–7, 127, for a number of agricultural products of Mithils.
\(^{393}\) MM—No. 797—खरग काट हुर हर जे चवचोल, त्रिनिष्ठ तोडौश कह फारे वसना पुरान्न हर रघुदुविय यों च वतना पाठ्य इर्म परे।
Cf. Vṛ—कार्युङ्ग.
\(^{394}\) Ibid—Cf. Vācaspāti—Devitanirṇaya. It refers to the four kinds of reservoir of water, i.e. Vāpi, Kupa, Puṣkarīṇī and Tarāga.

13 MV.
cows and bullocks played an important role. They were the important means of production since time immemorial and we know that even the Aryans, who had scant respect for cows and bulls, tried to preserve them for purely economic reasons. The protection of cow was guided by practical economic consideration. The contemporary digests speak very highly of the gifts of tanks etc., and both the Karna and Oinwara rulers of Mithilā made provisions for supplying water to the land and its people. 395 Various tanks were caused to be excavated by kings and nobles and it was considered meritorious to make a gift of such things for irrigational purposes. References to Kupa, Jalaśaya, Sarovara etc. are there in the writings of Vidyāpati 396 and Jyotirnswara. Since flood was very common in Mithilā, dams were made to protect fields and pastures. 397 An ordinary peasant householder was known as Girihatha. 398 Rain accompanied with storm was painful for a villager, who, generally under such circumstances took shelter under a big tree. 399 The vaiśyas and members of the lower grade were mostly engaged in agricultural pursuit. Irrigation was a great aid to it. 400 The peasantry, however, do not seem to have been very adventous and enterprising. Cultivators seem to have been protected by the state and Candēśwara testifies to this fact. Candēśwara says that those, who seized the wealth of the cultivators, are deprived of all their belongings and should be exiled. 401 This is an indication

396. Thakur—Nos. 19, 29, 33, 39.
398. S. Jha—No. 36—गीरिहथ, पछप वापसी।
399. Ibid—31—झटक झालक छड़क ठाम, कलर महात्त्व सर विशाल।
401. Cf. RR—61—राजाँ दिति राज्यविभुत: पर्यवाहिनिमित: शाह।
मल्या मवत्ति प्राप्ति तेष्यो रक्षितमित्र: प्राप्त:।
वेष कार्यक्रियोर्ब्यमैव गृहीतः पवित्रतिः।
तेषां सर्वस्मादिय राजा कृत्यादिप्रवालसनम्।।
of the fact that royal administration paid attention towards the protection of the cultivators since without that the state would have been a loser in revenue. The state seems to have followed some sort of a regular agricultural policy since land revenue was the mainstay of finance.

The frequency of marches and counter marches in Mithilā had made the situation so abnormal that it led Candaśwara to explain away the term Śaṛdbhāga as a mere figurative term and he recommended the levying of such amount as would be found necessary to meet the requirements of the government and at the same time not oppressive to the people. Land revenue was the main source of royal income. According to Vidyāpati, all cultivable and fertile lands were scientifically surveyed and rents were fixed according to the fertility of the soil. Besides the land revenue, there were other sources of income. The state always protected the traders and the middle class claimed certain rights from the state. Only those officials were regarded as successful heads of the departments who increased the revenue of the state. Fiscal divisions like Grāma, Tappā and Parigana have been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Likhanāvali (Nos. 55–59). In our section on polity, we have already discussed the principles of taxation and the sources of income to the state and as such no further reflection on this point is necessary here.

402. Ibid—P. 55.
404. PP (G)—Tale 41—; In case of any loss, incurred by the carelessness of the state officials or any other persons, connected with the state, the state was, in duty bound, to make good the loss. The practice of confiscating the property to make good such losses was also known. Cf. Ibid—Tale 13. At one place Vidyāpati has described a king as greedy of revenue—Ibid—Tale 41.
The latest writer on the history of Mithilā has observed that “trade and commerce was practically unknown” and he has not adduced any argument in support of his contention (TM-366). As a matter of fact trade and commerce were not unknown. There might not have existed large scale and heavy industries in the modern sense but it is evident from the ancient literature that there were many industries. Jyotirśwara gives a detailed account of various trades and industries. The surplus manufactures of the village were disposed of in the town. Banjaras or the grain carriers moved with their bullock carts and track horses. These were the means of transport in those days. Both Jyotirśwara and Vidyāpati (VR and Kirtilatā) refer to various kinds of horses. Vidyāpati found the choicest and richly accoutred “Teji” (i.e., Arabic and Persian horses) for which even mountains of gold would be insufficient. Horses from Bhutan were also known. Dishonest traders were not unknown and Vidyāpati observes that “the cunning were like the Baniyās.” Communications along the river by boat were also known. The big fairs and hāṭas were areas of comparatively brisk exchanges of commodities under peaceful condition. It displayed a sense of keen commercial activity. This weekly and bi-weekly hāṭas played a prominent part in moulding the rural economic life. These occasional fairs served the purpose of social meetings for the villagers. According to Jyotirśwara, an ideal merchant should be familiar with different peoples belonging to different places like Śrīkhaṇḍa, Malaya, Surat etc. He gives an

405. MM—No. 614—बनिजा कएल लाम नाही पाऊँल—××—×

406. VR—P. 65—श्रीखण्ड, मलय, सम्माली, सुरत। वेण्टा, पत्ताकारही प्रमुख अनेक बाति चनक विशेष, काळ, पकल, राजराशि, भीमसेन, चन्द्रेश्वर, उदयमलकर, हासरोस, बिंदी, काठामोहनि। प्रमुख अनेक खाद्य प्रतांतातिक तत्व, कृष्णापुर, कालाब्य, कालकृत्ति, लेटाप, खादिरक पल्ही पाब्य यातिक
account of various kinds of stuffs, the gems, spices and perfumes, drapers and gems-cutter and what not. Trade with Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Gujrat, Telangana and Kāṭaka was flourishing. Mithilā imported clothes from Tanjore, Sylhet, Ajmer, Kanchi, Chola country, Kāmarūpa, Bengal, Gujrat, Kathiāwaḍa, Telangana, and other places. "According to the VR, a trader should know the relative qualities of different varieties of camphor, aguru, spices and he should be an expert assayer of weights and prices of minerals like sulphur, nitre, diamond, jewels, gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, Zinc, brass, stone, pearl, cloth and silk. A trader should be conscientious, generous and religious minded and should possess a robust mind and health. He should also be an adept in the ceremonial art, eloquent and be able to inspire confidence in others. A successful trader should aim at giving satisfaction to his customers.

The textile cum dyeing industry seems to have been very popular in Mithilā—Cotton, Wool and Silk being the most prominent. Hand woven clothes were also very popular. The VR refers to about thirty varieties of cloth, different varieties of tents, curtains, mosquito-nets and various kinds

अगरक बेला, एवश्च, कस्तुरी, कुकुर, पतनोर, माधविर, भान्द, वेण्टक, एलकम्बक आदि, अलतुस, जातिकोण, कुमरकोण, कवच, तना, एला, जातिकोण, कामळ…………जिरक……..शुंठि……जमानि, आदि……..वे अनेक वर्णक्रमें से ममस्थ्…………

P. 66…………अनेक वे धातुपरीक्षक, हीर, मणि, मुखा, मुख्य, रज्ज, ताम्र, कौश्य, जयसत राज, पिंजह, पापया, गजाढ, तरह, वर्स, पटवर्स नाना माणिक्यादि अनेक जाति वस्तुद्रव्य विशेषिता…………………विशेषित, कप, विकप, Also—Cf. P. 8—for महाकार, गन्धवर्ण, रत्नपरीक्षक etc.

P. 10—for valuable Jewels.
P. 11—for Perfumes (गन्धवर्ण)

407. Cf. for place names—Saxena-op. cit. 48; VR.—There is a reference to the frequency of trade between Bengal and Gazzan (Ghazni? ). Cf. PP (G )—34. Gorakhpur seems to have been famous for क्षेत्र—Cf. Rakesh—P. 54. लड़ना भट्टिला लायब वक्षन गंगारखुरगे हों रे।

408. VR—(Supra—S. V. Dress ); Dānavākhāvati—PP. 232—34.
of towels made of costly clothes. The Dānāvākyāvalī of Vidyāpati supplements and complements the list of Jyotirśwara. Manufacture of all types of cloth was possibly known and it may be presumed that cotton was extensively grown in Mithilā. Coloured clothes were also known. 409 Mahuan enumerates five or six varieties of fine muslins, gold embroidered caps and silk handkerchiefs. 410 There was a regular contact between Nepal and China and silk came to be introduced as a result of that contact. We have a reference to the Nepali blankets and silken clothes in the Dānāvākyāvalī. Costly clothes were used by the aristocracy of Mithilā. The VR mentions embroidered red clothes of Bengal like Meghadumbara, Gāṅgāsāgar, Gāngora, Dwāra, Lakṣmīvilāsa, Vāsinī and Sylheći. The land of Mithilā was rich in indigo and the dyeing industry was flourishing. 411 Dyeing and Calico-painting went hand in hand with the manufacture of clothes.

The Kiritilā 412 and the VR contain innumerable references to articles of different metals and to different sections of

409. Cf. Nilapātera—referred to in Vidyāpati. The foreign visitors have also referred to the coloured clothes. Cf. Barbossa-I, 141-2; 154-55.
411. Mahuan—op. cit.—testifies to the fact that fine muslin cloth was extensively produced in Bengal and other parts of eastern India; Cf. Barbossa. Cf. VR–P. 21–22; Cf. Dānāvākyāvalī–PP. 232–34; Līkhanāvalī—According to the VR (P. 22) fine stuffs of clothes were mainly of 14 kinds—हरिणा, वेल्ला, नली, सर्वाह, गुरु, शुचीण, राजन, पकरंगा, सोळ, हरित, वीष, लोहित, विचवर्ण… Both the VR and Kiritilā refer to कला or the art of embroidery.
markets assigned to dealers in gold, silver, bell-metal, alloy of eight metals (aṣṭadāhātu), jugs, cups, jars, plates, basins, cooking and other vessels, idols, lamp stand, betel leaf boxes and various other important items. The VR further throws a flood of light on the wood and sandal wood stools and gives an elaborate account of bedsteads. The palanquin was a common means of transport in Mithilā. Bound as she is, on all sides, by rivers and rivulets, boat was another important means of communication as well as trade and hence the construction of boat was an important industry. There is a reference to twenty-nine varieties of boats with the head of a lion, tiger, horse, duck, snake or fish as figurehead. Various types of boats were decorated elaborately with flags and festoons. Some small boats, known as देण्गी, were towed by a single person while some were manned by soldiers and footmen armed with bows, arrows and swords. There is also an account of ships. 413 The art of smelting iron was known to the people of Mithilā as we find frequent references to blacksmiths and others. Guns, knives, scissors, agricultural implements, cooking implements etc, were prepared locally and were meant for both local consumption and export. The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal also testifies to this fact. Brick and tile industries were also flourishing. The folk songs refer to Khaparail or the tiled house. The VR's description of curd and butter is an indication of the fact that the dairy industry was flourishing in Mithilā. The Kirtilātā of Vidyāpati refers to the leather industry, while we learn from the VR that sewing, cap making, rope-making, basket making, pottery and making of drums and musical instruments were the flourishing industries. The VR (P. 61) further refers to the making of bows, arrows and manufacture of thirty six kinds of arms,

413. VR—P. 67—Various types of boats like......पत्रकुली, पटौरा, भीनाह, बोही, पवित्तारी, बरहिमा, सोरहिमा, बिसहिमा””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””””
ammunitions and weapons. The various lower castes, mentioned in the *VR*, formed a part of the village economic life. *Chamāra, Sonāra, Lohāra, Jolāhā, Tānti, Kaṅseri* and others have come down to this day. Conch-shell ornaments were also made. Betel-leaf boxes of metal and wood were also made. The *Tambouli* as a class dealt in betels. 414

The existence of these industries presupposes a large number of village workers for whom no adequate protection was guaranteed. The tradition of guild persisted and the profession became more and more rigid and hereditary. This exclusive rigidity prevented them from disclosing the method and secrets of crafts with the result that those secrets were lost to the future generations. Palanquin-drawers, cartmen, ploughmen and domestic servants were always at the mercy of their masters. No protection was guaranteed to these and other inferior class 415 of traders and persons. Labourers employed in the industries were of a hereditary character. The outturn was meagre as the implements and methods of work were crude. Through successive generations of specialised work, a high degree of efficiency and skill was attained. The quality of work was excellent and their artistic value was great. The social status and limited opportunities of the village craftsmen discouraged them from making progress beyond certain limits. It may be borne in mind here that they were not adequately protected against administrative oppression. Traditions of guilds and crafts tended to create a rigid exclusiveness as a result of which technical secrets were lost to posterity. In the absence of protection, even these craftsmen had, sometimes, to please their masters. The low and despised class of people were the chief instruments of production without

415. Cf. *MM*—No. 614—केंद्र रखवार छुटक, ठाकुर सेवा भोर।

× × ×

विद्यापति कह छनह महाजन, राममंगल अहिलाम।

No. 776—तोहे होयि परसन पालिव अभोक बन—

No. 603—निरधन आदरके कर कहै—× × ×—आहूर आदर ही सब तहै।
any control over the means. Industrial workers hardly differed from rural craftsmen.

Vidyāpati believed in practical economics and that is why he advised the people to cut their coats according to their clothes. He suggested to spend according to means. 416

Certain fundamental principles of economics are inherent in his writings and a study of the same reveals to us that the theory of supply and demand was not unknown in his days. 417

When the demand of a particular thing increased, its price went high. A merchant should seek profit through diversities of price, conveying goods from one land to another, in accordance with variation of time and season. The main aim of a trader should be to derive more and more profit and he is only successful who, while preserving the original capital, lives mainly on profit. Usury, 419 loans, 420 moneylending 421 and banking were not unknown. The traders and merchants borrowed capital on interest, where as ordinary persons also took loans for private purposes. Caṇḍeśwara prescribes the time-honoured rate of 1/80th. of the principal lent as interest per month on secured debts. 422 He differs from Yājñavalkya 423 when he suggests that if the deposit is not sealed and if the depositee uses it for sometime and then replaces it, no blame or liability attaches to him. 424 The rates of interest varied from two percent to fifteen percent. Caṇḍeśwara prescribes the rate at 2% per month on loans

416. Ibid—No. 256—बखने बजते विभव रहए तखने तेनिः गभर ।
417. Ibid—भारतित गाइक महं बेसाह ।
418. Ibid—No. 295—मुख राखि बनजारा ।
419–420. No. 296—तोमे अधि भक भूलन मार । जे मूल राखए सेवन जार ।
421. No. 660—जाभक भागि मूल हुबिगेव ।
422. GR—PP. 446, 447.
423. Yājñavalkya—II. 66—prescribes fine and replacement with interest if the depositee uses articles without permission of the depositor.
without pledge or mortgage bandhakaraha. Not only money but various articles of consumption were also lent and a long list of such articles is preserved in the Vivādaratnakāra (PP. 17-19). The maximum that can be recovered from the debtor by the creditor is also fixed. In the case of liquors, oil, ghee and salt etc., it was eightfold, in case of metals other than gold and silver, it was fivefold and in the case of fruit, silk, wool, pearl, coral, gold and silver, it was double the amount lent. Caṇḍeswara seems to have followed Kātyāyana in this respect. Relying on Bṛhaspati, Caṇḍeswara prescribes the recovery of a loan of seeds to the tune of five times, that is the maximum. Unscrupulous moneylenders used to take advantage of the ignorant debtors. This money lending business had assumed gigantic proportion in Mithilā as is evident from the Likhanāvalī of Vidyāpati. Brokers, agents, bankers, and moneylenders attempted by dishonest means. Usury seems to have been a profitable business. Vidyāpati's description of cunning bantis is an indication of how the exploitation took place at their hands.

It is unfortunate that no positive evidence regarding the currency in Mithilā is yet available, though very few coins of period, under review, have come to light In view of the flourishing trade, since time immemorial, it is natural that some sort of currency must have been in vogue. A large number of hoards of ancient coins have come to light and that may prove to be an indication of the fact that coinage was not neglected in this part. There are frequent references to various types of currency in the contemporary literary sources and it is on the basis of those evidences that we propose to pursue our study of this aspect of the question. Hiranya (gold), ayas (bronze), iron, copper and silver were known to the people of this land

425. GR—447.
426. MM—No. 56—वहार माँग मिलो मोर।
427. Letter Nos. 54, 58-59 for व्यक्तिकार्य; 61 for रूपणा—रूपणा—70, 71, 72, 75, 77 etc.; for ब्रह्मकी Cf. No. 76. For sale on credit. Cf. S. Jha, No. 63; बेसाहू—Ibid—No. 44; Shop No. 128; बेसाहू—No. 44. Profit 130.
and we have seen that the people were also aware of the aṣṭadhatu. Currency was essential for development of trade and commerce. We learn from the Vedic literature that a coin in Mithilā was also known as Pādas. Pāda currency seems to have been very popular in Mithilā. Punch marked coins (also known some times as Purāṇapana) have been discovered in large number from different places in Mithilā, from Purnea to Hajipur. Big hoards indicate that there was a tendency to amass wealth as a provision against calamities. As early as 1934, when the Kosi was eroding a village near the Madhipura town, about ten copper vessels, full of ancient coins, were washed away and they could not be saved from destruction. Gold, silver and copper coins seem to have been in use. Coins were also known as Māsā, Kārsāpana, Pāda, Ratti, Kapardaka etc. Caṇḍeśwara, quoting Harita, tries to prove that at the rate of eight paṇas monthly interest on twenty-five Purāṇas, the principal would be doubled in four years and two months. It is evident from the writings of the Maithila law-givers that some sort of currency was in use. Cowrie played an important part in the daily economic transactions. That was an important means of exchange in those days.

The Danḍaviveka (PP. VII–VIII) gives the following details about currency in Mithilā.

Paṇa—a copper coin of certain weight (=1/16 of a Kārsāpana).

428. Cf. Vai. Sam.—XVIII. 13; XI. 3. 1. 7; Śatopatha Brāhma—V. 4. 1. 2; XII. 8. 3. 11; II. 5. 5. 16; Taṅk. Brāh. II. 9. 7; III. 9. 6. 5; Pañcaviniśa Br. XVII. 1. 14.

429. Cf. SB—XIV; Bhadāranyaka Upan.—III. 1. 1. The story goes that in Janaka’s court, one thousand cows with ten pādas tied on their each horn were given to Yājñavalkya. Cf. Pañini—V. 1. 34; EI—I. 178. 23. An inscription of the 10th. century A. D. refers to it; Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar—Ancient Indian Numismatics—60, 80.

430. GR—447.

431. MM—No. 56 कवङ्ग पठघोङ्गे पात नाही घोर।
Māṣa—20th. part of a paṇa.
Dināra—a silver coin—made up of 28 units of silver.
Niṣka—a gold coin—made up of four units of gold.
Kākini—1/4 of a paṇa. 432
Dhānika—made up of four Kārṣṇaṇaṁśas.
Kārṣṇa—16 māṣas.
Dharana—10 palas.
Tolaka—16 māṣas.

According to Vardhamāna, a person sentenced to death can require his sentence by the payment of a hundred gold coins, one sentenced to mutilation by fifty gold coins, one sentenced to transportation by twenty five gold coins and so on. Vācaspati gives us the list of the following types—

(i) Kākini. 433
(ii) Kārṣṇaṇa. 434
(iii) Kṛṣṇala—equal to half of a silver māṣa.
(iv) Māṣa 435—20th. part of Pala, equal to 16 Raktikās.

In connection with cattle-grazing it is meant to be of silver, though ordinarily it indicated gold.

(v) Niṣka. 436

Since money lending business was in vogue, it may be pointed out that without the existence of money, there could have been no such business. The DV, VC, and the Vivādar—

and others give an exhaustive account of this system. Vidyāpati in his Likhanāvallī has referred to Paṇa, Taṅkā (No. 58–59), Mudrā for money (No. 66), Svarṣa (No. 75), Rupyā (Nos. 61, 69) and Kaparda in the sense of Taṅkā (money No. 54). 437

433. Ibid.
434. Ibid—103.
436. Ibid—85.
437. Cf. Likhanāvallī—No. 46—मुद्रास्तःस्क—‘‘मुद्रास्तःस्क’’—No. 54—

श्लोकविषयविविधादेन पद्मादिभिः पवर्तकं कल्पितम् कल्पितोऽभिः—No. 56–हृदः

द्रव्योद्वृत्तिन A S S A A S × × —No. 57–हृद्वृत्तिन A S S A A S × × —No. 58–हृद्वृत्तिन A S S A A S × × —

No. 59–हृद्वृत्तिन A S S A A S × × —No. 61—रूपायं प्रवचनित। साहित्यमुक्तः प्रति—
The extensive use of money, known by various names, seems to have been a regular feature of the age. Though the exact valuation of the different standards, mentioned here, are not exactly known, this much is certain that the use of coin for all purposes had come to stay in Mithilā. We have seen above that town had begun to develop and in its wake came the regular use of coins. In the Dhūrtasamāgama, we see that Snātaka shows Anāṅgasenā (the pros.) a sum of rupees Ten only tied in a corner of his clothes. It would not be out of place to mention here that Vidyāpati refers to the system of joint partnership in business and other transactions.

It seems that the old currency of mixed metal continued with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. Taṅkā or Rupyatāṅka indicated silver coinage. While the gold currency seems to have been rare, silver coin seems to have been popular. It has been suggested that the currency, during the period under review, was tri-metallic.

- one gold taṅkāh = 10 silver taṅkāhs
- one silver taṅkāh = 48 Jital (mixed metal)
- one Jital = 4 copper fallus.

Muhammad Bin Tugluq’s silver taṅkāh is equated with sixty four Jitals. While the copper coin of Bahol Lodi was equal to 1/40 of a rupee, the taṅkāh of Sikandar Lodi was valued at 1/20 of a silver taṅkāh. Tirhut was one of the important mint towns of Bihar. There is a direct reference


440. BTA—465; For ‘Coin’ Cf. PP (Pāthak) P. 87.

to the use of ताकोह in the Kirtilata of Vidyāpati. It may be mentioned here that a large number of Muslim coins have been discovered from this region. Muhammad Bin Tugluq issued coins with mint named Tugluqpur urch Tirhut. It may be mentioned here that the two Tugluq coins, discovered from Tirhut, belong to the forced currency system, that is, brass for silver. These two unique specimens are indicative of Muhammad’s mad attempt to force the people to use brass coins in place of silver for the same value. These two coins are of 140 and 133 grains respectively.

The most interesting point in the history of Mithilā is that whereas no Karṇāṭa coins are available, we have a few specimens of gold and silver coins of the Oinwāras. Śivasimha is said to have issued gold coins in his name. The two specimens, varying from 13'6 to 14 grains, were discovered in 1913 bearing the legend Śrī Śivasya. According to R.D. Banerji, these coins resembled the quarter drammas of the Chedis and other medieval dynasties and he rightly held that these coins belonged to Śivasimha of Mithilā. It has been pointed out by Thākur that in recent years several gold coins of Śivasimha have been discovered in Mithilā. A silver coin of Bhairavendra (Rāmabhadra ?) of the Oinwāra dynasty has also come to light. The script of this coin is Maithili of the 15th century A.D. The reading, as amended by Dr. D. C. Sircar, is as follows—“Mahārājaśri Darpanārayanāntmaja Tirabhuktrīja Śrī Bhairavasimhasya.” The coin was issued in the fifteenth regnal year, in the Śaka era 1411, corresponding to 1489 A.D. This is an indication of the fact that Mahārāja Bhairavasimha issued silver coins. One more coin of this king is said to be preserved in the Indian museum. It weighs 10.52

442. पान के संबंध सोमक त्वेछा।
444. ARASI—1913-14; Cf. Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India.
grams = 162.37 grains. The Indian museum coin was examined by V. A. Smith but he failed to decipher it. It weighs 164 grains and contains the name of Bhairavasimha. Since very few coins have come to light, it is difficult to hazard any conjecture regarding the currency of the Oinwāra state but this much can be said, with some amount of certainty, that both the Muslims and local coins were prevalent. Gold and silver coins were used and cowrie was also an important medium of transaction. In view of the brisk trade, obtaining in Mithilā, it may be presumed that some sort of currency and medium of exchange had come to stay. While the barter was more popular in the rural area, traders used to purchase commodities in one place and sell at another. Without an organised currency, this could not have been possible.

Though beggary was despised on the ground that poverty was despicable, the system of forced labour (begāra) was not unknown. The Likhnāvali gives an exhaustive account of the pitiable economic condition of the lower orders and it appears that they were subjected to various kinds of economic hardships. It was dire poverty of the people that forced them to be bound to their master as the avenues of employment were few and far between. Vidyāpati realised the evils of poverty and that is why he urged upon his king to wage war against it. The evils of poverty told upon the general tone of the people. Slavery in one form or other was there and Vidyāpati refers to it in his writings. Whenever the master was pleased with his slave, he freed him. A slave always depended upon the mercy of his master. The Muslim sources abound in the description of slaves.

447. EI—XXXII, 329 ff.
449. Cf. Kritilata—वृट्ट जालम तेरक भर ।
450. Likhnāvali—Nos. 55–59; 68, 69 etc.
451. Kritipataki—P. 7, दारिद्र खगी परिशत्ती खण्ड ।
452. Likhnāvali—No. 67 and others; Cf. Kritilata–बरोद्र घरोद्र बहुतो गुलामो ।
The institution of slavery had taken root in the land and the ruler looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. The exact Maithila replica of a slave was Bahiyā to whom Vidyāpati frequently refers. To such an extent were the matters, relating to slavery, carried that there was a distinct muster-master (mājmūdār) of the slavery and a separate treasury for their allowances. In Mithilā, in the sixteenth century there was one such officer, a Kāyastha, named Keshava Majumdar, who is said to have usurped power for sometime. According to a Muslim custom, when the feudatories went to the court, each one, according to his ability, took with him beautiful slaves. The Muslims had a different code of behaviour. The Muslim soldiers got a major portion of their menial works done by the forced labour. The Hindu nobles, too, did not lag behind. A contemporary source reveals to us the problem of unemployment, existing during the period under review. The king makes enquiries about the unemployed persons from the district officers and makes provision for their employment. The exorbitant demands of the state made the people poor and unhappy. The Muslim thinkers believed that the Hindus should not be so reduced to poverty as to be unable to pursue their husbandry.

In the absence of large scale industries, there does not seem to have been any problem of labour regulation in those days in the modern sense of the term but the artisans, workers in the smithies, wood-cutters, ploughmen, and daily wage-earners were there. Some of the economic guilds also employed labourers and they had their own regulations to that effect. The king and the government seem to have

453. _ED_—III. 341.
455. _ED_—III. 355.
employed a large number of workers for construction work and other requirements. The VC contains a chapter relating to the labourers, servants and slaves. There is a reference to the four kinds of labourers viz., the pupil, the apprentice, the hireling, the manager. These four and the slaves are not their own masters. The Viramitrodaya (P. 405) draws a line of distinction between servant and slave and says—"when the man surrenders himself absolutely and entirely to the service of his master, he is a slave; when he simply undertakes to serve the master, without surrendering himself, he is a servant.” The Vivādaratnakara (P. 143) refers to the manager of properties and controller of household. According to Nārada, the manager is one who has been appointed to manage the property of his master and to superintend his household. He employed labourers of various kinds. These labourers were entitled to stipulated amount or share for the work done. The warrior constituted the highest class of hireling, the cultivator, the middlemen and the carriers represented the lowest class (VC-69). Work was of two kinds—high and low. The low was to be done by the slave and the high by the hireling. The low class of work constituted the sweeping of the gate-way, of the privy, of the road, of the dumping ground, shampooing the secret parts of body; removing of food-leavings, of ordure and wine, and the rubbing of the master’s limb etc. These were to be done by slaves. Commenting on the types of slaves, Vācaspati says that there were various kinds of slaves—

(i) Dāyādūpāgataḥ—slave through generations, i.e., hereditary.
(ii) Anākālabhrataḥ—supported during famine.
(iii) Mokṣāḥ—one who has agreed to become a slave on being freed from debt.
(iv) Kṛtāḥ—one who has entered into an agreement that I shall be your slave for such and such time.
(v) Bhuktadvāsah—one who has agreed to become a slave for the sake of food or maintenance.

457. VC—67 ff.
458. Nārada—5. 2.
14 MV.
The labourers used to work under contract. Having received the wages, if they left the work they were required to pay double the amount of the wages. 460 They had also to look after their implements. It was further stipulated that if the work was not done, the labourers should not receive the wages. 461 The mode of payment varied according to time and circumstances. The stipulated amount could be paid either in the beginning, in the middle or at the end. 462 Necessary provisions for the payment of ploughmen have also been made. 463 On the basis of Brhaspati (6.12-13), Vacaspati says—"Upadhā is understanding............. a labourer is to receive the third part of the produce. But if he is given food and clothing, then he is to receive only the fifth part of the produce." 464 Kautalyan principle with regard to the payment of labourers was followed by all the later nibandhakāras 465 i.e. when no wages have been previously fixed, the labourer shall be paid in accordance with the work done and the exigencies of the time. The same view is practically held by Caṇḍeśwara. 466 The immobility of labour was probably the normal feature. Private employers included traders, farmers, artisans and owners of big fields and cattle. The normal wage, prescribed, seems to have been one third of the produce or the profit. Śukranitisāra 467 has formulated enlightened rules for the labourers and the working class, consisting mainly of the Śūdras. According to Caṇḍeśwara, the Karmakāras could not be asked to perform any ignoble or impure service, a list of which is available to us from different sources. 468

460. Ibid—76.
461. Ibid—77.
463. VC—75.
464. Ibid—76.
466. Vīvādaratnākara—P. 158.
467. Śukra—II. 397-400.
468. Vīvādaratnākara—P. 144.
CHAPTER III

The craft guilds and professional castes continued to function in industry. Various crafts and industries seem to have been flourishing in Mithilā as would be evident from a study of the VR and the Industrial Labour Kirtilatā. Those industries were possibly no better than the modern cottage industries. It may be asserted that the industrial workers hardly differed from the rural craftsmen. The services of shoe-makers, tent-makers, cloth-makers, builders, armoury-makers, etc. were in great demand, while in the villages there were guilds of Teli, Tānti, Dhobi, Dhāṅgara, Dhuniā etc. Alberuni pointed out that guilds lived near the village and towns and he has also mentioned the Domas and Chandālas. Amir Khusrau refers to the guild of shoemakers while the VR mentions all of them. Both the Sanskrit and the contemporary Muslim sources reveal to us that the labourers employed in the industries of various types were of a hereditary character. Since the implements and methods of production were primitive and crude, the production was meagre but whatever surplus was produced, that was collected by the persons owning the means of production. The industrial or agricultural workers had no say in the management. In view of the hereditary character of labour and through successive generations of specialised work, a degree of efficiency and skill was attained. The quality of product was excellent and the foreign travellers bear testimony to the fact. Amir Khusrau has also referred to the excellence of production of these craftsmen. The opportunities for the industrial workers were limited and there was hardly any protection against administrative and feudal oppression. The hereditary character created a rigid exclusiveness with the result that important technical secrets died with them. The economic lot of a common man was far from satisfactory. The workers and the peasants laboured hard without any equivalent return. The contemporary vernacular poetry gives us an insight into their pitiable lot. Thatched house, cooking vessels and a broken bedstead were the only valuable possessions of a poor worker. No doubt, the grains were selling at a very cheap price but then it should be noted here that
the purchasing power of the people was at its lowest ebb. Money was scarce. In abnormal times, prices soared high and Vidyāpati gives an account of the abnormal rise of price, when he visited Jaunpur. The description of this state of affairs in the Kirtilala is an evidence of the fact that the general standard was far from satisfactory. There is no doubt that the use of money and the growth of trade slackened the rigours of the feudal bondage and the people could now sell their labour for money in preference to life-long slavery. The economic system was responsible for the perpetuation of the low standard of living. The middle class was coming into prominence. The literate persons were regarded as ornaments of town and they enjoyed certain privileges. The king protected the rights of the cultivators and the wealthy, while the ordinary people were without any guarantee of security.

There are vague references to the prevailing system of weights and measures in the contemporary literature. In the Dhvanantaraya of Vācaspati, it is said a Puska-rini is of the measure of 100 Dhvanantarās. One Dhvanantarā is equal to four cubits in length. In the Vivādacintāmani, is said that if one hundred pala of silver is heated then only two palas will be lost, in case of 100 palas of copper, only 5 palas will be lost. In case of glass, 8 Palas will be lost. Vidyāpati also refers to Pala, Sera (seer), Masā, Ratti, Aimana, Aimasā as indications of weights and measures. Vācaspati refers to the Kūtthamaya-bhūnda, a measure for measuring rice. This refers to the practice

469. Cf. Kirtilala—(PP. 40-43)—सेरे कोनी पानि आनिच—×—×—
पन क्षार हामक ठला—
चादन के मूल हस्मन विकार—

For a contemporary account, Cf. KNPP—Vol. 56. No. 1. PP. 51-52.


471. PP—61; Cf. Saxena—op. cit. PP. 16-19. for an account of the condition of Tirhut.

keeping measures made of either wood or bamboo in Mithilā. A measure known as Khāri has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Likhnāvali (No. 78). The Nibaadha literature of the period contain account of the traditional weights and measures.

The socio-economic continuity is distinguishing characteristic of our people. Inspite of our diverse religions, language and customs, the fundamental attitude towards life have persisted through centuries.

The socio-economic structure, since its inception, continued without any revolutionary change, except with minor variations here and there. Hence it can be said that economic basis of the society hardly underwent any change as the mode of production and its owners remained practically the same. The village continued to function in a self-sufficient manner and trade and industry were carried on without any basic change in their character. The unprivileged masses hardly participated either in the governmental functions or in the control of production. Social immobility, fragmentation and self-sufficiency were the main characteristics of caste and village with the result that political changes hardly produced any impression upon the system. The village system had reached an inner adjustment which brought in its train stability and security though the stratification of society was petrified. The individual was bound by birth and he had no opportunity to bring about a change in his status. A small minority of the landowning community had a life of privilege, honour and comfort while the vast majority of people were condemned to a life of toil, privation and humiliation. Village was the centre of economic life. Whatever towns were there, they were mere parasites in the sense that some of them were either seats of political authority, some centres of religion and very few owed their importance to trade or industry in the modern sense of the term. The surplus produce was wrested by the landlords, intermediaries, and the state. The village was nothing more than an aggregate of land holdings with a cluster of thatched houses.

473, VC-XXII, called in Mithilā—ताँका, तामा and पैठि।
poor people had hardly any surplus to accumulate to build up economic reserves for meeting calamities like famine and flood. Their clothing was scanty and dwellings poor. Whatever might have been the advantages of the theory of simple and contented life, its greatest drawback was that the common man lost all charm and retired from struggling for the economic progress. The mud houses and scantiness of their clothes have persisted in India throughout the centuries and Mithilā was no exception.

The Nibandhas throw a good deal of light on the socio-economic history of Mithilā. Monier-Williams gives various meanings of the term "Nibandha," but it denotes literary composition. We shall revert to its detailed study later. The Smṛti literature aims at simplifying the study of the unwieldy Dharmaśāstra literature. So much diverse matters have been mixed up in the nibandha literature, that it is now humanly impossible to separate religious from the secular ones. Kane has rightly observed that "there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a ṭikā and a nibandha." These contain the shortcut manuals on the complexities of life beginning from birth to death. According to Maxmüller, the Dharmaśāstras are nothing but modern texts of earlier sūtra works. Kane does not agree with this view. The growing needs and social complexities necessitated the compilation of various treatises for the guidance of the people. Mithilā and Bengal established their own schools of thought and there was much of mingling between the two. They not only wrote commentary Nibandhas but also non-commentary ones and in this respect, works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana in Bengal and Vācaspati and Rūdradhara in Mithilā are well-known. They have, at times, put forward their own views in conformity with the

475. History of Sanskrit Literature (1926) P. 70.
requirements of the age. Because of the inflexibility of the religious creed of Islam, which permitted no compromise with other faiths, the Muslim settlers remained as a distinct social unit, 477 thus introducing a permanent cleavage along religious lines. That led to the production of a large number of smṛtis, tending towards the systematisation of the old social and religious law. Cāndeswara, Misarū Miśra and Vācaspati were the leading Nibandhakāras of Mithilā.

The Vivādaratnākara represents the Mithilā school, dealing with a large number of subjects like civil law, inheritance, Dōsas, Śudras etc. These writers, taken together, deal with the impurity of birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, sapindā relationship, periods of impurity for the principal Varnas and mixed castes, etc. Right from birth to death, all aspects of social life have attracted their notice. They deal with—

(i) daily rites—also quoted by Vidyāpati in Gaṅgāvākyāvali
(ii) festivals
(iii) purification
(iv) daily duties of a Śūdra
(v) Gifts.
(vi) Funeral rites.
(vii) Vratas—Śridatta Upādhyāya refers to Sarpaṁhaya-pañcamivrata, held in the month of Śrāvaṇa and also to Buddhadvādaśivrata.
(viii) Harinātha refers to 8 Saṁskāras—We shall discuss in details about these writers when we come to our resume on the Dharmaśāstra literature.

These writers laid great stress on the duties of every man as a member of the particular class to which he belonged but ignored the privileges of men in general. As suggested above they aimed at solidarity and cohesion among the various Varnas to hold their own against the foreigners. But the most remarkable point here is this that they were divided

477. HCIP—VI. 574.
among themselves because the different varṇas revolved within
their narrow circles and herein lay the greatest weakness of our
social system. Vidyāpati, too, wrote a number of
Vidyāpati śṛṃṭi works, viz., Dūnavākyāvali, Varsakaṭīya and
Bibhāgasūra (or Low of inheritance). A study of his
śṛṃṭi works clearly reveals that he was indebted to his pre-
decessors in the field. His Bibhāgasūra (dealing with partition
and inheritance) bears the stamp of Kalpataru and Vivāda-
ratnākara and is regarded as an authoritative work on the
Dāyabhāga. Mithilā school is a sub-school of the Mitākṣara
system, whereas Dāyabhāga is popular in Bengal. The dif-
ference between the two is that inheritance to a deceased man’s
estate is preceded in the Dāyabhāga by the capacity of the heir
to offer Pinda to the deceased. It is quite likely that Dāya-
abhāga also prevailed in Mithilā during his days. 478 Vidyā-
pati’s views in the Bibhāgasūra are pronounced and he seems to
have been influenced by Jīmūtavāhana and in return, he seems

478. Cf. J. D. Mayne—Hindu Law and Usage. (Madras—1922)
P. 33; Vidyāpati influenced the writers of Bengal. Jolly has
suggested that the isolation of the Bengal School may be
accounted for by the gloss of many works quoted in the Dāyabhāga,
which may have formed intermediate link between the Bengal
doctrines and the teachings of other schools. Many of the
texts may be traced to the texts which are controverted in the
Mitākṣara and some are identical with those of the Māṭhila
writers. It may be pointed out here that Śrīkara (11th.
12th. century A. D.) has discussed, at length, the divergent
views on the question of origin and development of law.
Colebrooke has also referred to these two schools. Dāyabhāga
lays down the principle of religious efficacy as the ruling
canon in determining the order of succession; consequently it
rejects the preference of agnates to cognates, which distinguishes
the other systems, and arranges and limits the cognates upon
principles peculiar to itself. It wholly denies the doctrine
that property is by birth, which is the cornerstone of the
joint family system. It treats father as the absolute owner of
property—(Cf. Mayne—op. cit. PP. 39–40.). In Mithilā,
Mitākṣara is prevalent.
to have influenced Raghunandana of Bengal. We shall revert to a full dress discussion later on.

Why did Vidyāpati, of all the contemporary poets and reformers, undertake to support the orthodox social system based on conservative principles? A poet of hope and patience and a Vaiṣṇava at heart, he had enlivened the heart of Mithilā and his songs are the living examples of the great zest with which he accepted life. Full of vigour and happiness, he had immense faith in the potentiality of man. He was convinced that nothing was impossible and everybody could achieve his desired end if he faced the situation boldly and acted courageously. Courage, if supplemented by devotion and rejection of fear, could work wonders. Bad days come and go and one need not worry about the same. Friends are recognised in times of need. Such a robust optimist and believer in the inherent potentialities of man and so much acquainted with the life and condition of the people, our poet failed to make a break with the past and to join hands with other contemporary reformers publicly criticising the age-old caste system and in propagating the feelings of equality.

The only feasible explanation for the conservative outlook of Vidyāpati is his attachment to the Oinwāra Court. His

479. MM—No. 108—आसा न अवसान—×××—भननि विभापति युन प्रभु आस—××
480. Ibid—No. 266; Cf. हे सङ्क मानुष जनम अनुप
481. Ibid—No. 93—सबहि शुद्धरि साहस सार, तेहि तेजि के करप पार
   No. 95—साइसे सकल काजे
   No. 100—साइसे साहिस असाउरे।
482. Ibid—No. 97—कलख तितिमर जहाँ रवी
   No. 105—कलख सीति के दुः अनुराग।
483. Ibid—No. 223—कृद्यान्न सब दिन नाहि रह।
   No. 544—कृद्यान्न हित जन अनहित हे, विह जगत सोमव।
485. Ibid—No. 164—विषादि विरित सम बनि। Also Cf. J. N. Dasgupta op. cit. Nanak, Kabir, Dādu, Chaṇḍīḍāsa, Chaitanya and Mukundarāma enlivened the people through their teachings.
close association with the contemporary court life and his consequent dependence stood in his way of frank expression and as a court poet, he had to justify the social structure in which he was living. Kabir, Caṇḍidaśa and Caitanya had no axe to grind and naturally they drew a large number of supporters from the lower orders, who were, then groaning under the deadweight of the Varnaśrama machinery. Another important factor, to be noted, is that like his contemporaries, Vidyāpati had not renounced the world and, therefore, it was not possible for him to criticise the existing social structure outright. He could not, therefore, take a bold step. His long association with the Smṛtic studies, a family heritage indeed, had completely overpowered him with the result that he could not cross the borderline, prescribed by his predecessors. But it must be said to his credit that he was a man of affairs and did not hesitate in telling his point in a subtle manner. It is a fact that, inspite of his support to the conservative ideal, he believed in the quality of a man, who, according to the poet, acts according to circumstances. He is wise and admirable who can assess and appreciate the qualities of others. Sweet tongue is the source of all

486. Cf. Dasgupta—op. cit. 31—

487. MM—No. 465—काक कोहल एक जाति रे। क्रेम भेमर एक भाई रे॥

488. Ibid—No. 256—बुध जन मन बुधिः निवेदय सवे संसारीरी भाव

489. अपन अपन युन सवे तरं सुन निज काव्य कह हेम रे। सुन सवे बघ गाउँ बाहु गानिय महि, औङर परं पुना प्रेम रे॥
happiness and at times very helpful. With such remarkable presentation of his ideals about his social philosophy, our poet tried to make both ends meet. His conception of all the social problems is, no doubt, conventional and keeping in view the age and circumstances it can be asserted that his ideas were based on traditional scriptures, which he had so thoroughly studied, and later on applied to his practical life. Vidyāpati, through his Nachari, depicted the true life of Mithilā which stands supported by other evidences.

490. (i) मधुर वचन हे सब तैह सार ।
(ii) के नहि वस हो मधुर अठाप ।
(iii) वचन कौसाधे की नहि होए ।
(iv) वचन कौसाधे जितिय बदि ।
CHAPTER IV
CULTURAL LIFE

I
Education and Literary Activities

Since the days of Janaka, Mithilā has been an important centre of education and culture. It was in that age that she reached the highest level of intellectual attainments and spiritual progress. ¹ A gloss over the contemporary Upa-niṣads shows that the basic traits of Indian culture were laid during this period in Mithilā. Only distinguished scholars were recognised as teachers. Wandering students were not unknown. ² To Mithilā flocked scholars from all over India. It was in the court of Janaka that the learned philosophical discussions took place and some important intellectual giants of the age were Uddālaka Aruṇī, Aśvala, Járatkārava Ārtabhaṅga, Bhuju Lāhyāyani, Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa, Kahoḍa Kauṣītakya, Vidagyόha Śākalya and Gārgī Vācaknāvī and they were all defeated by Yājñavalkya. ³ They were instrumental in interpreting the metaphysical questions of the Upnīṣadas and thereby laying the foundation of a systematised study of philosophy. Mithilā’s love for true scholarship can be gleaned through the fact that in recognition of Yājñavalkya’s scholarship, Janaka offered his entire kingdom with all his belongings. Education was widespread, though some sections seem to have been debarred from the study of the Vedas. If tradition is to be relied upon, Gotama and Kapila also belonged to Mithilā. The tradition of scholarship seems to continue unabated till we come to our period of study. Mithilā was the homeland of Pūrva-mimāṁsā which seeks to reconcile the divergent ceremonials

and customs as preserved in the Brāhmaṇas by evolving a general and rational scheme. It is a discipline in itself and has been described as a philosophy of ritualism showing justification of each rite by method of Mīmāṁsā or investigation. The study of Mīmāṁsā was highly developed in Mithilā. Śavaraswāmin has described it as a self-sufficient system. We shall revert to it again, for discussion, later on. Its importance is due to its method of intellectual discipline.

The Nyāya was another important branch of study in Mithilā. The Nyāya system of discipline made Mithilā internationally famous. The stress on concentrated contemplation and meditation as a step towards true knowledge is not at all possible for a man until he has shed his defects. These defects are—

(i) Desire (Rāga) as expressed in lust, selfishness, greed and wish to possess other's property;
(ii) Hatred (Dveṣa)—expressed as anger, jealousy, envy, malice and impatience;
(iii) Moha—defective outlook in its different forms like error, doubt, egotism or inattentiveness. All these defects are rooted in ignorance and can be dispelled only by true knowledge arising out of meditation. The Maithila Naiyāyikas recommended (i) continuous study of philosophy, (ii) discussion with learned persons, specially between the teacher and the taught, and (iii) disputations as aids to learning. The controversies succeeded in thrashing out the truth.

According to the Naiyāyikas, meditation means that (i) the mind is withdrawn from the sense organs; (ii) is kept steady by efforts towards concentration; (iii) comes intact with the self and (iv) is filled with eagerness to get at the truth.

4. Pūrva-mīmāṁsā or Karmākāṇḍa or Dharma of Veda; Uttara-mīmāṁsā is Jñānakāṇḍa or Brahma. In the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā—(i) Sacrificial ceremony is essential; (ii) Knowledge of self is achieved by a process of worship; (iii) its intellectual discipline has a larger appeal than its subject of enquiry.

5. For details—see section on the Nāya-Nyāya.
The Nyāyasūtras accepted Veda as revealed knowledge. The main aim of education was to acquire knowledge, which, according to Gotama, is made up of a comprehension of sixteen padārthas. The discussion of these topics has a bearing upon education. 6 The objects of knowledge were—

(i) Soul or Self
(ii) Body
(iii) Senses
(iv) Objects or Senses
(v) Intellect
(vi) Mind
(vii) Activity of Will
(viii) Fault
(ix) Transmigration
(x) Fruits of action
(xi) Suffering
(xii) Final beatitude.

It was characteristic of Mithilā to give philosophic approach to all problems of life including education. We learn from Dharmaswāmin that Vikramśilā was completely destroyed. 7 There were only four monks at Bodhagaya. Nālandā was a mere ghost of its past glory with only two Vihāras, yet extant. 8 Thousands of monks had fled away. The relations between the Guru and the disciple were considered to be similar to that of the father and the son. 9 Disciples used to present small bells to their gurus as mark of their respect at the time of taking farewell. Tolerance was yet a visible feature in the

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6. (a) Pramāṇa—means of knowledge is four fold,  
   (i) Pratyakṣa or sensuous perception.  
   (ii) Anumāṇa—Inference.  
   (iii) Upanāṇa—Comparison.  
   (iv) śabdā—Word of the Veda—Nyāya acknowledged it as a  
   source of knowledge.

7. G. Rocrich—Biography of Dharmaswāmi—P. 64.

8. Ibid—P. 90 ff.

daily life. The refugee scholars shifted either to Mithilā or to Nepal for safety.

The continued and unabated rule of the Karṇāṭakas and the Oinwāras has left an indelible mark on the cultural life of Mithilā. The security, though often threatened by continuous incursions from all sides, gave the people of Mithilā some respite to pursue their philosophical enquiry. Fatalism

\[10\] was the yardstick of these despondent people who were, more or less, guided by the law of Karma. It assigns no place, at all, to the initiative of all the individuals. The law of Karma is the philosophical expression of the belief in an eternal moral order. According to this school, all actions produce their proper moral consequences in the life of the individual who acts. The present circumstances are taken as the cumulative effects of all past and present actions.\[11\] Nyāya and Dharmashastra were, therefore, the chief concern of the Maithila scholars and it is here that they made remarkable contributions. During our period, Mithilā was the centre of orthodox Brāhmanical civilisation, as opposed to Buddhist Magadha, and the defence of orthodoxy was largely responsible for the development of Nyāya-Mimamsā. The coming of the Muslims was responsible for the study of the Smṛtis with renewed vigour. The ruling families of Mithilā left their mark on the sanskrit culture by their active and generous patronage and the Mithilā school made permanent contributions to various branches of learning. This period of intellectual activity stimulated the revival of classical studies in Bengal and that is why the history of Mithilā, during the period, has an important bearing for an adequate understanding of Bengali life and culture in later days. According to D. C. Sen, the light of learning came to Bengal from Mithilā

\[10\] E& (1947 edition)—Vol. IX. 109. Fatalism has been derived from the Latin “Fatum,” that which is decreed. The idea of an omnipotent fate overruling all affairs of men is present in various forms in practically all religious systems. It aims at complete indifference to material circumstances.

\[11\] Cf. Silver Jubilee Volume of the Indian Philosophical Congress (1950) P. 126.
and O'malley is perfectly right when he says that "the history of Mithilā centres round the court engrossed in luxurious enjoyment of literature and learning."

Mithilā, during the period, had its own system of education. Students studied at the feet of their teachers in humble cottages thatched with straw. They sat on mats made of straw and grass, a feature still common in Mithilā. Teachers and students were embodiments of simplicity. They busied themselves in discussing most intricate subjects baffling modern minds even today. The prominence grew more and more after the expansion of Muslim power in south Bihar. The University of Mithilā was the shelter of refugee scholars from different parts of the country. Students from all parts frequented this University. The University of Mithilā had instituted a peculiar system of examination for graduation or completion of study. It was known as "Śalākāparikṣā" by which the candidate for graduation had to explain that page of a manuscript which was pierced last by a needle run through it. This was thus a test of the capacity of the candidate to explain unprepared any part of the texts he had studied so as to demonstrate his mastery of the subject in all its parts. The diploma was then conferred upon the successful candidates. The University of Mithilā made conspicuous contributions in the realm of serious and scientific subjects and developed a school of Nyāya, known as Navya-Nyāya, Gaṅgeśa, Vardhamāna, Jagadghara, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara Miśra, Misru Miśra and Pakṣadhara were some of the important teachers associated with the University. Śalākāparikṣā was considered to be a very severe test and a student was supposed to be proficient after he had successfully passed it. The severity of the test is evident from the fact that a needle was inserted between the leaves of a book and asked the examinee to explain extempore the contents of the pages where the book opened. A student had to keep everything ready on the tip of his tongue. Another severe test was known as Śadyantra, as in this case the scholar was expected to present himself for examination by the public. The scholar, who intended to take this examination, could be asked any
question. According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṅgānātha Jhā, the institution of Upādhyāya, Mahopādhyāya and Mahāmahopādhyāya were graded degrees of seniority among Professors. Various places of Mithilā are yet associated with different branches of learning and they are (i) Yajuṇḍa the seat of Yajurveda learning; (ii) Rigā, the seat of Rgveda learning, (iii) Athari, the seat of Atharvaveda learning; (iv) Bhāṭṭasimri or Bhāṭṭapura, the seat of Bhāṭṭa School of Mīmanṣā, (v) Mao-Behat the seat of Mādhyandiniśakha and so on.

While the system was patronised by the ruling dynasties of Mithilā, it must be borne in mind here that the house of every Paṇḍita was a school in itself. Almost all branches of literature and science were either written or compiled and eminent teachers, referred to above, and others like Śrīdattotpādhyāya, Harināthopādhyāya, Bhavaśarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakṣmīpati had major share in such compilations or compositions. Since the rulers, themselves, were great scholars and also patrons, scholars would very often travel to their courts and seek patronage and recognition. Gaṅgeśa's Tattvacintāmanḍi marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of medieval Logic. A sanskrit scholar who did not study this work was not regarded worth the name in Mithilā. Its study helped the reader to be a good and subtle debator and enabled him to draw hair-splitting distinction. It was this particular work that made Mithilā famous and popular with the scholars of Bengal, Kashmir, Maharāṣṭra and south India. The commentaries, on this small work of about three hundred pages, written so far, have covered more than a lac of pages. The tradition of scholarship, in this branch, was continued and extended to wider region. Pakṣadhara's commentary came to be regarded

15 MV.
as the fountain source of a huge literature on Nāyānīyāya.

During our period, Mithilā was, in noway, inferior to Vaṭanāṣī. Nadia derived its inspiration from Mithilā and was the connecting link between Nepal, Tibet and Mithilā. The scholars of Mithilā represented the highest level of scholarship. It was for her studies in Nyāya, that she drew students from different parts of India. Nadia is said to have been created by the "proud practice of Mithilā not to allow any one of its students to take from its school or even notes of the lessons or lectures delivered there" (TM–381). Raghunātha Śiro-

manip, the founder of Nadia School of Logic, was a student of the University of Mithilā and a direct disciple of Pakṣa-
dhara Miśra. 15 Besides Logic, the University of Mithilā made notable contributions to the study of Mīmāṁsā, of which there were two Schools—(i) the Bhaṭṭa School and the (ii) Prabhākara School. The Prabhākara School was the most prominent in Mithilā and, if tradition is to be relied upon, during the reign of Viśvāsadevi there was a gathering of about fourteen hundred Mīmāṁsakas in Mithilā. Philo-

sophy was not ignored in Mithilā and we know that Śaṅkara Miśra, a dualist, attacked Advaitavedānta and wrote a popular commentary on the Sūtras of Kaṇāda.

Under the auspices of the University of Mithilā, an im-
portant School of Grammar was started by Padmanābhādatta. His Supādma and its supplements laid the foundation of a new school. Bhanudatta’s works on Rhetoric and erotic, when read with Jyotirśvara’s Raṅgasekhara and Paṇḍhasāyaka, show that this branch of learning was not ignored in Mithilā. Literature, Science, Logic, Mīmāṁsā, erotics and astronomy were studied along with a specialised study of the Sūtras and the Dharmasāstra. Bhavadatta’s commentary on Naiṣadha-

charitam, Ratneśvara’s commentary on Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābhara-

ṇa and Prthvidhara Āchārya’s commentary on Mṛcchakatīka and Śrīkara Āchārya’s commentary on the Amarakoṣa were some of the important results of the literary pursuits, then followed. Vernacular literature was also getting proper

CHAPTER IV

impetus but its teaching, on organised lines, does not seem to have been popular. Since Sanskrit was the language of the literary coterie, very few Sanskrit scholars cared to step down to write in vernacular. Jyotirñswara and Vidyāpati were two notable exceptions. It must be stated here that the contemporary rulers did patronise the growth of vernacular literature and some of them even cultivated the art of writing in mother tongue. Learning and poetry were honoured. Learning in almost all branches was popular. Vidyāpati was a unique combination of all that was good in that age. Besides being a master mind of Sanskrit, he wrote in Avadhāta and through his lyrics in Maithili, he, not only surpassed his contemporaries, but also became the messenger of sweetness and light and made Mithilā known all over the world.

The aim of education was the acquisition of knowledge and formation of character. The educational institutions varied in character. Most of the institutions were managed by the Gurus themselves at their own houses while some institutions were supported by rich patrons. Not only education was free but the candidates were supplied with free board and lodging. Rich persons had tutors at their own places. The medium of education was Sanskrit and after primary initiation, the students were taught Amarakośa. Vyākaraṇa was the next stage and after acquiring mastery over the Kārikās, the students turned to the study of composition, logic, philosophy, as well as the five Vidyās—viz., Śabdavidyā, Šilpaśāhāvavidyā (arts), Chikitsāvidyā, Hetuvidyā and Adhyātmavidyā. The curriculum was purely traditional and after the completion of general education, students took to specialised study. Writing of books was an important profession. In these days, when printing press and paper were unknown, books had to be compiled, written and prepared on the palm-leaves and that required a good deal of patience, energy and love for scholarship. A set of scholars was engaged for this purpose. Mithilā’s love for scholarship has been well known since time immemorial and the fact finds corroboration in the Kirtilatā of Vidyāpati. The Nibandhakāras have prescribed a disciplined life for the students. Respect was paid to the learned.
are references to various types of learning and learned person in the PP of Vidyāpati. It is not correct to hold that the study of sciences, specially astronomy, Mathematics and Ayurveda, was ignored. It is said that Makranda calendar was very popular here.

It has been suggested that alchemy is closely associated with the religious cult of the Tantras. The Tāntric cult is characterised by a curious admixture of alchemical process on the one hand and grotesque, obscene and something revolting rites on the other. Since Mithilā was one of the important centres of Tāntricism, it may be conjectured that the people here were adept in the art of alchemy associated with it. We further learn from the Sārīgadharapaddhati that the people of Videha knew the technicalities of sword-making. The Nepalese paper was sold at Patna, Saran, Janakpur, Darbhanga, Purnea and Gorakhpur. The people of Mithilā also knew the measurement of time and space and we get the following details from Udayana's Kiranāvali—

(i) 30 Muhūrtas = 1 day (24 hours)
(ii) 30 Kalas = 1 Muhūrtta
(iii) 30 Kāṭhās = 1 Kalā
(iv) 18 Nimeṣas = 1 Kāṣṭhā
(v) 2 Lavas = 1 Nimeṣa
(vi) 2 Kṣaṇas = 1 Lava.

This makes one Kṣaṇa of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika equal to 2/45 of a second. The Nyāya assumes that the unit of physical change is equal to a Kṣaṇa. The question as to the existence of a triad is one of the moot points of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Vācaspati, Udayana, Śrīdhara and Raghunātha deal with the problems relating to atom and its movements. The Nyāya thinks that the molecules and larger aggregates assume new characters under the influence of heat without decomposition into homogenous atoms. Gaṅgeśa conjectures that even

16. PP (Pāthaka)—92, 98, 103, 126 etc.
17. BTA—439 ff.
gold can be evaporated or made to disappear by the application of intense heat. Udayana refers to the oils derived from vegetables, butter from milk and fats from animal. Vegetable fats are also mentioned. Vācaspati and Udayana contend that among oils, fats, milks etc., differences in flavour and odour imply differences in kind and in molecular structure. The Maithila Naiyāyikas paid special attention to the study of atoms. The Nyāya conceives atomic magnitude as a pūrimāṇḍalya, a term which indicates a spherical shape.

To conceive position in space, Vācaspati takes three axes—

( i ) proceeding from the point of sunrise in the horizon that of sunset (east and west)
( ii ) a second bisecting this line at right angles on horizontal plane (north to south)
( iii ) proceeding from the point of their section up to the meridian position of the sun.

The position of any point, in space, relatively to another point, may now be given by measuring distances along these three directions. B. N. Seal has rightly observed—"But this gives only a geometrical analysis of the conception of three-dimensional space, though it must be admitted in all fairness that by dint of clear thinking it anticipates in a rudimentary manner the foundation of solid (coordinate) geometry"

Śaṅkara Miśra gives a detailed description about the theory of motion and the varieties of Gamana (curvilinear motion). All kinds of motion are called Gamana. Regarding the motion of fluids, Śaṅkara has mentioned the following—

( i ) Current motion or Spandana—conditioned by fluidity in particles.

20. Ibid.
21. Ibid—117. Cf. Śaṅkara Miśra—निर्यं परिमण्डलम्—परिमण्डलमेव पारिमण्डलस्यम्।
23. Ibid—130.
(ii) Upward motion or Ārohana (evaporation)—the fluid particles are rarefied. In boiling, there is a similar upward movement of water particles under the impact of heat rays.

(iii) Capillary motion or Abhisarpaṇa—i.e., the ascent of the sap in plants from the root to the stem, and the penetrative diffusion of liquids in porous vessels. Heat particles have alike generative power.

According to Śaṅkara Miśra, the movement of iron in general towards the magnet is an important example of unexplained motion in matter. According to Udayana, the solar heat is the source of all the stores of heat required for chemical change in the world.

Regarding the analysis of sound, the Mīmāṃsakas hold that Vāyu (air) has a special quality which causes audible sound (Nāda). Vācaspati holds that the physical basis of sound is a series of air movements whereas Śavarasvāmī holds that Nāda is a wave-motion of air. Vācaspati and others controvert the Mīmāṃsā views by saying that—

(i) Nāda is a specific quality of Vāyu
(ii) Sound is constituted by a series of air movements.
(iii) It is not air-currents but air waves that constitute the Nāda.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers compare sound to a wave and advocate the theory of an independent sound wave. Gaṅgeśa holds that the propagation is not from the molecule to molecule, but travels in ever, expanding circle as in water waves, perhaps in spherical layers by compression of masses of air; and these air-waves, the vehicles of sound, are exceedingly swift. This explains the velocity of sound. Gaṅgeśa accepts air-waves as vehicles of sound-waves.

25. Seal—op. cit. 156.
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Vidyāpati refers to the study of botany and veterinary science. The Science of medicine was not unknown. The reference to the preparation of various kinds of cosmetics and luxurious goods in the Pañchasārayaka of Jyotirīśwara is an indication of the fact that the people of Mithilā were aware of the various ingredients and chemicals. There is also a reference to the various methods of birth-control in that book and it may be hazarded that these sciences were widely cultivated. The VR also refers to various kinds of Vaidyas—Viṣavaidyā, Naravaidyā, Gajavaidyā, Aṣavaidyā, etc. (VR—p. 9).

From all these accounts, it may be concluded that the study of sciences was not neglected and learning consisted of acquiring knowledge not only in philosophy, art and theology and Smṛitis but also in different branches of science, such as astronomy, astrology, medicine, veterinary science and zoology. Charaka and Sūrūta held the field. We have referred to above the use of Makranda calendar in Mithilā. In Mithilā, Lilāvati, Siddhānta Siromāni, works of Bhāskarāchārya and Caṇḍeśwara’s commentary Amalā were studied with thoroughness. Lakṣmīdāsa, son of Vācaspati, wrote a commentary on the Gaṇitādhyāya and Golaadhyāya of Bhāskarāchārya’s Siddhāntaśiromāni, known as Gaṇitātattvavachintāmaṇi. Several Maithila writers wrote on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine and other sciences. Jyotirīśwara gives a detailed account of the prevailing astronomical calculations in Mithilā.

Various types of physicians and references to some common diseases are mentioned in the poems of Vidyāpati. Magadha

27. PP (Pāthak)—P. 110.
29. Ibid—72, 172, 192, 195; Vaidya—99–100; Kavirāja—143.
30. BTA—539.
31. VR—P. 23. मन्स, खण्डलाम, भास्तात, तिथिभास, सोमशेष, वियाभारी विलम्ब प्रमुख अनेक करणमयण, राजमात्रण, इलावूळ, वरामिहिंशे, शीतलिंग, संहिता, बंध संहिता, देवंद संहिता, चंद्र संहिता।...मन्स तिथि, सतास्व नक्षत्र, गोम, सूर्यागम, वारह राशि।...आठ पहर, बाटोस बख्त्र, बारह मुहूऱ्टे, दण्ड, पल, कला, विकला।...
32. S. Jha—No. 15—कारिन वैदेस निरसि तेज़िक आन नाहि उपचार
No. 81—अखर रत्नभो भुनद न कान (deaf
fever was also very common in Mithilā and we know that the celebrated Tibetan Traveller, Dharmaswāmi, was attacked with this fever in Tirhut while he was on his way back. This was known to be fatal. 33 Tirhut was marshy and as such fever was very common. Quacks were not unknown. All types of scientific knowledge, though subordinate to Smrtic studies, were imported in the educational curriculum of Mithilā.

Geographical knowledge—The Bhūparikrama 34 of Vidyāpati gives the geographical account of sixty-five towns or villages together with their Puranic importance if any. In writing out this excellent Gazetteer, Vidyāpati seems to have depended mainly on the Purāṇas. It was written in the form of an expiatory tour of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. In his description, he sticks to the old names of hermitages, such as Naimisāraṇya, Pañchāla, Brahmāvarta etc. Balarāma came to Naimiṣa and from there to Drupada’s country, Pañchāla, and thence to Brahmāvarta and from there to the hermitage of Vālmiki, then to Prayāga, to Bharadwaja’s grove, 35 and after recrossing Pratiṣṭhāna reaches Śrīgavera and along the north bank of the Ganges comes to Kāśi. Thereafter following the route of Rāmāyaṇa, he comes to Gautamāśrama at the confluence of the Ganges and the Saryu and then to Tāḍakā’s place and from there to the hermitage of Chyavana and Pāṭaliputra. It should be noted here that Rāmāyaṇa does not mention Pāṭaliputra, but our poet found Pāṭaliputra to be too well known to be omitted altogether.

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33. Rocrich—op. cit. P. 100.
34. MSS of this work is in the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. Also Cf. JBORS—IV. PP. 18–19.
From Pātaliputra, he comes to Tīrabhukti and Mithilā and revels in the description of ancient holy places.

Vidyāpati seems to have relied upon the Purānic account. In chapter 79 of the tenth canto of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the journey of Baladeva is described. It is said that he first arrived on the bank of the Kaśī river and then went to that Sarovara wherefrom the river Saryu has sprung. He, then, travelled along the banks of Saryu and subsequently arrived at Prayāga. He continued his journey and went on, bathing on his way in the rivers Gomati, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāśā and Sone and arrived at Gayā where he performed the Pitṛa worship. From Gayā, he came to Gaṅgāsāgara-Sāngama and travelling south, he went to Veṅkaṭāchala. The river Kaśī is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Vārahaapurāṇa (140). According to the Padma P. (78) and Bhāgavatapurāṇa (V. 7) Śālagrama is placed near the source of the river Gaṇḍaka. Baladeva travelled northwards as far as the slopes of the Himalayas. Crossing the river Gomati, Baladeva travelled through Saran and came to Sonepur and therefrom marched straight east to Gayā. 36 There is thus a difference between Vidyāpati and the Puranic account and we have to examine it critically. Naimiśāranya was a place associated with the ancient Rṣis where they are said to have held long sessions of Vedic sacrifices and during these sessions, the Sūtras recited the Purāṇas. Brahmapārtha is said to be the place of Swayambhū Muni. He had an idea of two Brahmapārthas—laghu and brhat. The work, Bhāparikramā, has been put in the form of a Purānic legend. 37 In the Naimiśa forest before an assembly of the Brāhmaṇa sages, Baladeva was guilty of killing a Brāhmaṇa and was, therefore, advised to undertake a pilgrimage and he set out from the holy land of Naimiśa. In the Bhāparikramā, divided into six chapters, there is a description of eight deśas viz.—Drupadadeśa, Brahmapārtha, Prayāga-Kāśi, Siddhadeśa, Balideśa, Bhojpur and Janakadeśa. The place-names have been identified in the following manner—

36. Dikshitar—Puranic Index—II. 463.
Naimişa—modern Nimakhara on the Gomati twenty miles south of Sitapur (U. P.)
Drupadadeśa—the adjoining district of Hardoi.
Brahmāvarta—modern district of Unao on the northern side of the Ganges.
Prayāga and Kāśi—are well known.
Siddhadeśa—Land to the east of Gomati (in the district of Ghazipur—U. P.)
Balideśa—Ballia (U. P.)
Bhojpur—eastern part of the district of Shāhābād
Janakadeśa—Nepal Terai.

Vidyāpati, while describing route from Mithilā to Naimişa forest, gives not only the topography of those tracts with their rivers, forests, shrines but also details of their historical and mythological importance. These topographical descriptions are the important features of the Bhūparikrama though in the words of Professor Ramānātha Jhā, "the real motive of Vidyāpati was not to describe the topography of Āryāvarta and compile a work of geography." 38 The fact remains that Vidyāpati, as a master-teacher of the age, was conversant with all the relevant data of topography and geography and that is evident not only from this work but also from the Kirtilata, wherein we find the Sharqi army taking the well-known routes to Mithilā. Bhūparikrama was written in the reign of Devasimha. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from a study of this work is that the people of Mithilā were not isolated with the rest of the country. When Magadha ceased to give light, Mithilā became centre of cultural activities and continued to give light to the whole of eastern India. 39

38. Ibid.—P. 89. According to Ramanath Jha, this work was composed by the poet when he was staying with Devasimha in Naimisha forest in the distant Uttarapradeśa—8 tales are the same as in the first part of the PP-Bhūparikrama and Kirtilata are Vidyāpati’s contribution to Pūrusārtha literature. Vidyāpati is said to have encouraged Devasimha to proceed to Mithilā after the line of Kirtisimha was extinct. These findings of Professor Jha need further investigation.
Geographical knowledge was essential pre-requisite for political collaboration among contemporary powers. The rulers of Mithilā maintained contacts and friendly relations with the neighbouring states. Besides that, Mithilā had intimate connections with Nepal—specially in the field of trade, commerce as well as culture. The contract was fruitful for both the countries.

The Bhūparikrama, PP and Kirtilatā supply us with detailed information regarding the extent of geographical knowledge then available to the people and they stand further substantiated by the long list of countries mentioned in the VR. These names and descriptions are, no doubt, conventional but they give us an insight into the contemporary way of looking

40. Cf. ABORI—XXXV. 91 ff.
42. VR—P. 56. In the list of Tirthas, we have the following names—प्रयाण, बाराणसी, प्रामार, पारिस्टुत, पबन, विष्णुर, पुष्कर, कुष्मेन, कपालमोचन, करपाचल, कामेश्वर, कुष्ण, लोमाल, कुमारार, केटार, कृष्णिर, कपिलावत, भद्र, अखबोद्वत, जानुब, घाँमा-रण, कक्ककाल्य, दशकाल्य, नैयायवर्य, बुद्धकाल्य, श्रावण, शंकुकर, गोकृं, सुबालर, रुद्रस्वर, महावर, महेश्वर, शिलुस्वर, समस्वर, भोमोत, सातिनी, सोमालम, शरमालम, सिद्धें, सोमालम, वायुस्वर, विदर्श-काल्य, अमरकटक, जानुब, शंकादर, आश्वमार, समस्वर, दशामे, सतिशिवा, समस्वर, गंगाहर, गंगासागर, मिथिला, जातिसर, उपजिष्ठा, अनिष्ठा, वर्ण, देवर, बुकुड, महेश्वर, सुर, पुष्कर, अशोकाल्य, गौरीवर्ष, मैथिली, सिद्धराम, मंडिरालूज, श्रेष्ठ।

Rivers—गंगा, मौमत, मोदार, गवडं, रेती, विद्राल, कपिलावत, काकिश्व, तपो, समस्का, समस्त, चन्द्रभाग, चित्ता, चिन्ताकुं, नमस्खल, सर, सरस्वत, करतोय, सिपाह, सम, वीर, भूमिक, काविर, कर्मणाश, साराश, वाराण, देवनंद, देविका, मिथिला, महकाब।

Mountains—P. 57. दोह, मन्त्र, महेश्वर, गलय, मैथिली, माल्यवन, अकुल, मानकुल, मुदर, मन्त्र, रुद्रम, गोवर, परिपत्र, विपुल, नील, केताल, बाराह, मन्त्राम, रामसिद्ध, काकिश्व, काविर, विनंतिकु, किशृर, पुष्कर, पुष्कर, मध्यबसु, श्रेष्ठ, श्रीमवर, अद्रनोत, मधुबन्ध।
at things connected with geographical knowledge. An account of the topography and geography of Tirhut is available to us from Dharmaswāmi—when he entered India, he came across three mountain ranges. Of these Rṣiśirṣa mountain was high and the rest were low ranges. We have only two mountain ranges in Tirhut, Someśwara to the north of Champaran and Dūn hill to the south of Someśwara. Someśwara is forty two miles and Dūn twenty miles in length. Possibly the offshoot of Someśwara was regarded as the third by the celebrated traveller, who seems to have based his account mainly on heresay evidence in so far as this aspect is concerned. He suggests that the mountain extended upto Vaiśālī but that is not correct. He took the well-known route from Kātmandu and reached the capital of the Kārṇāṭas. From there he proceeded straight to the south and reached Vaiśālī and to the south of the Ganges lay the kingdom of Magadha. The extant of geographical knowledge stands further enriched if we cast a glance at the Tirthacintāmaṇi and Gayaśraddhapatthati of Vācaspati Miśra. The former throws light on Prayāga, Puruṣottamakṣetra, Kṛtivāsahkṣetra, Konārakakṣetra, Virajakṣetra, Gayā, Gaṅgā and Vārāṇasī. Vācaspati confirms the point that the temple of Viśwanātha was situated on the north of Vaijñānavāpī. The present temple exists to the south of it. It was at the instance of some Muslim ruler that the original temple was demolished and the present one was constructed and the reconsecration ceremony of the idol was done by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa II in the middle of the 15th. century. The Tirthalatā of Vācaspati is different from his Tirthacintāmaṇi. It deals with the ceremonies to be performed at Kāśi, Prayāga and other places of pilgrimages. There is a


44. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. It is based on Kṛtyakalpadruma, Pārijata and Ratnakara.

45. It has been printed at Bombay. The Maṅgala verse of this book is the same as that of the above.

mention of the famous eight Nāgas in his Kṛtyamahārṇava. The PP mentions Gauḍa, Gajjana, Devagiri, Gorakhpur, Dwārka, Daṇḍakāranya, Vijayanagara, Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā, Prayāga, Kailāsa, Rādhra, Sarayū Saṅgama, Kānhci and a number of other important places and all important rivers. Mathurā, Gokula and Brndabana find frequent mention in the poems of Vidyāpati.

The problem with regard to the identification of Jaunpur as described in the Kirtilātī of Vidyāpati has raised a number of issues. Dr. Subhadra Jha has identified Jaunpur with Delhi. In Śastri’s edition of the Kirtilātī (P. 10) we have—“Pekkhaitā Paṭṭana cāru mekhala Jaṅona-nīra-pakhārīa” i.e., “they saw the city washed by a river on all sides like a waist band to it” (P. 11). The city is named Jonāpura. It has been translated by Dr. Jha as—“the city which was washed with the water of the Yamunā, looking like beautiful waist band.” We have in our possession a far more reliable evidence in the Khamātā Mss., the text of which is as follows:

स्त्रम तरिक प्रति—(लेखनकाल-1672 वि.क्र.)—
पेक्क्हात प्रति...नगरं प्रति जोनापुर नामतार्कणे
पेक्क्हात नाग चो जोनापुर तस्मान ’’बातमेण युनातीर प्रवन्धितं—
(जौनापुर प्रवन्धित)"

In view of this evidence of about 1615 A.D., it is not possible to construe the name as Joinipur as Dr. Jha would have us believe. The name Jonāpura is now definite and hence its identification with Yoginipura or Joinipur cannot not

47. वासुदेव, तक्षक, कालिव, साहमद, एरात, धूरतार, क्रोटक, घनजय।
49. op. cit. Introduction, P. 21; 41 ff.
50. Ibid—41.
51. I am much obliged to Professor Virendra Shrivastava, Head of the Department of Hindi, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur, for having supplied me with the above extract.
52. op. cit. 42.
be possible, though the fact remains that the city was washed by the waters of Jamuna. For the present and until further evidences are forthcoming the Jonâpura is to be identified with Jaunpur. The facts relating to topography may be wrong but it is difficult to change the name of Jonâpur to Yoginipura in the vicinity of Delhi. The point needs further investigation. Vidyâpati found Jaunpur a very busy place where people from different parts of the country flocked together. People of Telengana, Chola country, Bengal, Kaliṅga and others spoke their own languages (Kirtilata—Saxena, p. 48).

The folk literature of Mithilâ is full of references of our contact with various parts of India and it gives the following names—Kanauja, Delhi, Mathurâ, Morâṅga, Tirhut, Gayâ, Ayodhyâ, Kailâśa Ailaṅga (?), Telaṅga, Magah, Monghyr, Udayâchala, Nepâla, Champâran, Kâśt, Karṇâtapura, Orissa, Dwârkâ, Bṛndâvana etc. 53 The list fairly

53. Râkesha—op. cit. 107—

For a reference to Mîrângâ—Cf. D. S. Singh—op. cit. PP. 115–16; PP (G)—Tale 29; Râkesha. P. 95. Gângasâgar, Vrânapâla, Vrnârât; Vidyâpati, in his Dînakâtyâlî, has given a graphic description of the geography of India—Vide—P. 9. उत्तर बस्मुद्रस्य हिमदृश्वेत दक्षिणम्। वेघा तदः नाम भारती वच सत्तित:। नवयोगसाध्योऽस्वतास्य स्वरोपस्य महातुं न कर्मशास्त्रय:। सरस्वतीवद्भवस्य वनोवेंद्रतम्॥ तेवथा निर्देशयं वेश्य भाषावर्त प्रचारोऽववहि। कृत्येव न सरस्वत्व प्रभात:। यह भाषाप्रदेशो वै सरस्वतावदन्तरः। हिमवद्विन्धयोऽ

अर्हीवम् सोऽस्रहूं मंगायों, वृद्धा विक्षिप्तार्थोऽः।
contains a comprehensive account of important places then known to the people of Mithilā. The scholars of Mithilā went round the country both for religious and educational purposes and earned name and fame. Vidyāpati has also referred to such centres of religion as Bāsukīnātha, Baidyānātha 54 and Śiṅgeśwara. According to the Mithilā Māhātmya Kāṇḍa of the Brhad Viṣṇupurāṇa (mentioned in the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi of Hemādri 55) Mithilā was an important Tīrtha. Some important places of Mithilā like Hariharakṣetra, Kapileśwara, Hariṇākṣi, Pippalivana, Purṣapahara (modern Phulhari), Kūpeśwara, Banagrāma, Drumālaya, Śimheśwara, Bīṣhara, etc. are mentioned 56 along with the names of important rivers like Kauśikī, Trīyugā, Kamṭā, Gandakī, Adhaurā, Dhumbatī (Dhemura), Lakṣmanā, Bāgmatī, etc. 57 The fiscal divisions are also known to us from the Likhnāvalī. Vidyāpati was a great and excellent teacher and his vision was wide and comprehensive. He was thoroughly acquainted with all kinds of knowledge and his excellence as a teacher

—Vidyāpati seems to have been indebted to the Purāṇas—
A MSS entitled Pramāṇapallava by Narasiṁha (Catalogue of Mithilā MSS. Vol. I. P. 294) gives an account of several Tīrthas and quotes from Lakṣmīdhara and is quoted by Cāṇḍeśwara. For Kumārila’s interpretation of Ṭhātāsthāna, Cf. Tantrasūrīka 1.3.7.

54. MM—No. 787—कण्ठ अतः छन्द वासुकिराय
No. 803—कण्ठ वासुकिर दय सुरसरि थारे
No. 778—दाता हमरो सिंहोरनाथ
No. 784—ओ सिंहोरनाथ विकाल मोर पति हे
No. 776—मग वछल प्रमुखान महेशर—

55. I owe this formation to Dr. D. C. Sircar of the University of Calcutta.


57. Ibid—204 ff.
is known to us from the colophon of a MSS written by his own student.  

Dharmaśāstra formed an important part of the curriculum in Mithilā. It was in this branch of learning that Mithilā produced a host of scholars during our period. It was through her contribution in the realm of Dharmaśāstra that secured a place of honour. The various digests, written during the period and though based on older Smṛtis, have superseded them in such a way that no one now cares to consult the older ones. These writers recognised Sadāchāra as one of the authoritative sources of Dharma. Traditional usages and customs were regarded as sources of Dharma. Different customs of different locality were responsible for divergent views on certain matters. As these practices came to be multiplied and differences also became intensified. All these factors influenced the later digest writers to differ widely amongst themselves over the interpretation of older Smṛtis. It must be noted here that in spite of these differences, they do not venture to revolt against the ultimate principles, established by ancient law.

Mayūkha came to be recognized as authority in the Bombay presidency, Kamalākara and Mitra Miśra in Madhyadeśa, Jīmūtvāhana and Raghunandana in Bengal, and the works of Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍēśwara, Vācaspati in Mithilā and the Raṇavīra-ratnākara in the Punjab. The reason behind this concentrated studies of the Smṛtis was to save Hinduism from the onrush of Buddhism, which was mainly directed against sacrificial rites, rituals and Varnāśramadharma. This led to

58. The Colophon reads—"In the year L. S. 341, in village Muḍāra, this Manuscript by Rūpadhara, who is reading with Paṇḍita Śṛf Vidyāpati, who is devoted to duty, who is an excellent teacher, who is like a lion against the elephant like opinion of his antagonist and who possesses an excellent character."

This is a sufficient evidence of the fact that our poet was one of the most respected teachers of the University of Mithilā.

59. Tāj. 1. 7; Manu 1. 108, Vasiṣṭha—VI. 1. 1. 4.

60. Manu I. 118; Vasiṣṭha I. 8.
the development of the production of vast literature on Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra. There is hardly any other part of the country which singly has produced so many independent thinkers on Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, and Dharmaśāstra as Mithilā.

The Dharmaśāstras had their roots in the Vedic tradition and the writers looked up to the Vedas as a source of Dharma. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have also played a great part in the development of Dharmaśāstra and the earliest Dharmaśāstra can be assigned to the period between 600 and 200 B. C. Mithilā, in her own way, did not lag behind and contributed towards the development of this branch of learning through a host of writers. The first Maithila Śrīkara (800–1050 A. D.) writer, according to Kane, was Śrīkara. Whether he wrote a commentary or a general digest, it is difficult to say. Śrīkara propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The Mitaksāra on Yājñavalkya (II. 135); Smṛtisāra of Harinātha; Jīmūtavāhana, the Smṛti-chandrikā, Sarasvatīvīlāsa and other works contain interesting notices of Śrīkara’s views. All these are indicative of the fact that Śrīkara possibly compiled an independent digest. Caṇḍēśwara in RR quotes the views of Śrīkara on Rājanīti. Śrīkara, as quoted by Caṇḍēśwara, holds the view that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth. He is also quoted by Hemādri.

The author of Kāmadhenu is not known to us but this work has been extensively quoted by the Maithila writers, especially Caṇḍēśwara. According to Caṇḍēśwara, Gopāla was the author of Kāmadhenu. Caṇḍēśwara has quoted the views of Gopāla at a number of places in the RR (PP. 81, 84). Gopāla held the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many. He further holds that a king may be proclaimed without coronation rites by merely being seated on a throne. Jayaswal ascribes Kāmadhenu to Bhoja but there is nothing to prove that. Another writer,
Halāyudha, is claimed both by Bengal and Mithilā. He is quoted by Vācaspati in Vivādacintāmaṇi and Raghunandana in his works. Both the Bengali and Maithila writers rely upon him as a great authority. Lakshmīdharā, through his Kalpataru, influenced the Maithila writers and Caṇḍēśwara's Vivāda- ratnākara is practically a plagiarism of this work. Caṇḍēśwara expressly names it as the first of his predecessors on whom he relied. The Maithila Nibandhakāras are also indebted to Ballālasena.

With Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, we stand on a sound footing in so far as the history of Dharmasāstras in Mithilā is concerned. He is one Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (C. 1275 A.D. - 1350 A.D.) of the earliest medieval Maithila Nibandhakāras.

He is the author of a number of books, named below:

(i) Ācārādāra (Bombay-Samvat 1961)—a manual of daily religious duties of the followers of white Yajurveda, i.e., the Vajasanayins. He has quoted a large number of authorities. Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithilā, wrote a commentary on this work known as Ācārādāra-vodhinī.

(ii) Chandogāhnika—a manual on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. A supplement to it was written by Śaṅkara Miśra, son of Bhavanātha Miśra, and was known as Chandogāhnikoddhāra.

(iii) Pitṛbhakti—a manual on Śrāddha rites for the students of Yajurveda; it further treats of the details of the Pārvanā- śrāddha, then of Ekoddiṣṭa, of the monthly Śrāddhas etc. and then the definition of Śrāddha.

(iv) Śrāddhakalpa—is meant for the Sāmavedins.

(v) Samayapradīpa—treats of proper times for various Vratas, defines Vrata—In this work he refers the to views of Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. Caṇḍēśwara mentions this work in his Kṛtyaratnākara. Śrīdatta is quoted in the Śrāddha-kriyā Kaumudi of Govindānanda.

Another Maithila writer of the same name, called Śrīdatta Miśra, son of Nāgēśwara Miśra, composed a work known as
Ekāgniḍanapaddhati and Puraścaraṇapaddhati dealing with the gifts and other introductory rites. Whether the two are identical or not, it is difficult to say. Raghunandana has almost accepted the views of Śrīdatta as expounded in the Samaya-pradīpa, the only exception being tithi, where Raghunandana rejects the views of both Śrīdatta and Vācaspati.

Caṇḍeśwara (G. 14th. Century. A. D.) Nibandhakāras is Caṇḍeśwara Thākur, who was not only a great scholar but also a successful administrator as well. In his case the traditional inverse proportion between scholarship and his wealth did not hold good. He compiled an extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara divided into seven sections—Kṛtya, Dāna, Vyavahāra, Śuddhi, Puja, Vivāda, Grhaṣṭha and Rājāniti.

(i) Kṛtyaratnākara—(in 22 taraṅgas)—deals with the discussion of Dharma, nature of Dharma, means of knowing it, the various Vratas and observances in the several months from Caitra, Vratas of the several days of the week, the sun’s passage into a new sign etc. First part deals with the theories of religion, second part in thirteen chapters with the religious rites of twelve months and third with the new moon etc. On the theory of religion, he handles his subject most eruditely and the phases are discussed here in a new light which does not appear in many of the authoritative compilations on the subject. He refers to Sarpābhayaṇcamālavarta and also to Buddhaṭāvaḍaṇīvarta.

(ii) Dānaratnākara (in 22 taraṅgas)—deals with the following subjects—meaning of Dāna, fit objects of charity, the Mahādāna, gift of thousand cows, heaps of corn, gifts appropriate to certain months, nakṣatra, tithi etc.; dedication of wells and tanks of public use, planting of trees etc.

(iii) Vyavahārarantarantākara—deals with judicial procedure.

(iv) Śuddhiratnākara—(in 34 taraṅgas)—deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no aśauca, meaning of Saptāṇḍa etc.
(v) *Pujāratnākara*—This work is mentioned by Raghunandana in his *Suddhi-tattva*.

(vi) *Vivādaratnākara*—(in 100 *taraṅgas*) is an extensive work on civil and criminal law and deals with eighteen titles of law such as *Dāyabhāga* etc. The civil portion deals with inheritance—the subject of inheritance contains a description of thirteen kinds of son with the relative rights of heritability. Inheritance has been divided by the author into two heads—
(a) *Dāyabhāga* and (b) *Jivat-pitraka-vibhāga*, to be effected only in regard to ancestral property in the hands of the father. The self acquired property of the father can also become the subject matter of partition during his lifetime with his express sanction and of the mother at that time when she has passed the age of child bearing. But the father has discretion to make any kind of adjustment of the shares and to retain two shares for himself. The work deals with various other items of civil importance and also deals with the five principal categories of criminal law. It represents the Mithilā school of Hindu Law and formed the basis of *Vivadacandra* of *Misaru Miśra*, *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of *Vācaspati* and *Daṇḍaviveka* of *Vardhamāna*. He also mentions it in his *Grhastaratnākara*. The *Vivādaratnākara* and *Vivādacintāmaṇi* are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.

(vii) *Grhastaratnākara* (in 68 *taraṅgas*)—is on the duties of householders, deals with the three fold duties of a *Grhastha*—(i) Civil, (ii) Religious and (iii) Sanitary; members of the twice born classes became *Grhasta* after the completion of the Vedic studies; references to eight kinds of marriage—*Adhivedana* and *Parivedana*; *Adhivedana* is marrying a second wife in the life time of the first one. No other compiler of the *Smṛti* has dealt with this topic (PP 84–87). Caṇḍeswara’s treatment shows that it was ordinarily punished in ancient society. Duties and actions proper for *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* are enumerated here; the observances of a *Snātaka*, *Yama* and *Niyama*, * Śauca*; the observances of *Brahmacarya*; poor abode of a *Grhastha*, adultery and intermixture of castes etc. He has divided the day time into four parts and prescribed duties for each—(i) first quarter in
cleansing the body and worshipping gods; (ii) second quarter in reciting the Vedas; (iii) third quarter in earning money; (iv) fourth quarter for recreation.

(viii) Rājanitiratnākara (in 16 taraṅgas)—deals with the following Subjects—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings; the characteristics and duties of anātyas, the characteristics of Purohita, the characteristics and duties of a Prādyivāka (Judge); the members of the hall of Justice; their number and qualifications; forts; the time, place and accessories of settlement of royal policy; state treasury; the army; commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army; ambassador, allies and spies; conflict of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra; six guṇas; the Maṇḍala of kings; king's power of punishment, several constituents of a state; state's obligation towards the poor; coronation and investiture etc.

Beside these ratnākaras, Caṇḍēśwara is credited with having written another important work known as Kṛtyachintāmaṇi. In his GR, he says that certain architectural and decorative constructions called Śrīvṛksa, Vardhamāna and Nandyavarta have been mentioned in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called Prakāsas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and Sāṁskāras. Caṇḍēśwara is largely indebted to Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pūrijāta, Prakāśa, Halāyudha and others. Dānavākyāvali and Śivavākyāvali are also attributed to Caṇḍēśwara. More than forty scholars have been quoted by him in his ratnākaras and in some cases he has not even acknowledged the debt. He exercised great influence over the writers of Mithilā and Bengal and we see that Misarū Miśra, Vardhamāna, Vācaspati Miśra and Raghunandana frequently quote him. His ratnākaras has been described as Paurastyanibandha (eastern Digest) in the Viramitrodaya (P. 181).

Harinātha was not a Gaṇḍa but a Maithila. He is the author of Smṛtisūra, yet unpublished, dealing with the several topics of Dharmaśāstra. Different Saṁskāras like death,
Sraddha and Prayasctita are dealt therein. In other MSS, there is description of Vivada (various titles of Law) and Vyavahara (judicial procedure); Stridhana, danada etc. The author calls himself as a Mahamahopadhyaya. He refers to the views of Gauḍas on Ācāras. He is quoted by Śulapāni Harinātha (C. 14th and Misaru Miśra in his Vivadacandra refers to the views of Harinātha. Harinātha is nowhere mentioned by Caṇḍeswara and vice-versa. He is quoted by Vācaspati, Raghunandana, Kamlākara, Nilkantha and is spoken of as Upāvīya by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

The Madanaratnapradipa is an extensive work written by the ruling chief of Champaran named Madanasiṃhadeva. The work, yet unpublished, is divided into seven Madanasiṃhadeva Udyotas (sections) on Samaya or Kāla, (C. 16th ācāra, Vyavahara, prāyasctita, dāna, Śuddhi, Century A. D.) Śānti. He is quoted as a great authority and even Nilkantha in his Vyavahāramayukha relies on his authority. The Viramitraodaya also refers to it. The Madanaratna contains the views of Mitakṣarā, Kalpataru and Halāyudha.

Another important Maithila Nibandhakāra was Rudradhara, who is said to have been a proponent of Dharmaśāstra and is credited with having composed several works. Some of his important works are—

(i) Śuddhi-Viveka—is divided into three parichedas, deals with purification, meaning of the word putra, purification of cooked food, water, woman etc. Before compiling his work, he consulted seven nibandhas on Śuddhi and compiled it for those who could not go through Ratnakara, Pārijata, Mitakṣarā and Hāralata. He also mentions Śridatta, Smṛtiśāra and Harihara.

(ii) Sraddhaviveka—is divided into four parichedas and deals with the varieties of Sraddha and Mantras to be recited. He quotes from 15 authorities and also from his own Śuddhiviveka. He follows a different tradition from the Sugatisopāna
on certain important matters; he discusses the following topics; varieties of Śrāddha, the procedure at the Śrāddha, the mantras that are recited, the proper time and place for Śrāddha; and the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited. He mentions Prasātikā as a kind of grain (प्रसातिका मध्यदेशी शाळिका दत्त धान्ये).

(iii) Vratapaddhati—Here he follows the famous Samaya-pradīpa.

His works are quoted by Vācaspati, Govindananda, Raghunandana, Kamalākara and Nilkantha. He was a pupil of Caṇḍeśvara. There is a refutation of the view of Rudradhara by Raghunandana. Rudradhara’s conclusion from the following text of the Kūrmapurāṇa, quoted in the Śuddhiratnakara (P. 61), is wrong because the text means marriage only. His work on the Śrāddha is considered to be the most authoritative and authentic. Rudradhara is one of the few luminaries to have influenced the author within and outside Mithilā.

Misaru Miśra is the author of the famous work, Vivādacandra, dealing with law (ṛiyavahrupadas), rāddana (recovery of debts), nyāsa (deposit), partnership, dāyabibhūga, Stridhana, plaintiff, reply etc. He (C. 15th Century A. D.) not only quotes Caṇḍeśvara but frequently criticises him. He also mentions Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Bhavadeva and Smṛtiśāra. Vivādacandra has been a recognised authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā. He specifically stated that the word Stridhana was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called by the ancient sages and not to all property that comes to a woman.

After Caṇḍeśvara, the foremost Nibandhakāra of Mithilā was Vācaspati Miśra. He was well-versed in Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya and Pūrva-mīmāṃsā. He wrote ten works on the Sāstras, i.e. philosophical (C. 15th Century A.D.) works; and thirty works on Smṛti. Forty one works are ascribed to him. We shall concern ourselves here only with his works on the Dharmaśāstra.

(i) Krtyacintāmaṇī (published from Benares)—deals with
the various important monthly rites and ceremonies to be performed during the whole of the year; with the topics like Sanikrānti, Śivalinga, Malamāsa, Śrāddha, Yajñopavīta, Āśauca etc., marriage, Oath, Ordeals, purification etc. He says that as the time for taking the day meal is noon, the Bhrātrdvitiya day should be obversed on that day on which the Dvitiya falls about noon. Tīla oil should not be used on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday as that is inauspicious. He quotes from fifteen well known authorities. Saturday is described as Krodavāra.

(ii) Śuddhicintāmāṇi (printed at Benares)—deals with various kinds of purification connected with expiatory rites, body, limb, grain, metals, cooked food, water etc. He refers to the suicidal act by falling down from the Vata tree at Prayāga and killing oneself as an act of merit and not an act of sin. In almost all his works, he refers very often to the Brāhma Purāṇa and it appears that most of the customs and daily usages of Maithilas are in agreement with this Purāṇa. He quotes from more than thirty authorities in this book.

(iii) Tirthacintāmāṇi (Published in the B. I. Series)—consists of five chapters called Prakāśa. Here we have an interesting account of the temple of Lord Viśwanātha at Vārāṇasi. More than eight authorities have been quoted here. This book has been quoted by Gaṇapati in the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgini and by Raghunandana in his several tattvas.

(iv) Gayaśrūddhapaddhati (Printed at Bombay)—relating to the ceremonies associated with Śrāddha.

(v) Dvaitanīrāya (Published)—deals with several disputed points of the Dharmaśāstra and is regarded as authoritative in Mithilā. It is quoted by Gaṇapati, Raghunandana, and Govindānanda. Two commentaries on this work by Gokulānanda (called Pradīpa) and Madhusūdana Thākura (Jirṇoddhāra) are known. In this work, the size of a Kūpa, Vāpi and Taḍāga is mentioned. Vācaspāti argues with Kalpataru with regard to Tarpana but he disagrees with Harihara as regards the giving of oblations to the Bhūtas. Here he agrees with Śrīdatta and Vardhamāna. If a Śrāddha is performed
in a Malanāsa, the following acts should not be done as they are Kāmya—Kāñcanapurūṣa, Kapilagāvi, umbrella and shoes; the worship of Dampati and Vṛṣotasarga. Regarding the practice of the Kartūputra, he says—“in every Śrāddha the Kṛtīputra uses the expression Matputratvakara (मतपुत्रतवकर्)” but this usage is neither āṛṣa nor used in any digest, but has been used by the later Maithilas; and as it gives the sense in a connected way, the cultured Maithilas also have approved of its use which is deplorable. The father should not perform the ābhūdayikā for the second marriage of his son, for it is done as part of the Sāṁskāra which is complete with the first marriage. He quotes from more than fifty authorities. Throughout this work, he displays his wide knowledge of Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā.

(vi) Sārasaṅgraha.

(vii) Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi (Unpublished)—deals with the duties and customs of a Śūdra.

(viii) Mahādānanirṇaya (Unpublished)—deals with sixteen great gifts. It is believed that king Bhaïravendra wrote this book with the help of Vācaspati.

(ix) Chatrayogodbhūtadosastāntvidihī—was written at the instance of one Shah Bahādur, possibly at a time when Vācaspati was out of Mithilā.

(x) Śrāddhavidhi—deals with the expiatory rites—

(xi) Tithinirṇaya—discusses the doubtful points regarding the observance of Tithi.

(xii) Ācāracintāmaṇi (Unpublished)—deals with the daily duties of the Vājasenayins. It is quoted by Raghunandana.

(xiii) Āhnikacintāmaṇi—No manuscript of this book has been found that Vācaspati was the author of this book is known from his Śuddhacintāmaṇi (P. 90). It deals with the daily duties of the Brāhmaṇas of the kātiya school. It is quoted by Raghunandana.

(xiv) Dvaitacintāmaṇi—No MSS of this work is available but Vācaspati refers to it in his Kṛtyachintāmaṇi (P. 33).
(xv) *Nitīcintāmaṇī*—No MSS has been found but Vācaspati refers to it in the *VC* (P. 112).

(xvi) *Vyavahāra-chintāmaṇī*—deals with evidence in four sections, *viz.* Bhūṣa-plaint; *Uttara*—written statement by way of reply; *Kriyā*—procedure and *Nirṇaya*—decision. Here Vācaspati quotes from ten authorities.

(xvii) *Vivādanirṇaya*—a legal work.

(xviii) *Śuddhinirṇaya*—deals with purification of various types—It is also unpublished. It deals with the impurity on birth and death, the *religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity for the principal varṇas and castes*, period of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc. over-lapping of several period of *Asauca*; impurity arising from carrying corpse; rites after the death of a *Sanyāsīna*; *impurity from the contacts of lower castes* such as washermen and *Caṇḍālas*.

(xix) *Candanadhenupramāṇa*—discusses the *Smṛti* text for substituting sandalpaste marks instead of burnt marks on the bull dedicated at the time of *Śrāddha*.

(xx) *Dattaka-Vidhi*—deals with the procedure of the adoption of a son.

(xxi) *Kṛtyaprādipa*—deals with the daily duties from getting up from the bed to the going back to the bed at night and also deals with *Abhyudayika* etc.

(xxii) *Gayāpattalaka*—deals with the ceremonies which are to be performed when one visits Gayā for *Śrāddha*.

(xxiii) *Tirthakalpalata*—deals with the merit of the *Tirthayātṛa* in general.

(xxiv) *Śrāddhakalpa*—deals with *Sandhyā, Tarpana, Nitya-śrāddha, Nāndimukha* etc. and quotes from about twenty authorities. Kane thinks that this is another name of the *Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī* but it does not appear to be so.

(xxv) *Tirthalata*—deals with the ceremonies to be performed at Kāśi, Prayāga and other places.

(xxvi) *Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī*—deals with the expiatory rites.
(xxvii) *Kṛtyamahārṇava*—It is said that there were seven *Mahārṇavas* of which this is the first. Thirty-six *Smṛtikāras* are mentioned here as reliable and he quotes from about forty authorities on the subject. The work is also associated with the name of his patron *Harinārāyaṇa*.

( xxviii) *Vivādacintāmaṇi* (published)—deals with the eighteen titles of Law as described in the *Manuṣmṛti*. According to this work—the *Smṛti* principles regulating the case are based on reason and not on *Śruti*. He quotes from more than twenty authorities.

(xix, xxx, xxxi)—Names of the works are not exactly known.

Viewed from the volumes, written by him, it can be said without any fear of contradiction, that this versatile scholar of Mithilā was the greatest digest writer and touched almost every aspect of the Dharmaśāstra literature. Besides, his works on philosophy are equally important. His authority as the master digest-maker was recognised all over India, Raghunandana and Govindānanda of Bengal, Nandapannīta in his works, Mitra Miśra in his *Viramitrodraya*, Kamlākara and others have profusely quoted from the writings of Vācaspati who was, by all means, a voluminous writer.

The *Smṛtis*, with their roots deep down into the Vedic tradition, had three main branches viz. *Ācāra*, *Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścitta*. They were further subdivided into *Āhnikā* (daily rites), *Saṅskāra* (periodical rites), *Āsauca* or *Śuddhi* (purification), *Prāyaścittā* (expiations), *Śrāddha* (funerals), *Kṛtya* (festivals), *Puja* (worship), *Pratiśṭhā* (consecration), *Dāna* (gifts), *Kāla* (appropriate times), *Vyavahāra* (legal procedure and evidence), *Vivāda* (civil and criminal law) of which one part the *Dāya* (inheritance) was often specially treated, *Rāja-dharma* (kingly duties) and so on. The study of *Smṛti* formed one main stream down which flowed the Sanskrit thought in Mithilā. Names of most of writers have been lost by now and are known only through quotations. The *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmiṇīdhara influenced the Mithilā school and Śrīdatta was the earliest to quote it.
Caṇḍeśwara admits his indebtedness to this work and it is further quoted by Harinātha, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati, Vardhamāna and Rudradhara. It must be noted here that from the thirteenth century onwards, the Smṛtic studies in Mithilā came to be reckoned as Mithilā school of Smṛti. Various scholars of Mithilā are now known to us only through the quotations preserved here and there and as such it is not possible to form any estimate about them. Graheśwara Miśra, said to be the author of Vyavahārarataraṅga, is known to us through Caṇḍeśwara and Vardhamāna, while Gaṇeśwara Miśra is known to us through Harinātha, Vidyāpati, and Gaṇapati. Gaṇeśwara Thākura is known through his Sugatisopāna.

The family of Caṇḍeśwara was the repository of culture and scholarship. Besides Gaṇeśwara and Rāmadatta Caṇḍeśwara, there were many others who contributed to the development of Dharmaśāstra literature. Rāmadatta Thākura wrote the following works—

(i) Vivāhādipaddhati—a manual of rites dealing with the Saṅskūras of the Vājasaneyins, which in some manuscripts begin with an additional section of the Abhyūdayika Śrāddha. This manual is used by non Sāmavedins in Bengal.

(ii) Śoḍaśamahādānapaddhati—a manual treating of the sixteen important religious gifts.

Another important writer on the Smṛti was the Grammarian, Padmanābhadatta. In his Paribhaṣa, he says that he composed Ācāra Candrika. No manuscript of this work has been found as yet and no quotations therefrom traced.

Vidyāpati, the master-singer of eastern India, wrote a number of works on Smṛti. One characteristic feature of his works is that they were written under the patronage of the Oinwāra rulers and in some cases they were even attributed to them. Some of his important works are—

(i) Gaṅgāvākyāvali—dealing with various rites and duties to be observed on the banks of the Ganges. He quotes here a number of authorities in support of his arguments. It
mentions *Saptagrāma* as *Dakṣiṇa-prayūga* and as *Muktavēni* and is herein followed by Vācaspati Miśra, Gaṇapati and Raghunandana. It is quoted by Gaṇapati in his *Gaṅgābhaktitarāṅgini*, by Śrīnātha in his *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, by Raghunandana in several of his *Tattvas*, while the author is named by Govindānanda in his *Varṣaḵriyā* and *SuddhiKaumudi*. Gaṅgāvākyāvali has been published from Calcutta in 1940 by the late Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. He attributes the authorship of this work to the queen, Viśvāsadevi, who patronised Viḍyāpati.

(ii) *Dānavākyāvali*—dealing with various kinds of religious gifts and their ceremonies. It quotes from a number of authorities and it is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Vivāhatattva*.

(iii) *Varṣa-kṛtya*—dealing with fast and festivals. It is quoted in Raghunandana’s *Malamāsatattva*.

(iv) *Bibhasāgara* (Vibhāgasāra)—dealing with the essence of partition and inheritance and gives an account of the *Mitākṣara* and seems to be indebted to *Kalpataru* and *Vivādaratnākara*. The text is published in the appendix.

(v) *Śaivasarvasvasāra*—dealing with the essence of Śiva worship.

(vi) *Durgābhaktitarāṅgini*—on the *pramāṇa* and the *prayoga* of Durgā worship.

(vii) *Vyūḍhibhaktitarāṅgini*—The text is given in the appendix.

Other important writers on the subject included Indrapati Thākura who wrote *Mimāṃsa-rasa-pallava*.

*Indrapati* It deals with the philosophy of religious rites and applies the rules of *Mimāṃsa* philosophy to settle the truth and nature of various Śmṛtic rites, *Vrata, Śrāddha, Dāna* etc. His son Premanidhi compiled a digest named *Dharmādharmaprabodhini*, the understanding of right and wrong. It deals with *Ācāra, Puṭā, Śrāddha, Aśauca, Śuddhi, Saṃskāra, Dāna, Sādhāraṇadharma, Jātiveka, Vrata, Tirtha, Rājadharma, Vyavahāra, Prāyaścitta* etc. *Lakṣmīpati* a disciple of Indrapati,
wrote Šrāddhatra, a manual of funeral ceremonies, for the Sāmavedins and Vājasaneyins and is mainly based on Śrīdatta’s works. Another writer of repute was Śaṅkara Mīśra who compiled the following works—

(i) Chandogāhnikoddhāra—it is a supplement of Śrīdattha’s works and is quoted by Raghunandana in Āhnikatattva.

(ii) Prāyaścittapradīpa—relating to the various rules of expiations.

Vardhamāna also wrote a number of treatises on similar topics. Harinātha Upādhyāya in his Śmrtaśāra refers to eight Saṅskāras. The number of Saṅskāras to be observed by the Dvijas differs from writer to writer. According to Bhavadeva and Halayudha, they are ten; to Devanabhāta and Śridhara sixteen and Mitākṣarā forty. Caṇḍeśwara’s description about himself in the KR (13-26) is interesting. The Dharma is divided into Svarūpa (definition), Phala (effects) Pramāṇa (sources) and Nimitta (requisites). He quotes Manu, Viṣvāmitra, Āpastamba and the Bhaviṣyapurūṣa and we come across Varṇadharma, Āśramadharma, Varṇāśramadharma, Guṇa-dharma, and Nimittadharma.

Varnadharma is described as follows.

(i) Brāhmaṇas—reading, teaching, sacrifice, taking and making gifts—

(ii) Kṣatriyas—protection of subjects, making gifts and sacrifices, reading and control of passions—

(iii) Vaiśyas—tending cattles, making gifts, sacrifices, reading, trade, usury, cultivation etc.—

(iv) Śūdras—ungrudging service of the three castes.

He quotes from various authors and discusses every possible topic relating to the Dharma or duties; holding the Kalpavṛkṣa (wish-fulfilling tree), the Kāmadhenu (wish fulfilling cow) and the pārijāta (celestial tree) in appropriate places. He further holds that the Kṛtyaratnākara is free from all defects and is filled with nectar. Caṇḍeśwara is conversant with the Śmrta and nīgamas and his works are teeming with quotations from a number of authorities. He has considered all the subjects in
which nothing has been said by the \textit{Kāmadhenu}, nothing good has been conferred by the \textit{Kalpātaru} and no scent of which has been held by the \textit{Pārijāta}. He gives twenty one quotations from the \textit{Kalpātaru}. In the \textit{GR}, \textit{Kalpātaru} has been quoted six times, its author twice and Lakṣmīdharaya by name eleven times; in the \textit{Vivādaratnākara}, \textit{Kalpātaru} has been quoted eleven times, its author once and Lakṣmīdharaya by name six times. Vācaspati, in his introductory verse of his \textit{Tirthacintāmani}, refers to his indebtedness to the \textit{Kalpātaru}, \textit{Pārijāta} and \textit{Ratnakara}. In this work \textit{Kalpātaru} and its author have been quoted altogether six times. Vardhamāna, in his \textit{DV}, is said to have consulted the \textit{Kalpātaru}, \textit{Kāmadhenu}, \textit{Halāyudha}, \textit{Dharmakośa}, \textit{Smṛtisāra}, \textit{Kṛtyasāgara}, \textit{Ratnakara}, \textit{Pārijāta}, etc. The \textit{DV} gives forty one quotations from the \textit{Kalpātaru} and the two more are ascribed to Lakṣmīdharaya. All these go to show that all the important digest makers of Mithilā were indebted to the \textit{Kṛtyakalpātaru} of Lakṣmīdharaya. \textit{Canḍeśwara} is further in-


\begin{quote}
विभ्राणः कल्पबृक्त कल्पन परिसरे कामपेतुं दधनः
कामपन्तः परिजातं सचिदापि च दशदेशवादायिविद्वः
श्रीमचण्डेश्वरेण समुदिगममिविदा तन्यस्तेन तदद्
वित्या भवानिः वाक्यस्तुमुद्तमयः कालपेतुकरार्डयम्
परिविश्चित्रिदशिष्टितति कामपेतुमेतममत्वः कल्पतरुः दशे
चेचे न गन्धयो यक्षम परिजातस्तत्वमेव विविद्विष्टित नयप्रतीकः
\end{quote}

An unpublished text of \textit{Rājaśītraprakāśa} by \textit{Canḍeśwara} is given here in the \textit{appendix}. On one occasion \textit{Canḍeśwara} weighed himself against gold and distributed the metal in charity.

\[62.\] Cf. \textit{शोहत्यकल्पदूरूपा—पराजातस्तत्वादिनवचोकोकवी} \textit{विलाल}.

\begin{quote}
\textit{प्रमण्य} \ सूत्रां गुप्तस्मानवाचस्यतितस्ताविविधित्वादि
‘निबन्ध’ \ के \ सम्बन्ध \ में \ देखें—\textit{Kane—op. cit. I. 47}; Monier Williams \textit{‘Sanskrit English Dictionary’—According to Rhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mithila customs, emanating from a people with a separate school of law, were a bit different almost at all times in that period from those of Bengal (\textit{JASB—Letters—1953} No. 2, P. 196).}
debted to the *Viṣṇudharmottapurāṇa*. In the *Kṛtyaratnākara* 63 only there are thirty seven quotations from this work.

Just as the Maithila writers were indebted to the *Kalpataru*, similarly the Bengal writers were equally indebted to the writers 64 of Mithilā. The writings of Śrīdatta, Caṅḍeśwara, Vidyāpati, Rudradhara, Vācaspati and Vardhamāna, have been utilised by Raghunandana, the greatest *nibandha-kāra* of Bengal. The *DV* has not been quoted. Raghunandana has almost accepted the views of Śrīdatta, as expounded in his work *Samayaprādīpa*, except with regard to *Tithi*, where he differs from both Śrīdatta and Vācaspati. In his *Ekādaśīttattva* (P. 11), he has quoted the views of the Maithilas beginning with the word *Maithilāstū*. While he has quoted from almost all the works of Caṅḍeśwara, there is no quotation from the *Vyavahāraratnākara*. The *Kṛtya*, has been quoted ten times, the *Grhasthā*, thirty times and the *Vivāda*, thirty times. The citations from the *Pujāratnākara* are not numerous. Raghunandana has utilised only, the following four works of Vidyāpati viz., *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī Dānavākyāvalī*, *Dūrgābhaktitaraṅgīni* and *Varṣakṛtya* and has not consulted the *Śaivasvarāvasāra* and *Vibhāgasāgara*. There are twenty one quotations from the *Gaṅgāvā*, seventeen from the *Dūrgābhaktitītar*, one from the *Dānavākyāvalī* and three from the *Varṣakṛtya*. Raghunandana rejects only once the reading of a portion of a text of the *Bhavīṣyapurāṇa*, preserved in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, on the ground of faulty construction and only once disapproves (*Śuddhitattva*-P. 501) of its prescription, but refutes as many as four times the view of Vidyāpati. Raghunandana has given, in all, eight quotations from Rudradhara. He has refuted the view of Rudradhara.


64. Based by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya’s article—Raghunandana’s indebtedness to his predecessors in the *JASB* (Letters) XIX. 107 ff.
in so far as the interpretation of a text of the Kūrmapurāṇa is concerned. He vehemently criticises the views of Vācaspati Miśra. Wherever Vācaspati has been quoted, he has been criticised by Raghunandana. While quoting from the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi, he has refuted the views of Vācaspati Miśra. While he accepts some of the findings of the Śuddhicintāmaṇi, he criticises the author on two occasions. In his quotation from the Dvaitanīrṇaya, seven quotations are only refutations. It is only the Tirthacintāmaṇi, that has never been criticised by Raghunandana. He closely follows Vācaspati in the selection of his places of pilgrimages. Vācaspati seems to be guided by the following statement of the Vāyupurāṇa—“Let Vrāṇasī, Prayāga, Puruṣottama, and the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the sea remain for ever. The place on the Phalgu, presided over by Gadādhara, is the best of all the places of pilgrimage.” This aspect has been copiously quoted by both Vācaspati and Raghunandana and there is a close correspondence of the respective works of both the authors. Raghunandana has also criticised the views of Vardhamāna. Though he has quoted from the several works of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, yet it is rather unfortunate that none of these quoted works has so far come to light. It is with Vācaspati and Vardhamāna that the Bengal Nibandhakāra comes into conflict.

In our discussion on the food and drink, we have already referred to this aspect of the question and hence we shall take into consideration, here, some important prescriptions of the digest writers of Mithilā. Kane has Food prohibition and discussed this aspect with his characteristic the Nibandhakāras thoroughness in his monumental work.65 Those prescriptions are hardly observed now. Hemādri has rightly observed that if all the prohibitions have to be observed in the matters of daily offerings to the ancestors, Brāhmaṇas would have perforce to go hungry.66

65. op. cit. II—Part II. 771-791. —; Supra.
66. JASB (Letters) XXII. 168—प्रतिदिन श्व कूष्माण्डविद्यमनवेष्टनागर्ग-रचना-निप्पादनस्याश्चायक्ष्यात।
17 MV.
Caṇḍeśvara and others have prescribed rules regarding the prohibition of food. The prohibitions have been classified as under 67—

(i) *Ucchiṣṭāṇana*—levings specially of animals, outcastes and women.

(ii) *Aśucisāṁsprṣṭāṇana*—food touched by unclean animals and outcastes.

(iii) *Aśucidravyasāṁsprṣṭāṇana*—food contaminated by unclean things.

(iv) *Bhāvaduṣṭa*—food revolting to sight.

(v) *Kāladauṣṭa*—Stale food and food which may not be taken in particular months, days, or hours. We have given one such instance from the writings of Vācaspati Miśra (*Vide—Supra*—food and drink). Raddish is prohibited in the month of Māgha, meat on full and new moon days, curds at night and noon.

(vi) *Parigrahāṇana*—food from persons having specified avocations; e.g. physicians, actors etc.

(vii) *Aśaucaparigrahāṇana*—food from persons ceremonially impure e.g. because of birth and death.

(viii) *Aputrādyāṇana*—food from childless persons—A Brāhmaṇa should also not take food cooked by his own daughter.

(ix) *Hastadāndikriyāduṣṭāṇana*—food given by hand etc., which should be given by a spoon; food at feasts where thieves, outcastes, etc., are invited; food offered at Šrāddhas of non-Brāhmaṇas.

(x) *Svabhāvaduṣṭa*—unclean things.

(xi) *Jātiyuṣṭa*—Articles specially prohibited.

Caṇḍeśvara, on the basis of earlier authorities, has sug-

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gested that one should not eat food touched by particular birds and animals. Food not actually touched but even smelt by dogs and cows is prohibited. While Manu and Viṣṇu prohibit food pecked by birds in general, Caṇḍeśvara seems to explain that only sparrows are meant by the word Patattrin. One would certainly object to food offered by a Leper, and may object to eat Ucchista or leavings. It is interesting to note here that Vidyāpati refers to the custom of eating Ucchista by the ploughmen and Śūdras. According to Caṇḍeśvara, Brāhmaṇas should refuse food not offered with due respect but should take it if it is offered respectfully even by a thief. There is a special prohibition in respect of food offered by persons following certain avocations and belonging to certain subcastes.

The digest writers of Mithilā have also dwelt at length on the various aspects of the Śivadharma, dealing exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Śiva worshippers. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the MSS Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. G. 3852). Caṇḍeśvara in his Kṛtyaratnakara (P. 30) takes it to be a Smṛti work. The MS, in question, consists of twelve chapters—dealing with

(i) Sanatkumāra (son of Brahmā) requests Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma, called Śivadharma, which is eternal,

(ii) Sanatkumāra, then, describes the means of attaining immortality.

(iii) He, then, narrates the origin of the Liṅga.

(iv) Characteristics of the Śiva-bhaktas,

(v) Rendering various kinds of service to Śiva.

(vi) Propitiation of Śiva, Umā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla.

(vii) Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Liṅga on particular days.

(viii) Description of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

68. Līkhaṇaṇa—No. 55.
69. GR—for details; JASB (Letters) XXII. 171.
(ix) Description of the praise of Śivalīṅgavārata.
(x) Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva.
(xi) Śivadharma meant for yielding all ends of life.
(xii) Enumeration of the various duties.

Since the Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices were highly expensive and tiresome and could not be undertaken by people of little resources, the Śivadharma was spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī. Here we have the story of the origin of Liṅga. It is said that once there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding the lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a Jyotirliṅga, the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. When both of them realised that Śiva was the cause of the universe, they began to worship Liṅga. Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Liṅga of stone, Indra’s position was due to his worship of a Liṅga of gems, Dhanada became the lord of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Liṅga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu’s status was due to his worship of a Liṅga of Sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge by worshipping a Liṅga of gold, Arhat became a veritable yogin by worshipping a Liṅga of topazes and so on. A Śiva temple should be constructed, white-washed and repaired annually. It should be besmeared with cow-dung and furnished with pictures painted on walls. There is a mention of Dipamālikā in the month of Kārtika, decorating Liṅga as well as temple with flags and buntings and arranging songs and dances, especially of females before the Liṅga. Wells and tanks should be dug near the temple. In connection with the propitiation, the following deities are described—Ambikā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇi (four faced), Rudraṇi, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavi, Aindrī, Vārāhi, Cāmuṇḍā and various mother goddesses such as Ākāsamaṭarāh; Loka-māṭarāh, Bhūta-māṭarāh, etc., the Gaṇas, living in different directions, Indra living in the city of Amrāvati lying in the east; Agni living in the city of Tejovatti, Śeṣanāga (Ananta) living in the Vaivasvattī Purī; Nīrtī, a Rākṣasa living in the city of Krṣṇā, Varuṇa living in the city of
Suddhavatt, Pavana (wind) living in the city of the Gandhavatt, Kubera residing in the city of Mahodaya; Isāna living in the city of Yaśovatī.  

There is a mention of the car-festival of Śiva. A Kapilā cow is also offered, the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva worship. Then there are enumeration of the gifts of cows, horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, lands etc. Various types of fast are mentioned and the following important Vratas also deserve notice—(i) Naktabhojanavrata, (ii) Uma-Maheśwaravrata, (iii) Krṣṇa-Caturdaśi-vrata, (iv) Śūlādāvanavrata, (v) Gandhavrata, (vi) Śaiva Mahāvrata, (vii) Kailāsavrata and (viii) Śivarathavrata. Then there are enumeration of eight famous places called Rudrakṣetras; eight holy places; eight secret places, eight most secret places and eight places of religious merit. These are the common names known to us from various religious and Tantric texts. Since the Śivadharmā, mentioned by Caṇḍēśvara, is purely a religious

70. Then there is description of various Devīs like Sarasvatī, Śrī, Aparājītī, the planets; the Nakṣatras, mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī, the Rāśis (Zodiacal Signs), the Sages Viz.—Gālava, Gṛgga Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa Vaśiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhrgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgirasa, Vālmīki, Kaśyapa, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya Punarvasu, Śūlaṅkīyana; then the wives of Sages, Daitya kings; the Nāgas and then we have a list of rivers—Viz.—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gati, Kāveri, Varna, Devikā, Candrabhandā, Godāvati, Sarayu, Gaṇḍakī, Kaśyapa, Nīrājana, Sopā, Mandra, etc; the Yakṣas—Viz.—Vaśravana, Maniḥbhadra, Savirāma, Paṇcika, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dṛftarāśtra, Virūpaccha, and then follows a list of mountains, Deihās, and oceans etc. They fairly correspond to the description given by Jyotirīvāra in the VR—Rudra, Brahma and Viṣṇu are regarding as the three Mātrās of Śiva.

71. The account is based on an article by R. C. Hazra in the JGRI—X, 1 ff.—Cf. Vidyāpatī, Līkhanāsati—where he refers to Mahādevāgāra.
manual for the guidance of Śiva worshippers, it has been rightly described as a Dharmaśāstra. It inculcates the worship of Rudraśiva, lays stress on Bhakti, Yoga and Jñāna. It advocates the maintenance of fire by Śiva-worshippers for the performance of Vedic rites. It is remarkable that Śiva is not called "Paśupati" anywhere in the whole work, nor is there any mention of the study of the Śatarudriya section of the Yajurveda or Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad by the Śiva worshippers. The word "Vāmācāra" is used twice with respect to Śiva.

It may be noted here that during the period under review 'Śivadharma' was a well known work and regarded as the most authoritative book on the subject. The digest writers of Mithilā has extensively quoted from this particular work. Besides Caṇḍeśwara, Vācaspati Miśra in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, Rudradhara in his Varṣākṛtya and Vidyāpati in his Gaṅgāvākyāvali have extensively quoted from this work. In the Calcutta Sanskrit College MSS of the Gaṅgāvākyāvali of Vidyāpati, there are two quotations from the Śivadharma on folios 25A and 27A; where as on P. 151 of the Varṣākṛtya of Rudradhara, there are two verses from the Śivadharma. The verses ascribed to Śivadharma in the folios 25b, 47a, and 47b of the Gaṅgāvākyāvali are that found in the ASB MSS referred to above. Vidyāpati also wrote a book on the Śiva worship viz. Śalvasarvasvasāra. The quotation in P. 46 of the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is also not found in the ASB MSS of Śivadharma.

II

Philosophy and Navyanyāya

Mithilā has been rightly called the homeland of philosophy and Nyāya since time immemorial. In Mithilā, religion and philosophy have been inseparable and in the days of the Upaniṣads, Mithilā was at the apex of her philosophical glory. The Upaniṣadas lay stress upon the fact that knowledge is the real means of salvation. Vedānta marked the highest consummation of the Brāhmanical religion. The whole universe has been viewed as one and the philosophers have interpreted it in
their own way. The message of the Upaniṣads is crystal clear, but the great Maithila philosopher, Yājñavalkya, in his famous dialogues with Maitreyī and Gārgī, has given birth to a critical analysis of knowledge. The unknowable self has been made more and more complex. The seed of philosophical learning was, thus, sown by Yājñavalkya and was carried further by a host of other scholars, viz., Gārgī, Maitreyī, Janaka Vaideha, Ajātaśatru, Gotama, Kapila (father of all psychologists, according to Vivekananda), Vibhānḍaka, Satānanda, Ṛṣyaśringa and others. It may not be out of place to note here that the important chapters of the Brhadārānyaka Upaniṣad reflected the views of those protestant philosophers who had assembled at the court of King Janaka of Mithilā. Kahola Kausitakeya gives a faithful picture of the time. Janaka was the symbol of Jīvanamukti and has been rightly called a Videha as he cared a fig for material things. He represented the very concept of perfect wisdom and even Sukadeva is said to have approached him for the Brahmajñāna or knowledge of the highest reality. The Devi-bhāgavata testifies to the fact that the family of Janaka was reputed for philosophic wisdom. The Śrīmadbhāgavata exclaims that the Maithilas were adept in the true knowledge of Self. The Maithila philosopher envisaged a synthesis of knowledge (Jñāna) with action (Karma) and household life (Gārhaṣṭrya) with ascetic life (Sanyāsa). This is what was then termed as ‘spirituality in action’ by the philosophers of Mithilā. Yājñavalkya declared—“It is the self for whose sake everything else in the world is dear to all; the self ought to be seen, heard of, contemplated and realised” Emphasis on introspective self-analysis and detachment from worldly objects were the major contributions of Mithilā to the development of the Upaniṣadic thought and culture. Gotama, a resident


73. Brh. Uṣṇ—III. 5, 1; Cf.—II. I. 11.
of Mithilā, (according to the Skandapurāṇa) laid the foundations of Nyāya-Sūtra which constitutes one of the foremost schools of Logic in India.

It is in the field of Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya that the philosophers of Mithilā made some notable contribution. According to Yājñavalkya, Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā stand respectively for reasoning and investigation. The three main props of the Mīmāṃsā school were Prabhākara Miśra (called Guru), Kumārila (known as Bhaṭṭa) and Murāri Miśra (founder of the Miśra-mata). The earliest expositor of the Bhaṭṭamata was Maṇḍana Miśra of Mithilā, who wrote a commentary on Kumārila's Tantravārtika. Kumārila was widely studied in Mithilā. Maṇḍana Miśra wrote Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka, Mīmāṃsānukramāṇi, Brahmāsiddhi (commented upon by Vācaspati Miśra in Brahmātattvasamīkṣa). On the Vidhiviveka, Vācaspati wrote his famous commentary Nyāyakānīka. Sucarita Miśra wrote a commentary on Kumarila's Ślokavārtika and he was followed by Pārthasarathi Miśra. No complete work of Murāri Miśra is known to us and he is known through references in other works. Murāri, \(75\) like Śaṅkara, regards (i) Brahma as the only one absolute reality; but for practical purposes, he admits of diverse objects, qualities, Time-substrata and space substrata; (ii) in the maker of the variety of cognitions, the opinion expressed by Murāri is that cognition is Svataḥ-pramāṇah, its validity not being dependent upon anything extraneous to itself and the very circumstances that bring about the cognition also serve to establish its validity (as pointed out in the Alokā of Pakṣādhara); his view on the point differs from the other two views. According to Murāri, validity of the cognition is apprehended by the Amūyavasāya, Representative cognition, that follows in the wake of every cognition;—‘like the cognition, its validity is apprehended by the mind itself’; \(76\) (iii) in the matter of Error or Bhrūnti, Murāri seems to follow Kumārila; (iv) in regard to causality,

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74. G. N. Jha—Pārṇa Mīmāṃsā—in its Sources—PP. 1-3.
75. Ibid—P. 23 ff.
the cause brings about the effect by virtue of the Śakti (potency) inherent in itself—according to Prabhākara and other Mimāṃsakas; according to the Nyāyaśāstra, the cause must be something that is free from obstacles in the way of the appearance of the effect. According to Murāri, neither potency nor absence of obstacle can bring about the effect; the Effect at a certain point of time is brought about by something which is free from obstacles at that time. Pakṣadhara Miśra in his Aloka 77 has brought out the distinction among the three schools—"The upshot of the whole is that Validity consists in bringing about effective and efficient activity; and this condition is fulfilled under all the three views of the Mimāṃsakas." According to Kumārila, Mimāṃsā has been made almost heretical and it was he who made it orthodox. 78

Kumārila's view on God is remarkable. He denies the beginning of any such convention relating to the relation of word and meaning. He does not admit of any "beginning of creation." The idea that "God created the world and also the Veda" can not be proved; it is as impossible to prove

77. Cf. Benares Sanskrit College Palm Leaf MSS—Folio 15A-15B. quoted in Jha—op. cit. 24-(i) गुरवन्य स्वत्वाकाशादिना (i.e. according to Parbhākara—Cognition is self—illumined—self apprehended) (ii) मुदराधिक्येऽस्यवसायादिना (it is apprehended by the subsequent anavayaanātya—representative cognition) (iii) महाने शातां विभक्तान्विनित्यादिना याब्धान्यान्याग्राकावम्भी—(under the Bhāṭṭa View, the validity of the cognition is apprehended though inference—and Presumption—based upon the fact of cognition itself being apprehended).

78. Cf. Ślokavārtika—Verse 10.; Cf. Satkari Mukherjee—The Jain Philosophy of Non—Absolutism (Calcutta—1944)—P. 193. "The affinity of Mimamsist logic and ontology with the Jain theory are too pronounced to be ignored. The Mimamsists believe with the dual nature of reals, constituted by being and non—being as elements, and is thus at one with the Jainas. The synthesis of three with one constitutes an endorsement of the Jain logical standpoint". Cf. Ślokavārtika—Verse 10.
as the existence of the Omniscient Person (God) Himself. 79 God, as world-creator, is denied by Kumārila, 80 who seeks to establish the reality of the external world. 81 According to Murāri Miśra, the Smṛti, contrary to Śruti, is to be rejected. Here Murāri is in agreement with Prabhākara and not with Kumārila. 82 While the Prabhākara school left no place for God, Kumārila, to a great extent, restored the position of God. 83 It may be borne in mind, here, that the Mīmāṁsā philosophy aimed at the rationalisation of the rituals. There is no doubt that as a Mīmāṁsaka, Kumārila’s position is unchallenged. In his Ślokavārtika, he refutes the Buddhist view on almost all the philosophical topics. He suggests that Mokṣa is possible through the absence of the cause of bondage, which is brought about by the exhaustions of the past actions. It is this negative character which is the cause of the eternity of Mokṣa. He says that no negation can ever be the effect of any action, hence Mokṣa which is of the nature of negation can never be the result of Jñāna. Those who have realised the true nature of the self, all their past actions having been exhausted by experience, and there being no subsequent residue of action, there is no more production of any organic body. That is what is required for Mokṣa. 84 Regarding the Ātman, he is of opinion that it is self-illumined. Kāla is one, eternal and all-pervasive. 85 In his Tantravārtika, he has shown his mastery over the other schools of thought as well. Here he points out that the Mīmāṁsā is based upon the Vedas, upon ordinary experiences and also upon direct Perception and Inference based upon these. 86 He believes in the creation

79. Jha—op. cit.—47.
80. Ibid—51.
81. Ibid—59.
82. Ibid—222.
84. Ślokavārtika (Benares edition)—PP. 670–71.
85. Ibid—P. 806.
86. Tantravārtika (Benares edition)—P. 80.
and dissolution of the universe. 87 Like the Vedas, Ākāśa, Dīk, Kāla and Paramāṇu are all eternal. 88 In these two Vārtikas, he has shown enough originality of thought and interpretation and has finally thrown aside all the objections of the Buddhists. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila became so very prominent that they pushed the names of Jaimini and Śabara into the background. They became the founders of the two different schools of Pūrva-Mimāṃsā.

Maṇḍana Miśra 89 of Mithilā was an eminent scholar of Pūrva-Mimāṃsā. He belonged to the Bhaṭṭa school and was also recognised as a profound scholar of the Advaita school of Vedānta. In his Vidhiviveka, he refutes the standpoint of both Bhaṭṭa and Guru. In his Bhāvanāviveka, he discusses the topic of Bhāvanā which is so very important in Mimāṃsa. Another great Mimāṃsaka of Mithilā was Vācaspati Miśra I, a versatile scholar and matchless genius. He wrote on almost every school of thought. He was an inhabitant of Mithilā. 90 Ratnakīrti, a Buddhist logician, refers to the views of Vācaspati. 91 He wrote a commentary on the Vidhiviveka of Maṇḍana entitled Nyāyakāṇḍa. On almost all the systems of philosophy, he has given his own independent views and has been rightly called as Sarvatantrasvatantra and Dvādaśadarśanāṭikākāra. He gives seven reasons in support of Satkāravyāda. Such philosophical topics like the asatkāravyāda, Khyāti, Tamasa, and

87. Ibid.—P. 28; His acquaintance with the non-Indian language is evident if we cast a glance on P. 65.

The Tāntravārtika throws a flood of light on the contemporary social history—PP. 123, 183.

88. Ibid.—P. 236.

89. Cf. Kane—op. cit. I. 252–64;—His equation with Sureśvarācārya is doubted by many. Vidyāraṇya in his Saṅkaradīgījaya (VIII. 111) has identified Umbeka with Maṇḍana Miśra.

90. He mentions a king named Nṛga (end of Bhaṭmata); Ādiṣṭra in Nyāyakāṇḍa. Both those rulers are yet to be identified.

91. Kṣanabhangaśiddhi, P. 58.
the validity of the dream cognition etc. have received due consideration at his hand. We shall revert to his views later on. Another great Maithila Mimāṁsaka was Pārthasārathi Miśra. He was a follower of Kumārila Pārthasarathi Miśra but equally versed in both the Schools. His Śāstradīpikā is an important work on Mimāṁsā and it is, in many respects, without any parallel in the field. In his Nyāyaratnamālā, he has removed all possible misunderstandings against the theory of the self-validity of knowledge. He had profusely quoted from Maṇḍana Miśra in support of his own statement. He believes in four kinds of contact—viz—Samyoga, Samyuktasamavāya, Samyuktasamavetasa, and Samavāya. He also believes in the eternal contact. Manas can not come into contact with things outside the organism. His Śāstradīpikā elucidates the views of Kumārila on Mimāṁsā. His important views may be categorised as under—

(i) four external sense organs—ghṛṇa, rasana, caṭsuṣ and tvac are products of the ultimate particles of earth, water, tejās and vāyu respectively; the auditory-organ is Dik.

(ii) Manas is not self-dependent in cognising the external objects.

(iii) believes in determinate and indeterminate knowledge.

(iv) Syllogism consists of three factors alone—

(v) Sābda—is Pauruṣeya (Āptavyā) and Apauruṣeya (Vedavāyka). Both are valid-self valid.

(vi) Cognition is inferential—

(vii) He does not recognise the views of the Nyāya-Vaiśēṣikas that the qualities present in a cause produce the qualities in the effect, for, he believes that the quality present

92. author of Śāstradīpikā.

93. स्पष्टान्वितस्वामिधित्वायह्यवाक्यसे हृतत—Cf. Nyāyaratnamālā—PP. 59, 144, 148 etc. Cf. La Tétovaimi De Vācaspatimisra by M. Biardeau (Pondicherry—1956), It Irrelates to the study of the theory of word and hearing consisting of a refutation of doctrine of Sphoṭa. This edition has made Vācaspati’s very recondite thought more intelligible to the reader.
in the effect is not at all different from the same quality present in its cause.

(viii) The world is not merely illusory.

(ix) The Ātman is not self-luminous, for if it were so, then the self-luminosity would have been manifest even in the state of sound sleep, which is not the fact.

(x) Mokṣa has been defined as the destruction of the contact of the Ātman with the world existing in the form of a physical organism, sense organs and the objects of Bhoga. As there is destruction of pain in it, it is also regarded as Puruṣārtha. During the state of final emancipation, the Ātman is not associated with the Manas.

(xi) Kāla (Time) is not cognised by any of the external sense organs independently, but only as an attribute of the sense objects in course of the cognition of the objects through the various sense-organs. 94

Candra 95 was a follower of the Prabhākara School. He is spoken of as Gurumatācāryāḥ. He has made original contribution. The most important contribution ever made, by any Maithila scholar, to the Mīmāṃsā thought, was of Murāri Miśra. 96 He held independent views on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and they are so original that he came to be regarded as the founder of the third school specially with reference to the validity of knowledge. The Mīmāṃsakas, in general, support the theory of the self-validity of the knowledge (Svatahpramāṇavyāvāda) while the Naiyāyikas support Paratahpramāṇavyāvāda. While Prabhākara is a strong supporter of Svatahpramāṇya, Kumārila differs from him in cer-

94. Śāstradīpika—PP. 36, 56–57, 64, 72, 80, 100, 103, 107, 124, 128–29, 130, 139 etc.

95. Vide Mn, Umesh Miśra’s article in the G. N. Jha Commemoration Volume.

96. मुरारेश्वरस्तुतिये: पन्नया:—has become a proverb in Sanskrit.
tain respects, Murāri is different from the both since he was greatly influenced by the Nyāya system. 97 His views are also known as Miśramata. Like Śaṅkara, Murāri regards Brahma as the only one absolute reality. He opines that cognition is Svatah-prāmāṇya. 98

Mimāṃsā was seriously studied in Mithilā and as late as the age of Vidyāpati, its study appears to have been very popular. In the age of Vidyāpati, the study of Pūrva-Mimāṃsā reached its zenith and we learn that during the rule of Rāni Viśvāsa Devī, there was a big gathering of Pāṇḍitas in the Cātuṣ-caraṇa Yajña of tank where about fourteen hundred Mimāṃs-akas alone were invited. 99 The influence of Mimāṃsā on the life and culture of the people of Mithilā is immense. The special field covered by the Pūrva-Mimāṃsā is an enquiry into the nature of Dharma and the topics, directly or indirectly, connected with it. The Mimāṃsā-Sūtra has evolved a set of principles. Since this branch of study had to deal with a large number of original texts, its range of study, therefore, extended from the Vedas down to the most recent Smṛti compilations. 100 With a view to protecting the ideals of the Varṇāśrama-dharma, the Maithilas began the production of a vast literature on Nyāya, Pūrva-Mimāṃsā and Dharmāśāstra. Vacaspati, the Digest writer, was a great Karma-Mimāṃs-aka. 101

97. Cf. Umesh Miśra’s article in the Proceedings of the Lahore Session of the All India Oriental Congress.
98. G. N. Jha— ap. cit.—23.
99. Umesh Miśra holds that a list of these Mīmāṃsakas has been unearthed.
100. Influence of Pūrva-Mimāṃsā upon several branches of literature has been collected by Colonel Jacob in his famous book—Handful of Popular Maxim.
**Navya-Nyāya:**

Mithilā has made the most notable contribution to the history of Indian thought in so far as this particular system is concerned. In the words of D. C. Bhattacharya—“Her (Mithilā's) literary history has no parallel for its antiquity, diversity and continuity. . . . Mithilā has shed lustre right from the Vedic times in all phases of human knowledge.”

Udayanācārya was the first great founder of the Navya-Nyāya system in Mithilā. His *Kusumānjali* is the most authoritative work on the subject. His other famous works are:

(i) *Lakṣanāvali* (a manual of Vaiśeṣika) (Published 1897).
(iii) *Ātmatattvaviveka* Published.
(iv) *Nyāyakusumānjali* Published.
(vi) *Nibandha* or *Nyāya-Voītika-tūtparyasudhī* (published).
(vii) *Kirṇāvali* (published).

He is said to have belonged to Mithilā. He was the greatest critic of the Buddhist philosophers of the time. The greatest target of his attack was Jñānaśrīmitra, a pillar of the Vikramaśilā University. He also refuted the views of another Buddhist scholar, Ratnakīrti.

102. Cf. *JASB* (N. S.)—XI. 259-292; Saraswati Bhavan Studies.
104. ST—P. 174. fn. 2—Village *Kariyān*—Some excavation were carried over there but nothing fruitful came out; Cf. D. C. Bhattacharya—op. cit. P. 5-6.

Vācaspati was one of the masterminds Mithilā ever produced. All his works raise him to a position of supreme authority in all the five systems of Indian philosophy. *Valśeśika* was ignored by him. He aligns himself to the school of Maṇḍana both in *Mimāṃsā* and *Vedānta*. Vācaspati believes that Maṇḍana was refuting the views of Buddhist philosopher, Dharmottara, in the original passage of the *Vidhīviveka*. Jñānaśrīmitra refers to the views of Vācaspati.

It is only in the method and mode of expression that Gaṅgeśa excelled over Udayana, whose prominent theistic background had to give place to subtleties of argument in course of time. The *Iśwaravāda* portion of Gaṅgeśa failed to oust *Kusumāṇḍali* and the *Upamāna* part of Gaṅgeśa practically became extinct as no scholar ever commented on it. Gaṅgeśa can never be separated from the moorings of Navyanyāya which were first laid down by Udayana. The Navyanyāya concerned itself more and more with the method of grappling with the problem and an agreeable approach to the opponent’s views is in evidence in the times of Vācaspati. Vācaspati, Udayana and Gaṅgeśa formed the earliest trio of the Navyanyāya system.

Śrīvallabha Śrīvallabhācārya of Mithilā was a link between Udayana and Gaṅgeśa and his *Līlāvati* attracted the best intellects of the land. After him came Śivāditya Miśra, author of *Lakṣaṇamālā*. Then comes Keśava Miśra Keśava Miśra whose *Tarkabhāṣā* is divided into two broad divisions—*Pramāṇa* and *Prameya*.

105. Cf. PP—edited by Chandra Jha—Wherein eight places are associated with this versatile genius;

बरसम वरदा बसनढी बेड़हट खो वरगाम वः
बक्षिया बिड़िसन बपनढा शी वाचसपति धाम॥

106. We have seen above that he mentions *Nṛga* and *Ādīhuras* as his patrons. Cf. Stecherbasky—*Buddhists Logic*—I. P. 476; II. 405 ff.
After him comes Candra who held independent views about categories, eleven in number. He was the inspirer of Gaṅgeśa. Then followed Divākara Upādhyāya, also known as Udyotakara. In so far as the style is concerned, Vardhamāna seems to have been largely indebted to this scholar. Divākara commented upon Udayana's Kusumāṅjali. After him came Prabhākara Upādhyāya who commented upon Udayana's Pariśuddhi and on the Lilāvati of Śrīvallabha. Other pre-Gaṅgeśa writers included Taranī Miśra (author of Ratnakośa);

Sonadaṇḍopādhyāya (proponent of an exceptional kind of negation "whose counter positive-ness is determined by an essence pertaining to a different substratum"), Manikanṭha Miśra (author of Nyāyaratna), Śaśadharācārya (author of Nyāyasidhāntadi), well known for his intricate style of reasoning and an invincible dialectician; Murāri Miśra (Supra) and Harinātha Upādhyāya.

In the whole history of the philosophical literature of India, Gaṅgeśa stands out as a unique figure through whose personality the genius of Mithilā is reflected.

Gaṅgeśa His Tattvacintāmaṇi (abbreviated TC) constitutes the bed rock of Indian dialectics and he has been rightly described as the "presiding professor of philosophical conclusions" (Siddhāntadīkṣāguru). The TC is an important landmark in the realm of thought. It exerted a strong influence on the minds of subsequent thinkers. He diverted the current of Nyāya philosophy into a fresh channel. Emphasis was shifted from Padārtha-Vivecana (Ontology) to Pramāṇa-Vivecana. The four pramāṇas viz.—Pratyakṣa, Anumāṇa, Upamāṇa and Šābda were made the subject of a thorough going scrutiny. The nature of Vyāpti, the relation of universal concomitance between the middle and major terms, which is the basis of all inference, was

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18 M. V.
subjected to most critical examination. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Gaṅgeśa discussed the problems of induction theardbare in the minuti detail long before it engaged the attention of western logicians. D. C. Bhattacharya has rightly observed—“This well-knit marshalling of all relevant dissertations (Vādas) into a single comprehensive treatise took the learned world by storm”—(op. cit. p. 96). Gaṅgeśa confined his studies to the Nyāya.

He claims in his TC that he wrote it for dispelling the terrible darkness of heretics and for the decoration of scholars. In dealing with perception, he thoroughly examines in all its aspects. Vācaspati, the famous author of Bhāmati, tends to interpret the vague statement of Śaṅkara to be in favour of the view of the Smṛtis that Manas is an Indriya. The more popular and general view, that Pratyakṣa should be defined as knowledge derived from the contact of sense with an object, is a generic name for perceptual knowledge and perceptual error. This view is considered unsatisfactory by Gaṅgeśa, Advaitins and the Prabhākara school. The objections raised by Gaṅgeśa and the solution offered may be summed up as follows—the definition of pratyakṣa as knowledge obtained directly through the contact of a sense with an object is too wide, because this definition would apply even to the cases of inference and memory. For, in inference also we have the contact between the mind (internal sense) and the subject of the inference (which here is the object). Similarly in memory also, there is a contact between the mind and the object remembered. Perception is to be determined by reference to sense, and sense again to be determined as the cause of perception. To avoid this circle, Gaṅgeśa, in his TC, has defined perception as—(i) Perception as immediate knowledge; (ii) negatively as knowledge that is not derived through the active agency of other knowledge. Gaṅgeśa attempted to remove the doubt as to when the mind is to be regarded as an Indriya and when it is not to be so regarded. He revised the old definition of perception and observed—“Perception is knowledge that is not derived through the instrumentality of other knowledge.” He makes
Indriya independent of perception and makes it to be the medium of contact between the mind and an object when that contact is the cause of knowledge other than memory. Nirvikalpa or the indeterminate perception, according to Gângesa, can neither be true nor false since it does not possess any practical-value. 108

The TC is a systematic account of epistemology, logic and the philosophy of grammar. Proofs of God are treated incidentally. 109 His originality lay in his method of the treatment of his subject, that is, he accepts many tenets of the Vaiśeṣika school and instead of the sixteen subjects of the old Nyāya, he arranges his own scheme under four headings (Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna and Śabda) and calls it new Nyāya. 110 It may be borne in mind here that the syncretism with the Vaiśeṣika was begun by Udayana and Bhāsarvajña had reduced the sixteen padārthas to three. 111 The Nâyânyâya recognises four types of valid knowledge and each of these is distinguished by pramāṇa, pratyakṣa-karaṇa, anumāṇa and śabda. The neo-logicians of Mithilâ emphasised the importance of the inferential process. Knowledge was considered to be a quality, not a substance, for it inheres in the soul. H. D. Inglass, 112 while interpreting Anumāṇa, observes—“Inference is a knowledge born of a (former) knowledge of the nature of a minor term such as is qualified by a pervasion; the instrumental cause of this is anumāṇa, and this is the considering of the middle term, not the considered middle term.”

The Nâya-Nyāya specifies its terms and relations largely by four means—Viśeṣa (qualifiers), dharma (abstract properties) Nirūpaka or Nirūpita (describer-described pairs)

109. HOS—XL—p. 5.
110. TC—IV—p. 699, line 1.
111. Keith—op. cit.—PP. 30-31.
112. HOS—op. cit.—p. 32.
and avacchedaka (limitors). These thinkers assign every entity to one or other of the seven categories—

(i) Dravya (substance)—nine traditional substances are—
earth, water, tejas (heat, light, fire), wind, akāśa (kha, vyoman, gagana)—representing both ether and sky,—time, dikṣ (space, direction), ātman (self or soul) and mind

(ii) Guṇa (quality)—twenty four traditional qualities are mentioned—qualities like rūpa (colour or form) taste, scent etc. are inherent in material substances. Qualities like pleasure, pain, knowledge etc. are inherent in the soul

(iii) Kriyā (Action)—are divided into five types

(iv) Jāti (Generic character)—characteristic by which the genus is recognised in the individual

(v) Viśeṣa (ultimate difference)—residing in an atom, in virtue of which that atom is different from other atoms.

(vi) Samavāya (inherence)—is that in virtue of which substance are related to their parts

(vii) Abhāva (absence)\(^{113}\)

Gaṅgeśa made a valuable contribution to the theory of knowledge. Since all objects are knowable, our knowledge of these objects is of two kinds—Nirvikalpa (indeterminate) and Savikalpa (determinate knowledge). A determinate knowledge is a knowledge the object of which is distinguished from other things. It is, therefore, defined as knowledge penetrating the relation between Viśeṣya and Viśeṣaṇa. The Nāyāṇāya system built up a complete system of epistemology and logic. Here the cultural outlook is dominated by an intense desire to synthensise all the departments of knowledge in a scheme of progressive realisation of life’s end and culminating in final emancipation conceived of as sumnum bonum. Gaṅgeśa utilised all constructive, expository, critical, polemical material of his predecessors and gave the final shape and turn to the logic and metaphysics of Nyāya. He replaced the old method by shifting emphasis from categoristic treatment to epistemological treatment and

\(^{113}\) Ibid.—PP. 36–38.
thereby turned the Nyāyaśāstra (hitherto a mere padarthaśāstra) into a full-fledged Pramāṇaśāstra. Herein lay the epoch-making character of his TC. He aimed at precision of expression and did it through several thought measuring devices—e.g. avacchedaka (the delimiter), avacchedeya (the delimited), Nirūpaka (co-forming), Nirūpya (co-formed) anuyogin (containing correlate) and pratiyogin (counter correlate). Needless to say that all Indian dialectician were influenced by him. The whole dialectical literature had its root stuck deep and its huge trunk fully developed in Mithilā in the TC and like a vast banyan tree it had its immense branches and foliage stretched out and ranified.

The most outstanding contribution of Gaṅgeśa is his dissertation on the problem of truth and validity of knowledge. Criticising the Mimāṃsa theory of self-validity of knowledge, he established the nyāya position of the correspondence theory of truth and ascertainment of truth by verifications. The truth is defined and the problem is then bifurcated into upatti (origin and source of validity) and Jñapati (ascertainment of the same). According to the Mimāṃsa school, knowledge and validity are two necessary correlates and have their origin in self-identical conditions. According to Prabhākara, knowledge is self-revealing. To Kumārila, knowledge is imperceptible and hence its ascertainment is to be made by discovery, inference and validity. According to Murāri Miśra, knowledge is to be revealed by introspection. Gaṅgeśa criticised those three positions as absolutely untenable on the


Re: Gokulanātha (a Maithila dramatist & Philosopher), he observes on P. XXIII—"Gokulanātha in his philosophical drama Amṛtodaya suggests that Ānviktikī is the empress ruling over the empire of knowledge and emancipation" Cf. R. K. Choudhary Sanskrit Drama in Mithila—in the JbRS of 1957. —Cf. Cowell—Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgraha—P. 165—Pakṣilaśāstrī says—“Ānviktikī (the science of reasoning) is divided into different categories, proofs etc. and the lamp of all sciences, the means for aiding all actions.........” Cf. S. N. Dāsguptā—A History of Indian Philosophy (five volumes ).
ground of contradiction of experience. He has shown ingenuity in his chapter on Anumāna (Inference). Inference is defined to be the judgement produced by the knowledge of minor premise,\textsuperscript{115} qualified by the knowledge of major premise. The neo-logicians had their contributions to the study of the linguistisic problem. The TC deals with it. Śabda-prāmāṇya-avāda proves the validity of verbal testimony as an independent organ of cognition. Then follow the dissertation on Ākāṅka (expectancy), Yogayata (competency), āsatt (contiguity) and tātparya (word-import) which are indispensable conditions to produce verbal judgement. The Śabdānityatavāda deals with non-eternity of sound. Grammatical problems like Samāsa, ākhyāta, Dhātu and upasarga have also been dealt with by Gaṅgeśa. Gaṅgeśa succeeds in establishing the validity of the four types of cognitive knowledge after refuting the validity of aitihya (tradition), Janaśruti (rumour), arthāpatti (implication) and anupalabdhi (non-apprehension). Gaṅgeśa gave Nyāya the clarity of thought and accuracy of expression and his magnum opus, the TC, is an example of his admirable capacity of marshalling the arguments with an accuracy and ingenuity. The neo-logic, established by Gaṅgeśa held the field for over two hundred years in Mithilā and Bengal, crossed the boundaries of India and there is a reference to the existence of a manuscript on neo-logic in Burma.\textsuperscript{116} The literature on Nāvyānīya assumed gigantic proportions and it has been rightly called a “world’s wonder in the field of intellectual feats.\textsuperscript{117}

Gaṅgeśa’s son, Vardhamāna, was a great logician. He wrote more than ten works, mostly commentaries on the existing works. He quotes his father’s views in a number of places. His main contribution lay in the fact that he tried to bridge the gulf between the two schools of orthodox logic—old and


\textsuperscript{116} India office Catalogue—Vol. II—P. 576.

\textsuperscript{117} D. C. Bhattacharya—op. eis.—P. 108.

To Keith—“it is only a vast mass of perverted ingenuity”

Keith—op. eis.—P. 35.
new. According to Udayana, philosophical speculation is a kind of worship and the predominance of the devotional attitude in subsequent Nyāya literature is due to the influence of Udayana. Vardhamāna took great pains to reconcile this statement of Udayana with orthodox Nyāya-position that salvation is achieved by an unerring realisation of the true nature of the self. He succeeds by making the knowledge of God contributory to self-realisation.

He was a critic of Gaṅgeśa’s theory. After him we come across Gaṅgāditya who is said to have commented on Gaṅgeśa’s works. Another logician, Nyāya-locanakāra, criticised Gaṅgeśa and tried to find fault with him. Vācaspati (II), in his Tattvāloka, has been quoted from Nyāyalocana which contains a refutation of Gaṅgeśa. The most important Naiyāyika after Gaṅgeśa in Mithilā was Pakṣadhara Miśra alias Jayadeva. He, through his immortal work, Āloka, succeeded in establishing a new school (sampradāya) of Navya-Nyāya. Āloka dominated the scene of Nyāya studies in India for centuries since it was considered to be the most important commentary on the work of Gaṅgeśa. He was an invincible dialectician. Besides Āloka, two of his works viz. Dravyaviveka and Nyāyadhviveka (commonly known as viveka) are also known to us. He quotes some of the rare authorities now lost to us—(i) Kandālkāra, (ii) Jagadguru, (iii) Pañcamaṭīkā, (iv) Bhāskara; (v) Līlāvatīprakāśa, (vii) Vilāsa. He is also said to have compiled Līlāvatīviveka. He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati. Raghunātha

118. Cf. F. W. Thomas _Vedas_—P. 273. It is said that in his encounter with Vyṣṇatīrtha of Kāraṇiya, he is said to claim have ed in admiration—“यद्वीति तद्वीति यद्वन्धवीति तद्वन्धवीति ||

पक्षवर्तिप्रतिपक्षी नावेँ निराशितवस्यासिन ||”

Also Cf. पक्षवर्तिप्रतिपक्षी न वक्ष्यये कापि कोकेकिरिमण्。


120. _Ibid._—P. 668. For discussion, Cf. Bhattacharya—op. cit.—P. 119 ff. _JBORS_—XXIV. 166 ff; _PP._ (G)—Introduction—P. XII.; Tale 24.
Siromaṇi of Bengal was the most important pupil of Pakṣadhara. He was not well-received but his thirst for knowledge held him in Mithilā where he attended the Tola of Pakṣadhara. According to the lists of succession of the Navya-Naiyāyikas, Gaṅgesā was followed by Vardhamāna (son)—Maṇimisra, Yajñapati Upādhyaṣya, pupil Pakṣadhara Miśra—pupil Raghunātha, pupil Mathurānātha, pupil Bhavānanda—pupils Jagadīśa and Gadādhara. It is doubtful if the arrangement, suggested here, is totally correct.

Pakṣadhara had a galaxy of distinguished pupils which no other scholar in Mithilā or Bengal could claim. Narhari, Vāsudeva, Śucikara Upādhyaṣya, Rucidatta, and Raghunātha were some of his most notable pupils. His school emerged out of his great conflict with Yajñapati whose supporters were completely vanquished. His influence in Bengal was immense and it may be pointed out here that his Alokā survived as a text book at Nadia for over a century after it had disappeared from Mithilā and all its three parts were commented upon by a seventeenth century Bengali scholar, Gadādhara Bhāṭācārya. Jayadeva’s pupil, Rucidatta, became more popular in south India and a southerner named Annam Bhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Alokā.

Tvanta is a long forgotten Maithila scholar who wrote a commentary on the TC. He is said to have Tvanta Upādhyaṣya preceded Pakṣadhara and Śaṅkara. His commentary on Udayana’s Kusumāṇjali is known as Makaranda.

Śaṅkara is one of the brilliant stars on the firmament of Mithilā’s sky and a name to conjure with. His Vāḍavinoda was published by the late lamented Sir Śaṅkara Miśra Gaṅgānātha Jhā in 1915. He wrote commentaries on all the hard classics of the


Navyanyāya. Since he was influenced by the Prabhākara group, his Maṇi did not find favour with the Gaṅgeśa group of scholars. In his Bhedaprakāśa (published), there is a refutation of Vedāntic monism from the standpoint of the realism of the Nyāya. In his Khandaṇapāṭīka (published), he explains the views of Śrīharṣa from the standpoint of Vedānta and at the same time meets the argument of Śrīharṣa from the standpoint of dualism.

Vācaspati (II) wrote commentaries on the Nyāyasūtras of Gotama known as Tattvāloka. It may be noted here that Tattvāloka (containing references to Vācaspati Miśra (II) various authors) is one of the earliest attempts to explain the Nyāyasūtras in the light of Gaṅgeśa’s epoch-making work. He also wrote a commentary on the Nyāyaratna of Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra and named it as Nyāyaratnaprakāśa. His other important works on Nyāya are—

(i) Pratyakṣanirṇaya—
(ii) Anumānanirṇaya—(Śāstri-Nepal. Cat. I. p. 94)
(iii) Śabdaniṁrṇaya
(iv) Khandaṇanoddhāra—a refutation of Śrīharṣa’s khaṇḍana.

This work displays his dialectical skill and vastness of learning. Both Vācaspati and Śaṅkara were regarded as the greatest opponents of Vedānta. Vācaspati also commented on the TC and also wrote Sahasrādhikaraṇa on the Purva-mimāṃsā rules of interpretation. Though a digest writer of repute, Vācaspati is also one of the few luminaries of the Navyanyāya scholarship.

Yajñapati’s Prabhā, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa’s work, pushed all previous commentaries into background and laid the foundation of the latest phase of the Navyanyāya studies in Mithilā. Gaṅgeśa’s stricture against Udayana was rightly answered by Yajñapati.

123. His first work Maṇimāyukha—in MSS—is now in Jammu—(55 Folios)—Cf. Stein’s Jammu Catalogue—P. 144 No. 1537.
Vaṭeśvara is universally known as Darpanakāra both in Nyāya and Smṛti. He is said to have been Vaṭeśvara Upādhyāya a bold opponent of Gaṅgeśa. He wrote (i) Nyāyanibandhadarpana; and (ii) Nyāya-
litāvadatarpana.

The above survey reveals to us that Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati was at the height of intellectual activity with a country-wide reputation. Scholars from different parts of the country came here to receive training in the neo-logic, started by Gaṅgeśa. His theory engaged the attention of generations of scholars who devoted themselves to an understanding of the system. Around the single work of Gaṅgeśa grew commentaries, sub-commentaries and glosses written by scholars from different parts of the country. Vardhamāna attracted the notice of Mādhavācārya. Vasudeva Miśra's Manī' s (commentary on TC) popularity in intellectual circles has been hardly equalled. With a view to securing the exactitude of expression, the Navyanyāya thinkers gave birth to hair-splitting arguments and the contemporary poets and writers were not absolutely free from this subtle influence. Though the supreme influence of the Nyāya learning began to fade after the sixteenth century A. D., the Maithila scholars tried to keep the lamp burning and the philosophical studies continued, though with less vigour. The tradition of Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya were kept alive by scholars like Maheśa Ṭṭhākura, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, Sacala Upādhyāya and others.

The Naiyāyikas are never tired of reminding themselves of the need for carefully observing and making out the relation of invariable concomitance between particular classes of antecedents and consequents, as also between their negations. Udayana says—"Concerning the truth about the affirmative and the negative concomitance, one should be particularly careful." He based many a theistic argument in his Kusumāṇjali on the moral values. His theistic contribution is of immense importance in demonstrating the extent to which theism may press reason into service where revelation fails. He has been
rightly recognised as the greatest exponent of Nyāya theism. He has advanced eight syllogistic arguments in support of the Nyāya view that the whole creation is made by God, who is Omniscient, Omnipotent and eternal. The infallibility of the Vedas depends on the unfailing validity of knowledge derived from them; that knowledge is always valid on account of the eternal purity of the source from which the Vedas originated and that source is Omniscient God (Kusumānjali—V. 1.). Gaṅgeśa’s son Vardhamāna commented on Udayana. The contributions of the Navya-Nyāya schools of Mithilā and Bengal present a formidable array of facts and arguments which scare away even a bold student. The system had grown in volume as a result of its fight against the rival schools, pre-eminently Buddhists. Gotama’s logic, as developed by Vātsyāyana in his Bhāṣya, was mercilessly criticised by Diṅnāga. Udyotakara, taking advantage of this occasion, wrote Nyāyavārtika, criticised Basubandhu and Diṅnāga and defended the Nyāya position. It was left to the lot of the Maithila Naiyāyikas to contest the Buddhist position, as held later by Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara and others. Vācaspati Miśra replied to the Buddhists and gave voice to a possible objection to the possession of super abundant mercy by God on the score of the presence of undisputed suffering and pain in the created world. The usual explanation of the inequalities in the world order by reference to the unequal values of the past action of individual souls is but a poor defence, in as much as these actions are not self productive of their results and if God abstains from dealing out the fruit of actions, the world order would be destitute of the imperfections and limitations that are unfortunately ruling rampant. With his usual boldness, Vācaspati answers these objections. Although God is all powerful and there is no limit to his mercy, He can not subvert the moral laws which are, by their nature, immutable. There can be no escape from the consequences of moral actions. Suffering is a blessing in disguise. 125 Vācaspati’s school of thought was carried forward by Jayanta-

bhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara and Udayana after whom we do not hear any Buddhists causing trouble to the orthodox system. The result was the precision of definition in which every word was duly measured and had to be defended. Nyāya came to be regarded as a science of definitions.

The above discourse leaves no room for any doubt that Mithilā was the most fertile soil for all types of philosophical speculations and prospects. During the period under review, the Hindu-Muslim fusion seems to be the result of synthesis between their outlook on life. The various manifestations of our spirit in pre-muslim period are tinged with a note of Māyāvāda, which allows little scope for individual development. The philosophy of Māya helps to explain why men suffered the inequalities and indignities of life so patiently. Belief in rebirth is also a direct consequence of this attitude of mind and the theory of rebirth denies progress. Vidyāpati seems to have been a strong believer in fate and in various births of man. He says—"When a matter hath no remedy there be no resort but resignation. Thy days, bought as it were by merit gained in former births, should not be passed without enjoying happiness." According to Vidyāpati, the only real object of life was ultimate salvation. Vidyāpati seems to have been highly influenced by the Upaniṣadic thought. He says—(i) "All means are but paths, and rare on them are travellers. All men know the way, but only he who traveleth thereon reached the blessed goal; (ii) the supreme must be heard, must be comprehended, must be pondered on, and must be made

126. Cf. Rahul Sāṅkṛtyāyana—Puruṣottama Nibadhāvallī—section on Nyāya and also Cf. Darśana Dighdarśana.

127. PP. (G)—Tale 37 Cf. Gītā—पुरुसार्थार्थाय कर्म तदैवमिति कथ्यते।
Cf. MM—No. 15—एकाहि जनम में इच्छाय आन।
No. 733—पूर्वा जनमेः विष्णु विश्वल भरमे।

128. PP. (G)—Tale 42.

129. Ibid.

visible; (iii) He, who is versed in the sound, Bramha reached the supreme spirit." 131 After meditation is born the perception of the Self and that is the means of salvation. 132 The four objects of life, according to our poet, are righteousness, worldly prosperity, sexual love and salvation. 133 He insisted on Karma, fate, salvation, different births and advised people to pin all faith in God for everything.

The Bhakti ideal stresses love and prefers ultimate salvation to immediate salvation. In the Bhāgavata purāṇa, Rantideva says—"I solicit the sorrow of all loving creatures through interpreting into them so that all creatures become free from them." God in Bhāgvatism suffers with all the evils and imperfections of man. Vidyāpati was a fatalist and influenced, to a great extent, by the philosophy of the Bhāgavata purāṇa. The word "fate" has been derived from the latin word "Fatum" meaning that which is decreed. It assigns no place, at all, to the initiative of an individual. The idea of an omnipotent fate overruling all affairs of men is present in various forms in practically all religious systems. It implies complete indifference to material circumstances. Men accept prosperity and misfortune with calmness as the degree of faith. 134 Hinduism believes in the rebirth of the individual. The possibility of the soul's future life and of its rebirth depends on its permanent existence and it is this nature of the individual soul that justifies rebirth and gradual evolution through different births. It can not free itself from the cycle of births and death until it reaches the far off divine goal. 135 The law of karman is the philosophical expression of the belief in an external moral order of the world. It

131. Ibid.—; Cf. PP (Pathak)—शास्त्रशृवणि निष्णात: परं मद्राधविचछलि।
Cf. Maitt. Upn. VI. 22; VI. 34; Brahmanvind Up. 17; I, IV.
132. PP. (G)—Ibid.
133. Ibid.—P. 125.
134. EB (1947—edn.) IX. P. 109; Cf. Radhakrishnan—op. cit.
I. 275—Fatalism is a very old philosophy in India; ERE—VII. 466; Ashutosh Commemoration volume—article on Jainism.
means that all actions produce their proper moral consequences in the life of the individual who acts. A man’s present circumstances of his life are the cumulative effects of all his actions in the past and present life. This belief in fatalism and various births found fullest expression in Vidyapati’s predecessor, Umāpati, the author of the Parijñatahaṛanaṃātaka. The contemporary philosophy did not aim at any clear cut exposition of any fundamental truth but insisted on the maintenance of the old system, as modified by later philosophers to suit the new needs of the time. Vidyapati distinctly says—“the remedy lieth in the hands of fate.”

Every attainment was the result of a good action either in this birth or in former birth. Even getting an accomplished husband was nothing but the result of a good action and vice-versa. What is lotted can not be blotted. This attitude forwards life led to the growth of the philosophy of Pāpa and Puṇya (Evil and Good). Righteous acts help men to cross the hurdles in life. The concept of Pāpa and Puṇya predominates in all births.

137. Parijñatahaṛana—(i) अपन करमसाधन हम उपयोगव, तोहें फिंग तेजध परने (No. 20)
(ii) परम करम मोरवान, सकळ तकर परिनाम (Song No. 30)
(iii) Cf. Song No. 39.
138. PP. (G)—Tale 21.
139. Nashāris and Mahēśāhm’s supply us with the typical examples of poet’s faith in fatalism—(i) पुने सिरे पिया गुणमान; (ii) दुःखते मिला बुधु समाच; (iii) करू होय विचार गेक सादि, भगिः जानमुनान परिपापति; (iv) पुनमन पावेय गुणमान नारि।
140. Rakesh—op. cit. P. 60; Cf. Vidyapati—विधि कररो न सक।
141. MM—No. 123—पुनकळे सबे सबे पाह; also—गहलु मुरब पाप परामव। Cf. PP. (N)—116; PP. (G)—Tale 32; also—अपन करम दोख अपनाहि मुखाई जे जन परबसाहोऽह।
basic philosophy of fatalism which formed the core of his life and thinking. Misery and happiness followed each other by turn. In an age of political disappointment, this was the typical philosophical outlook and taking advantage of the situation, the ruling class thrived on the ignorance of the masses. This outlook of Vidyāpati was the result of his long association with the court life, of which he was an active member. But all these do not go to show that our poet was a cynic. Personally he was a robust optimist and a poet of hope and patience.

The question of liberation or the Mokṣa or Mukti (salvation) has engrossed the minds of Indian philosophers since time immemorial. According to Nyāya, absolution of pain is the true liberation. From the knowledge of the truth, there is the attainment of final bliss. Gaṅgāśa defines salvation as the destruction of suffering, which (destruction) is not concomitant with the antecedent negation of suffering, of which (antecedent negation) the locus is the same (as that of the

142. बिनु दुःख सुख कबीरु नििि िहोि; अििि मििति िििे रििै चैरज िििे सुििनिे पलििि मिि।

143. Infra—see discussion on Vaiṣṇavism. Cf. S. Jha. No. 30 for Patience; No. 64 for the identification of the language of the Vedas with good men.

Also—( i ) मनःिि विभापिि पुिि पहुि आस, जायि रििि देह तिदि सार
   ( ii ) मनःिि विभापिि सुिि हुििि आि आििि नििि अवसान
   ( iii ) सिि भािि भािि बिििि भाििि जािििि करिि चैिज चैिज कािििि
   ( iv ) आििििि दुिििे आििि अवसान, चैिज िहि विभापिि मिि
   ( v ) कििि विभापिि गािोिि रेँ, धििि िहि पिि आिि
   ( vi ) मनःिि विभापिि गािोिि रेँ, चैिज िहि ििििि
   ( vii ) अििि मिििि रििै चैिज िििे सुिििि पलििि मिि—and there are so many examples.

destruction). He equates the destruction of suffering with the destruction of the ultimate suffering. Salvation is the revelation of the eternal bliss. There exists in the state of salvation the pure self which is of the nature of intelligence and bliss. Salvation is the dissolution of the individual self in the Supreme self which is of the nature of bliss. In his PP, Vidyāpati devotes a chapter to the enunciation of the theory of salvation. According to Vidyāpati salvation consisteth in the experience of supreme and never ending bliss. He discusses the different theories of salvation and says—“As the distinguishing mark of salvation is that it is accomplished by means of the knowledge of the truth.” The only real object of life is true salvation. It must be heard from the precepts of the scriptures, it must be comprehended by reasonable proofs and when comprehended, it must be pondered over. For attaining the mokṣa one should concentrate the mind with the aid of eight auxiliaries, viz.—duty, self-restraint posture, suspension of breath, restraint of organs, meditation, abstraction and perfect absorption.

Before closing our discussion on philosophy, it would not be out of place to say a few words about the contribution of the Maithila Naiyāyikas towards the development of the theory of property. It has been held by the latest writer that the best studies of property as a concept have been written by Indians. The logicians were interested in the definition of property. The Maithila Naiyāyika, Gokulanātha, wrote Svātva-vāda.

146. PP. (G)—P. 171 ff. PP. (Pathak)—P. 213 ff.—तत्त्वज्ञानमेव मोक्षसाधनं वदन्ति।
147. Ibid.—P. 173.
148. PP. (Pathak) P. 218—श्रीतन्त्रयो ज्ञातसम्बन्धियो मन्त्रविषयप्रचलितं। मत्तवा च सतते ध्यायमेति दशनं हेतुवः।
149. Ibid.—P. 219—तत्त्वज्ञानसम्बन्धियाः तत्त्वज्ञानसम्बन्धियाः प्रश्नमात्र इत्यतद्धिर्गृह श्रवणमेति: मयं सम्प्रं योगमुप्वेष्योद्वितिमत्तिकाः सोयं विवेष्य।
151. Aufrecht—Cat. I. 749; Cf. Amṛtodaya (a mañaka); HOS—XL, 78–79.
tremly well informed of the sources of law and they commenced a very thorough investigation of the subject. His views make it clear that he is of a different opinion as to the nature of property from that of Anantarāma, the author of Svātta-vicāra. A book named Svātta-rahasya, the authorship of which is not clearly known, is referred to by Gokulanātha in his Nyāya-Siddhānta-tattva-viveka. The logicians defined property or svatva as "the capacity of a thing to be employed at pleasure." Raghunātha Śirōmanī declared Svātva as an additional category. Property, according to some, was real Sāṁskāra, a fixed impression founded upon the knowledge that 'this is mine.' The difference between 'category' and 'impression' in the Svātta-rahasya and in the works of Maithila logician, Gokulanātha, may be said to be a difference between an objective and subjective definition. Pādārtha was the successful identification of property with ownership as a single category. Svātva has been defined as personal property. Cognition of "mineness" and "non-mine-ness" was recognised as an essential feature of property even as early as the days of Medhātithi. The Maithilas never admitted fractional ownership. A lapse of time has been reckoned as a factor extinguishing property. When the land is taken by force in the presence of the owner and twenty years have elapsed without his disputing it, his property is extinguished and this is a case where a lapse of time extinguishes property. It may be commented here that the extinction of property is due to a distinctive enjoyment. The point has been discussed at a great length in Jīmūtavāhana's Vyaḥāra-mātrkā and Vācaspati Miśra's VC. Bhavadeva, as quoted in Vācaspati’s VC (122, 307) leaves the difficulties unsolved when it is said that by dedication of water to all creatures, the aquatic inhabitants do not acquire property in their element. All dedication to the public use must be by way

19 MV.
of renunciation of personal ownership in favour of the enjoy-ment of the class of beneficiaries. The king was under obligation to protect the dedication.

III

Religion

Mithilā was the first tract of land to be aryani-sed in Bihar and that is why she is considered holier than other parts of the state. It was the missionary zeal of Māṭhava Videha that led to the introduction of Vedic religion and culture in Mithilā. The sacrificial aspect of the religion tremendously increased. It has been rightly held that local beliefs were superceded by the monotheistic and monistic tendencies of the early Vedic thought. The priests exploited the religious beliefs and superstitions of the masses. The relics of non-Vedic religion in north Bihar, though few, are important. The legend of the Gajendra-mokṣa at Hariharakṣetra (Sonepur, Chapra) suggests that the place may once have been inhabited by the enemies of Viṣṇu worshippers. Though the precise nature of the pre-vedic religion in Mithilā is not exactly known, the presence of Śiva’s bow in the palace of Mithilā from the time of king Devavrata to Janaka is a factor to be reckoned with. The popularity of Śiva worship in Mithilā, even today, is not quite accidental. All these go to suggest that prior to the introduction of Aryanism in Mithilā, Śiva worship was in vogue here. Gradually the Vedic religion became rigid and the signs of unrest are discernible in the Upaniṣadas. It was left to the lot of Janaka Videha of Mithilā to refuse to submit to the heirarchical pretensions of the Brāhmaṇas. He asserted his right of performing sacrifices without the inter-vention of the priests and he ultimately succeeded. Another pre-vedic element in the religion of Mithilā is the worship of Śālagrama on the bank of the Gaṇḍaka. The worship of funeral mounds pre-supposes ancestor worship. Funeral mounds were not popular with the propounders of the Vedic religion. With the fusion of Aryan and pre-aryan cults,
Chaitya worship was accepted by the Aryans, later on by the Buddhists as well. King Marutta of Mithilā is represented as having built a large number of Chaityas.\textsuperscript{156} Janaka, Yājñavalkya, Gārgī and Maitreyā were some of the important thinkers of the Upaniṣadic age of Mithilā who revolted against the “formalism” and “exclusiveness” of the early Vedic religion.

Both Jainism and Buddhism had close associations with the land of Mithilā.\textsuperscript{157} Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was a native of Kundanapura in Vaiśālī.\textsuperscript{158} His missionary activities were mostly confined to Bihar and the land of Mithilā claimed a major portion of his time. Mahāvīra, a Kṣatriya, was the son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā. His austerities lasted for about twelve years. He continued the propagations of the ideals of Pārśva. Though he organised a Saṅgha, he did not allow monks to live in monasteries. The Jaina religion emphasised forgiveness, softness, straightforwardness, purity, truth, self-control, austerity, renunciation, poverty and Brahmacharyā or celibacy. These constituted the tenfold Dhamma. The Nirgranthas had to take four vows of non-killing, truth, non-stealing, non-possession and Mahāvīra added the fifth one, celibacy. The word ‘Jaina’ is from ‘Jina’ meaning one who has conquered and is free. Their tradition is that this religion is eternal and is revealed in each cycle by a series of teacher known as Tīrthaṅkaras. Even during the time of Hiuentang, Nirgranthas were predominant in Vaiśālī. According to the Jainas, spirit and matter are the two elements in nature and are like the Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya. The seven categories of knowledge, called ‘Tattva’s are Jiva, Ajiva, Āsrava, Bandha, Samvara, Nirjara and Mokṣa. The Jainas developed the system of Syādvāda.

\textsuperscript{156} Cf. my article in the 1st volume of the Buddha Jayanti Number of the JBR\textsuperscript{S} of 1956.

\textsuperscript{157} Cf. Dr. Upendra Thakur’s articles on them in the JBR\textsuperscript{S}.

\textsuperscript{158} Summaries of papers submitted to the Ahmedabad session of the AIOC (1953)—my article on the birthplace of Mahāvīra.
Siddhārtha Gautama was born in Lumbini. He was married to Yaśodharā. He left his home and practised penance. His austerities extended over six years and he attained knowledge at Bodhgayā. He preached his teachings at Sāranātha. He adopted a very tolerant attitude towards other systems. Vaiśālī was one of his main fields of activities. The Saṅgha, organised by the Buddha, was largely democratic in character. The second Buddhist council, held at Vaiśālī, allowed a number of concessions to monks and nuns not permitted in other orders. The Buddha preached the doctrine of Madhyamapratipadā. The following important schools of Buddhism are known—

(i) *The Sarvāstivāda School*—popular in Kashmir and parts of northern India.
(ii) *The Sautrāntika School*—critic of the Sarvāstivāda.
(iii) *The Yogācāra School*—seems to be ancient.
(iv) *The Mādhyamika School*—Nāgarjuna was its exponent.

Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the inhabitants of Mithilā. Vaiśālī was one of the strongest centres of these two faiths. The Buddha was regarded as the chief adviser of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha are the names to conjure with in the history of Mithilā.

During our period, Buddhism had practically disappeared and the hold of Jainism was confined to a very narrow region. As a result of the Maithila logicians' sustained struggle against the Buddhists, Brahmanical thought had come to say and it reigned supreme in Mithilā. It was now not a homogenous sect. At one place Vidyāpati has suggested that though the followers of Buddha, other heretics and the Vedas mutually agree, in the uproar of their wordy wars even clear-headed intellectuals sometime go astray and at times, faith in austerity and

159. For details—Cf. My "Siddhārtha" (Patna-1954); Also my book—"Bihar, the Homeland of Buddhism" (Patna 1956).
righteousness is lost. 161 Śaivism, Śāktism, Vaishnavism and Tantricism, as parts of Hinduism, had become predominant in Mithilā. Viṣṇu and Śiva came to be regarded as two forms of the One Almighty. 162 Vidyāpati believed that in the universe, there is but one Almighty Lord and righteousness consisted in showing reverence to Him, through means of fasting, austerity, worship and the like. 163 Vidyāpati’s own writings show that the people of Mithilā had immense faith in Śiva, Śakti, Gaṅgā and a host of other deities. The Kṛṣṇa cult had also gained a footing, while the worship of Viṣṇu and Bhadrava had acquired importance. A study of contemporary literature and other sources reveals to us the existence of a large number of festivals, the details of which we shall take up soon. These festivals further give us an insight into the general religious belief of the people of Mithilā. Caṇḍeśvara, one of the leading digest writers, has in his Kṛtya-ratnakāra, given us a graphic description of the contemporary festivals.

The people of Mithilā are temperamentally religious and all the twelve months in Mithilā are definitely marked for one or the other types of festivals. We learn from Caṇḍeśvara that this cycle of festival began with the month of Caitra every year. 164 It was held that the creation of this world took place on the first day of the bright half of the Caitra and as such Brahmā, Maheśa and host of other deities were to be worshipped on that day. The Homa or sacrifice marked the beginning of this festival. It may be noted here that the worship of Bhūratavarṣa was one of the redeeming features of the festival and that goes to show that the people of Mithilā also attached due importance to the concept of the fundamental unity of India, even in an age when there was hardly

161. PP (G) P. 126.
162. महार्षि महार्षि महात्मुं कहा, खनन्धि पीतवत्सन खनन्धि बचछन।
163. PP (G) P. 126.
any sign of central authority anywhere in this country. Bhāratavarṣa was considered to be one of the various gods meant for worship on certain dates. Skanda was taken to be the commander of the forces of the Devas on the sixth day of the bright half of Caitra and was worshipped with lamps, clothes, ornaments and live cock etc. According to Cañḍeśvara, cock was meant for play and not for sacrifice. The main purpose behind this worship was to secure immunity from diseases for children. The KR further informs us that the sixth and seventh days were also regarded important for the purposes of Sun-worship. It has to be borne in mind here that Alberuni makes a mention of this function and Cañḍeśvara confirms it. The Brāhmaṇas were treated with sumptuous feasts on those days. On the Caitra Śukla Ekādaśi, the taking of eight buds of Asoka flowers was considered to be endowed with the virtue of freeing one from sorrows. Caitra Śukla Ekādaśi was held in honour of Rukmini. The twelfth day of this week was considered to be sacred as it was known as Madana-dvādaśi, when Kāmadeva was worshipped. The worship continued on the 13th and the 14th day. This function was usually known as Madana or Kōma Mahotsava and was very popular. Cañḍeśara holds that 12th-13th days of this half Caitra were sacred to Hari. There is a difference of opinion regarding the actual date of Holi festival among the Smṛti writers. The spraying of dust or coloured water does not seem to have been prevalent in the days of Cañḍeśvara. On the full moon day, a festival was held in which people decorated

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165. Ibid.—P. 119.
166. Ibid.—P. 121–23.
169. Ibid.—128.
170. Ibid.—135–36; 128.
with clothes and ornaments and took meat and drink etc. The festival was associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. Cāṇḍesvara, further, refers to a festival of the JhallaMallās between the first and the fourth days of the dark Caitra. The followers of the Brāhmanical religion, during this period, made a serpent of grass and tied it to a wood. On the third or the fourth day, it was torn into a number of pieces, kept and worshipped in every house secretly through the year. On the fifth day, a festival connected with the Earth was held. Somehow or other, the function was associated with agriculture. On the fourteenth day of the dark half, Śaṅkara was propitiated. Trees, grazing grounds, roads, terraces, cremation grounds, trunks of trees etc. were worshipped and fish, meat and liquor were extensively used.

According to Cāṇḍesvara, Vaiśākha opened with the worship of Irā. The third day of the bright half was holy to Vāsudeva, when Viṣṇu was to be offered barley, and Śaṅkara, Gaṅgā and Himālaya were to be worshipped. It was on this day that the Akṣayatṛtyā festival was held. The Vaiśākhaśuklasaptāmi was observed for the worship of the river Gaṅgā, Śarkarasaptāmi and the birth of the Buddha. Šarkarasaptāmi was observed in honour of the sun, while on the same day an image of the Buddha was to be made and the temples were to be decorated. The monks were to be honoured and the function continued for three days. On the

175. Ibid—139.
176. Ibid—PP. 532-35.
177. Ibid—533-34.
179. Ibid—150-51.
181. Ibid—159.
182. Ibid—159-60.
Vaiśākhi puṣṭiṇā day, Tila was offered to Vāsudeva, Dharmarāja and the manes. 183

The fourth day of the bright fortnight of this month was celebrated as the birth day of Umā and was celebrated with great pomp and splendour by all sections of women. 184 The eighth day was observed as the birth day of Śuklā Devī, who killed the king of demons. 185 On the tenth day was celebrated the Gaṅgā Daśahārā. 186 Caṇḍesvara places the event of the descent of the Gaṅgā on the Vaiśākha Śuklā Saptami. 187 The twelfth day was celebrated as Matsya-dvādaśi or Rāghavadvādaśi. 188 The Jyeṣṭhapuṣṭiṇā day was celebrated as Vataśāvitrī day, which according to Caṇḍesvara, saved women from widowhood. 189 Caṇḍesvara says that a jar filled with rice, fruits, sugarcane plant was to be provided and a copper plate was to be placed on the jar with the image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī. Food and clothes were to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas. 190

The eighth day of the bright half began with the worship of Gaṇeṣa or Vināyaka. 191 On the Seventh bright day, Sun or Bhāskara was worshipped when people indulged in ceremonial food and drinking. 192 On the 9th day, golden image of Durgā was worshipped and unmarried girls and Brāhmaṇas were offered food. 193 On the occasion of Viṣṇu’s going to bed,

183. Ibid—163-64.
184. Ibid—186.
185. Ibid—190.
187. Ibid—159, also 187-88.
188. Ibid—190-91.
189. Ibid—192-95.
190. Ibid—195.
191. Ibid—198.
192. Ibid—199.
193. Ibid—203-204. This ceremony was also held on the 9th day of Mārgaśīrṣa. Cf. Ibid—445-46.
celebrations were held on the 11th, 12th and 13th day of the month. \(^{194}\) There is a reference to the *Daksñiya\*na festival in this month when the clouds were to be worshipped. \(^{195}\) Ca\'ñ\'e\'s\'vara prescribes restraint of food in all nights of this month. \(^{196}\)

Girls, desirous of good husbands, should worship Vi\'\'\'nu in this month when asterism, Rohi\'\'\' and Sr\'\'\'\'a\'\'a, occurred. \(^{197}\) The twelfth day of the bright half is to be observed as the *Buddhadv\'\'\'ada\'\'i. \(^{196}\) A golden image of Buddha was to be worshipped and then offered to the Br\'\'\'hma\'\'\'as. It was a day of fasting.

On the eighth day of the dark half of this month, fell the birthday of K\'\'\'\'a. \(^{199}\) On the ninth day of the dark half of the Bh\'\'\'dra, the procession of the car of Durg\'\'a started. \(^{200}\) Ca\'ñ\'e\'s\'vara's description of this festival leads us to believe that it was observed solely by the kings and the Br\'\'\'hma\'\'\'as were sumptuously fed on that day. The car was nicely decorated with flags and festoons, clothes, lion's emblem, umbrella, feathers of peacock, bells and other things. Animals were sacrificed. The Vedic Br\'\'\'hma\'\'\'as, then, began the worship and the citizens collected themselves on the eastern gate. Though the *\'\'\'\'dr\'\'as were allowed to worship, they could not get on the car. \(^{201}\) The festival continued till the 14th day. \(^{202}\) The dark half of this month is also called *Pit\'\'\'p\'\'ka\'\'s\'a and a special function was to be held on the *an\'\'\'avasya\'\' day. \(^{203}\)

Ṛṣaṇcami was observed on the 5th day of the bright half. According to Caṇḍeśvara, one should not use oil on the sixth day. He further suggests that sun is to be worshipped on the sixth day. Eighth day is known as Durvāṣṭami when men and women observed fast and worshipped Śaṅkara and Gaṇeśa. There is a reference to the raising of the flagstaff of Indra on the 8th day of the bright half. The system of Indrapūja is yet prevalent in Mithila. On the ninth day, Janārdana, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa and Vanaspati were worshipped with wheat. The twelfth day was known as Vijayadvādaśī and was sacred to Janārdana.

The sixth day of the dark half is associated with the birth day of Skanda. The worship of Vaiṣṇavi took place on the eighth day. Caṇḍeśvara recommends the holding of the car festival of Durgā on the 9th day. It is also known as Navamitrathavrataṃ. The bright half opened with the worship of Sati on the 4th day. Horses and elephants used to be adorned from the fourth to the ninth day. The eighth day was holy to Bhadrakāli, who destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa. Caṇḍeśvara refers to the sacrifices made on that day. Caṇḍeśvara recommends the worship of Durgā from seventh to the tenth day of the bright half and it was.

204. Ibid—272-77
205. Ibid—277.
206. Ibid—278-79.
207. Ibid—283-85.
208. Ibid—285.
209. Ibid—285-86.
211. Ibid—309.
214. Ibid—348.
216. Ibid—350.
on the tenth day that a saturnalian festival was celebrated. The four succeeding days were sacred to Viṣṇu. Caṇḍesvara calls the twelfth day as the Padmanabhāvādaśivara, when the gold image of Padmanāha is to be worshipped. On the fullmoon day, a large number of festivals used to take place. Houses were cleaned and decorated. This is also known as the Kojāgarāpurṇīmad, when people, keeping awake throughout the night, worship Laksñi and Indra. Dice was played on this occasion and even today female folks, specially new married couples indulge in cowrie sports on this occasion. Kojāgarāpurṇīma is observed with equal jest even today. Caṇḍesvara also refers to the Kāntāradīpa on the first and second days following the full moon day. The second day was to be celebrated as Udakaseva Mahotsava or a saturnalia. Caṇḍesvara quotes Devi-Bhāgavata to show that if one does not behave indecently he incurs the wrath of Bhagavati. Āśina is also associated with the harvest festival. Caṇḍesvara prescribes the festival on the second day of the bright half and its continuance for seven days.

The Dipāvalī festival was observed on the amāvasyā day in Kārtika and according to Caṇḍesvara, it was to be observed as Sukhasuptikā. People took part in gambling and the win or loss indicated good or bad fortune for the year.

218. Ibid—373–75.
221. KR—PP. 379–386.
222. Ibid—386–95.
223. Ibid—362.
224. Ibid—303–304.
225. Ibid—334.
226. Ibid—410–11.
227. Ibid—411.
the second day of the bright half, was observed Yamadvitiya. The Devothūna-Ekādašī was a great festival. The fourteenth day or even the full moon day of Kārtika was a day of immense religious significance.

The first day of this month was celebrated with great eclact. Caṇḍesvara refers to the Gaurī worship on the third day of the bright half and to Mitrasaptami (in honour of the Sun) on the seventh day. The eleventh and twelfth days were sacred to the Vāsudeva. Caṇḍesavara also refers to the Himpuja on the 14th or the full moon day.

On the eighth day of the dark Pauṣa, people took vegetables. Caṇḍesvara also refers to the Kārmadvādaśī in the Śuklapakṣa. The eighth day of the bright half was holy to Mahādeva. The Brāhmaṇas were fed and the Pāṣupatas danced along the road, through which the chariot on which Mahādeva was placed, was taken. On the full moon day, Viṣṇu, Purandara, Soma, Brhaspati and others were worshipped.

On the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, meat was offered to the manes. Caṇḍesvara refers to Tiladvādaśī.
on the twelfth day of the dark half. 236 The Rasakalyāṇivrata took place on the third day of the bright half. 240 There is a reference to Varacaturthi and Śrīpañcamī. 241 The seventh day was sacred to the Sun named Puṣṭa. 242 The full moon was a day for offering Tilā to the manes. 243

The birth anniversary of Sītā on the 8th day of the dark half was celebrated and cakes were offered. 244 On the fourteenth day, people fasted on account of the Śivacaturdasaī. 245 This is called Śivaratri, when the people kept awake for the whole night. It was, as it is even today, a popular festival in Mithilā. The 8th-9th days of the bright half were celebrated in commemoration of the creation of the earth by Keśava. 246 Caṇḍesvara refers to Nṛsiṁhadvādaśi. 247 Presents were to be given to the Brāhmaṇas in this month. 248

These are, in brief, the details of the festivals observed in Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati. Caṇḍesvara, quoting from the Brahmapurāṇa, has tried to show the connection of rice with the religious life of the people of Mithilā. 249 The practice of keeping awake at night on the Koṭāgarāpurṇimā day has been described by Caṇḍesvara as a Gauḍa custom. 250 Caṇḍesvara does not speak of the Chaṭha worship, though he refers to the Sun worship on the 6th and 7th day of the

239. Ibid—495–96.
241. Ibid—504. These were holy to Vināyaka.
242. Ibid—509. Cf. 510–11, for the worship of Vārāha on the 11th and 12th day.
244. Ibid—518.
245. Ibid—520–21,—a ling fair in honour of Śiva is held at Singhēsvaramahāna ( Madhipura—Shaharsa ).
248. Ibid—590.
250. Ibid—379.
bright *Caitra*, fifth of *Bhādra*, sixth of *Pauṣa* and seventh of *Māgha Sukla*. Mathematically counted, more than half a year was considered to be sacred. It may be noted here that *Caṇḍeśvara* in his *KR* deals with the theories of religion. On the theory of religion, he handles his subject most eruditely and the phases are discussed here in a new light which does not appear in many of the authoritative compilations of the subject. Most of the *Vratas*, described therein, have now fallen into disuse.

During the period, under review, Hinduism had emerged stronger. Though the concept of Trinity (*Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa*) was still there, *Brahmā* was gradually neglected and there came a gradual harmonisation of *Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism* and *Śaktism*. As is apparent from the *KR*, Buddha was absorbed into the Hindu pantheon. The reason for this new type of trinitarianism in *Mithilā* was her association with the Tantric belief and practices. In the scheme of the religious life of *Mithilā*, there was a multiplicity of gods and goddesses. Besides the above three forces, *Sūrya, Kārtikeya, Balarāma, Aniruddha, Hanumān, Bhairava, Rāma, Krṣṇa, Pradyumna and* others were equally worshipped. The Sun-image or the temple of *Bhavāditya* at Kandāhā (*Saharsa*) is an evidence of the fact that the Sun worship had attained immense importance in the land of *Mithilā*. It stands testified by references in the *KR*. The images of a large

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251. *Ibid*—121, 509. For current festivals also Cf. *Varṣaśṛṣṭi*-I. 151-59; 133; 107; 112 etc.
252. Upto the first 80 pages.
253. Cf. the *BTA*-410—"A marked feature was the relation of religion to the conduct of life and far higher place given to moral qualities in the deity. It gave the message of a Lord of grace; and the worship of the Lord by a loving and devout heart was placed even above *Jñāna* and *Karma*. A more human attitude than before was adopted towards the weak and down-trodden and more prominence was given to the need of holding together by mutual cooperation."
number of gods and goddesses at Bheet Bhagwānpur, Bahera, Birpur, Baraipura, Uchaita, Balrāgjarha, Śrīnagar, Sāran, Vaīśāli, Champāran, and other places go to show that all types of deities were worshipped in Mithilā and on all auspicious days, people congregated at one centre or the other. That is why that even today big fares are current in Mithilā. Śiva worship seems to have found favour with the people of Mithilā since, the pre-vedic days. Mithilā is rich in Śiva temples even today. Vidyāpati has paid great honour to Lord Śiva through his writings. Śiva was considered as the giver of Mokṣa. That, there was a regular system of the worship of Mahādeva and necessary arrangements were to be made for that purpose, is also evident from the Likhnāvalī of Vidyāpati (No. 45). Govinda Ṭhākura and his brother Canḍeśvara are said to have written Govinda Mānasollāsa and Śaiva Mānasollāsa respectively, dealing with the Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa worship. Like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, Śaktism was equally prevalent in Mithilā. Vidyāpati’s copying of Bhāgavata Purāṇa and his lyrical songs attributed to Kṛṣṇa, the obeisance paid to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa by a host of Nībandakāras, lyrical songs of Umāpati and Govindadāsa and Vidyāpati’s overt reference to Kṛṣṇa in almost all his writings go to show that Vaiṣṇavism held sway in Mithilā.

The people of Mithilā, in all walks of life, were equally orthodox as they are today. The sacerdotal influence on all aspects of life was predominant. The very religious outlook of the people can be gleaned through a number of treatises on the religious rites, gifts, rituals for consecration of houses, temples, images etc. and the elaborate philosophical disputations. The Maithilas, as a whole, were the strongest supporters of the Varnāśramadharma. Śīva, Śakti and Viṣṇu were the main inspirers of the people of Mithilā in the realm of religion. It has been pointed out that the three fold marks on the forehead of a Maithila represented the following symbols—the horizontal lines, marked with ashes, represent

254. Mitra—Notices. IV. Nos. 1830-31; 1839, 1841, 1856, 1874 etc. and also Cf. Šāstri—Nepal Catalogue.
devotion to Śiva; the vertical sandal-paste in white represents faith in Viṣṇu and the, vermilion red mark represents veneration for Śakti. 255 Śiva was and is universally worshipped in Mithilā and the popularity of Vidyāpati’s Nācāris and Maheśavānis 256 is an evidence of the fact that Śiva, through his various forms, depicts the life of a common man. Śiva-caturdaśi is celebrated with due serenity and the people of Mithilā still believe that Śiva alone can award Mukti. Śakti worship is equally important and reputed writers like Devāditya, Vardhamāna, Madana Upādhyāya, and others were closely associated with worship of Śakti. The late Mm. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his Kavirahasya (p. 10), has tried to show that the first verse taught to a Maithila child at the beginning of his educational career is in praise of Śakti. 257 The Sābara rites of Maithila women, the non-vegetarian character of the Maithila people, the predominance of Tantric belief in Mithilā, Mārkopaṭa in almost every house and the importance attached to the Gosainīghara—all these point to the great importance of Śakti. 258 This great importance of Śakti was responsible for the growth of Tantric cult in Mithilā (infra). The Kāmadhenutantra and the Varnoddhārantra have referred to the tantric character of the Maithili script (Vide—Śabadakalpadruma—old Bengali edition). Viṣṇu has equally influenced the religious life of Mithilā and the greatest evidence of this fact is that Mithilā has produced a

256. Cf. Blochman’s Aini Akbarn—III. 252. the Bengali metre Lāshāṭi is from the Maithila Naśāṭi.
257. साले मतु सुप्रोता देवी शिक्षरबसिनी।
ढोऱ्य तपस्वायम् बया प्रस्तुतिः पति:॥
For details, Cf. Mithilākā of the Mithilā Miśra for various details about the daily life of the people of Mithilā; Sashinātha Choudhary—Mithilādarśana; Also cf. Cultural Heritage of India (old edition) Vol. II. 291 ff; R. P. Chanda—Indo-Aryan Roots P. 153 fn.
258. Cf. गौरवादिता विषय मैथिलेश प्रकटीहुता।
बचित्र कृष्णमहाराज्ये गुज्जरे प्रखरे गता॥
huge mass of Vaiṣṇava devotional literature. Vidyāpati and his contemporary writers have shown greater respect for Vaiṣṇava cult.

Besides these we have occasional references to a large number of heretical and anti-Brahmanical feelings and faiths, then current in this part of our country. The Buddhists seem to have been finally done away with in Mithilā in the age of Vidyāpati. The first thing, that is to be noted in this connection, is that like other deities Buddha was absorbed in the Hindu pantheon and we have seen above that Cauḍēśvara, in his KR, has specified a day for Buddha's worship. The thirteenth century Tibetan traveller, Dharmāśāmi, has candidly said that in India non-Buddhists were numerous. 259 Buddhists and Hindu Sanyāsin evoked considerable respect in the society. According to the Tibetan traveller, image worship in the Buddhist temples was similar to that in the Hindu shrines. The Mahāyāna Goddess Tārā had acquired immense importance. He also refers to the prevalence of Tantricism in Bihar. 260 According to Dharmāśāmi, the main points of differences between Hinduism and Buddhism were—

(i) Offering of sacrifices involving slaughter of a large number of cattle before the images of Kālī and Mahādeva—sometimes they were even roasted alive. 261

(ii) Hindus were blamed by the Buddhists for inflicting injury on animals.

(iii) Buddhists felt that the Hindus had no proper method of salvation and were grievously wrong in their belief in a real personality or soul.

It may be borne in mind that these bickerings were confined to the theologians. Jyotirīśvara denounces the Buddhists in strong terms. 262 Ordinary people of both the sects seem to have lived in amity or peace and the Hindus offered alms

259. Roerich—op. cit.—P. 87. Bodhgaya was the centre of Hindu-yāna Buddhism; Nalanda of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

260. Ibid.—PP. 48, 56, 87.


262. VR—39—शौद्धप्रक्ष अस्वादां आपातभीषण।

20 M. V.
to the Buddhists. The Tirhut king, Rāmasimha, 263 offered Dharmaśvāmi to become his chaplain but when the latter expressed his inability to do so, the king gave him a number of presents. Whatever might have been the general relation between a Buddhist and a non-Buddhist, the fact remains that in Mithilā, the struggle between the two continued. Jyotirīśvara’s sarcasm stands well attested if we refer to the story of massacre of the Buddhists by Dronwāra Purāditya of Rājā Banauli. 264 The Buddhists failed to cut any ice in Mithilā, during the period under review, though they indirectly helped a lot. Jyotirīśvara refers to a large number of religious mendicants 265 and Kapālikas. 266 The word “Tāpasi,” used by Jyotirīśvara, in the list of Mandajātiyas shows the contempt in which this particular sect was held by the trinitarians of Mithilā. The VR gives an indication of the fact that at that time there were some ascetics in Mithilā who were used to the practice of self-mortification, austerity and self imposed poverty and begging. They seem to have been the remiscient of the past Buddhist and Jain systems.

Only recently Sukumar Sen has brought to light the fact that Manasāpūjā or the snake worship was very common in Mithilā. At least, this was so in the age of Vidyāpati. Earthen images were to be made of all the gods and goddesses and they were to be worshipped. Vidyāpati has given a detailed account of the Manasāpūjā (also called Surāsā). It was observed on such a grand scale as the Durgāpūjā and was popularly known as Viṣaharikāpūjā. 267 Manasāpūjā

263. Roerich—op. cit.—P. 100.


265. VR—Kallola I. तापसित...अभया, बोगी, चतरिया, शुरतरिया etc.

266. Ibid—Kallola, VII.

267. In the MSS of Vyādi-bhakti-taraṅgi, Vidyāpati says—

वयमोषरण निदेशम यतिममवदरामिता।

tastānuḥ māno rāmā nāvā kṛtvā tath prāvijayate ||
was very popular in Bengal and the story of *Manasādevī* is told in a lucid style by Vipradāsa is his *Manasāvijaya* (**edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen—ASB—1953 Calcutta**). *The story depicted in the Maṅgalakāvyā of Bengal between the devotees of Śiva and those of Manasā or Caṇḍi derives not from the rivalry between the philosophy of Saivism and Śaktism, but from a clash between the farming people and semi-nomadic tribes, who had encroached on cultivated land, a clash which naturally involved the deities they worshipped.* According to Dr. Dasgupta, it represented the struggle of decaying Saivism against the growth and spread of Śaktism.  

268 Snake worship was widely prevalent in Mithilā and the different versions of the Bihulā songs 269 in Mithilā go to show that the tradition is very old. The *Nāga*
Pañcamī is observed with due serenity throughout the country but in Mithilā, it has got special significance. The aim of snake worship is to ward off a manifest danger. The worship of Manasā guaranteed health and immunity from snake bite. The association of Manasā with Behulā is a fact to be reckoned with. The worship of Śakti brought in its train different forms of Tantric worship. Vidyāpati has thrown sufficient light on the importance of Śakti worship in his Durgābhaktitarāṅgī. The blending of pre-aryan and aryan culture seems to have been complete in Mithilā during our period when we find the triad of Śmārta Brāhmanical Hinduism (Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu) being accepted by all sections of the people unhesitatingly.

Dharmaśvāmi informs us that in the thirteenth century Bihar was an important centre of Tantric cult. When he had fallen ill, a Tantric came to his rescue.²⁷⁰ It was under the Pālas that Tantric Buddhism had gained foothold in Bengal and Bihar. Both the Hindu and the Buddhist esoteric schools conceive of absolute reality as possessing two attributes—viz. nivṛtti (rest) and pravrṭti (activity). The secret of all esoteric sādhanā is to destroy all principles of dualism and to attain the final stage of non-duality. In Hindu tantricism, these two aspects of the absolute reality have been conceived as Śiva and Śakti, the primordial male and female. Śiva resides in the Sahasrāra (thousand petalled lotus) and Śakti in the form of a coiled serpent. Their union produces the state of absolute. In the Vaiṣṇava Sahajia schools, the same is represented by Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The Vaiṣṇava Sahajias innovated an element of love in the form of physical and psychological discipline. All schools of Tantra speak of the final state as a state where enjoyment and liberation become one and the same. The first literary record of Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the lyrics of Jayadeva, followed by Umāpati, Vidyāpati, Viṣṇupūrīt and others. These writings embody in them the quintessence of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, realised in one

²⁷⁰. Altckar’s introduction.
and the same personality. Similarly, Śiva in the medieval period represented much of Tantric Buddhism. In the Maithili literature, human interest of the family life of Śiva outweighs the interest of his divine nature and like the saivite devotional lyric of the south, we have some sweet songs of Vidyāpati on Hara-Gauri and the tradition, so set, has been followed by a host of other writers and poets of Mithilā, the last in the series being Chandā Jha, whose Maheśavānis have acquired equal prominence.

The Tantric Buddhism was a development of the Mahāyana cult which, in its turn, represented the religion of the dissenters and the protestors. The art and iconography of the period between 800 and 1200 A.D., also bear testimony to the fact. The seeds of the final break with the original school were sown in the second congress at Vaiśālī. The ideal of Ārhatahood was replaced by Bodhisattvahood and the latter concept continued to be predominant in all forms of Tantric Buddhism. Mantras and Dharaniṣis gradually came to be introduced. It may be noted here that Tantricism is neither exclusively Hindu nor Buddhist but it is heterogenous in its nature and spirit. The ancient Āgamas are taken to be sources of all Tantric texts. Jyotirāvara in his VR (p. 60) has given a list of the following Āgamas—Rudraśāmalā, Gauriyāmalā, Śivadharma, Śivarahasya, Śivadhargaṭṭa, Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudhargaṭṭa, Bhūtaḍāmara, Kūlottara, Prapañcaśāra, Prajñāpāramitākṣara, Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Nārāyaṇi, Maṅjuvajra, Maṅjughosa, Catuḥsati, Yakṣini, Kampi, Candraśāna, Udḍiṣa and Saravati. These important Āgamas formed the basis of all the Tantric studies. Abhinavagupta’s compilation of the Tantraloka is based on many ancient Āgamas and is indicative of the fact that the Tantras had a common cultural background in the past.

The Tantric cult is characterised by a curious admixture of the alchemical processes on the one hand and the grotesque

obscene and something revolting rites on the other. The popular Tantric cult centred round the worship of Śiva and his consort. The Tantras have thus become the repositories of the gross superstitious beliefs, the hideous incantations, sordid magic and alchemy as also of speculative, metaphysical and esoteric phases of spiritual aspirations. The Tantric cult exercised a considerable influence on the society in the middle ages and the rites bore resemblance to the practices prescribed in the Atharvaveda. The philosophy of Tantra has been described as a system of thought which formed the metaphysical background of the Tantric religion. The Tantras describe it as a genuine expression of the mind seized with religious fervour and longing for liberation. With the merger of the dual aspects of Śiva and Śakti in the inscrutable unity, the Tantra philosophy becomes highly monistic in tone and contents. The Tantric philosophers tend to grasp the basic tenets of the Upaniṣad when they declare the role of the Śakti in the evolution of the manifold world. We learn from the Tattvapraṇāśa, that association of Śakti with Puruṣa is the cardinal principle of creation. The attainment of an absolute state of supreme bliss was accepted to be the Summum bonum of life by the Tantrics and for the realisation of such a state, they adopted a course of sexo-yogic practice. In view of the conflicting evidences with regard to the origin and nature of Tantricism, it is reasonable to agree with the view that “Tantricism.......... is a religious under-current, originally independent of any abstruse metaphysical speculation, flowing on from an obscure point of time in the religious history of India” (Obscure Religious Cults. p. 27). The Tantra has been defined as the repository of esoteric beliefs and practices. Mithilā has been one of the important centres

273. Cf. Kulāṇava—IX. 42-जीवः शिवः शिवो जीवः सक्तिः क्रेस्वकः शिवः।
IX. 30-
of the Śakti worship and Tantric culture since the days of Maṇḍana Miśra, if not earlier. Vācaspati Miśra, in his commentary on the Patañjali-Darśana, has recommended the Dhyāna as prescribed in the Tantras. Various books on the methods and procedure of the Tantric worship were written in Mithilā during our period and our poet was one of such important writers. Mithilā was considered to be one of the important Śaktapīṭhas of India and the following sites are connected with the Tantric cults—Ugratārāsthāna at Mahesi (Saharsa), Katyāyanīsthāna, Jayamaṅgalā (in the district of north Monghyr), Uchchaitha (in the district of Darbhanga and Janakpur (in Nepal); Cāmuṇḍāsthāna in the district of Muzaffarpur. Ugratārā in Mithilā was considered to be an important Śakti-pīṭha. The very appearance of some of the important Śakti-pīṭhas of Mithilā would convince even a lay man that they were formerly the centres of Buddhist esoteric cults later converted into the Śakti-pīṭhas—the Jayamaṅgalāsthāna, Ugratārā temple and the Katyāyanīsthāna may be cited as examples in this connection. The worship of Jvalā-mukhi, Cāṇḍi, Tārā, Kālī and Durgā is yet very popular in Mithilā. There is no caste restriction among the Tantrics and according to Rudrayāmala, a woman could also be a Guru in Tantric performances.

The predominance of the Śakti worship in Mithilā can be gleaned through the following social customs, current even today—

(i) Gosāuni pūjā in every household.

(ii) First verse taught to a child is in praise of Śakti (quoted above).

(iii) Aripana is closely associated with the Tantric Cakra (most of them are now unexplained).

275. Cf. my article—Some recent discoveries in North Bihar—in the JBRSA—1957.

276. Avalon—op. cit. P. 60 ff; Cf. Upendra Thakur—Development of Tantric religion in Mithilā in IHQ—XXXIV. 193 ff. The image of Ugratārā has now been identified as Khaḍirvani Tārā by Dr. B. Bhattacharya. Cf. Saharsa District Gazetteer. Cf. the naked photograph of the image in the list of plates.
MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

(iv) Pāga is also associated with the Tantric belief.
(v) Pātari ceremony i.e. feeding of Kumāris (generally Brāhmaṇas) on all auspicious occasions.
(vi) Predominance of the Vijayadaśamī ceremony and its association with Śāhānā.
(vii) Worship of Śiva-Līṅga, the Mātrkāpūja, the Nainā-Yogin sport and the custom of taking Dikṣā from Guru.
(viii) the association of Mithilākṣaṇa with Tantric Yantra is strongly defended. The Varnoddhāratantra and the Kāma-dhenutantra give a succinct account of the peculiar development of the Vṛṇas.

(ix) The predominance of Vāmācāra and Daśa-Mahāvidyā in Mithilā. Dakṣinācāra also seems to have been prevalent in Mithilā and there were innumerable Sādhakas of this branch in this line.

The ideal concept of the unity of godhead in different sources are not unknown. Vidyāpati, a poet and thinker, seems to have philosophised things and the critics are at a loss to determine his actual point of view. The concept of Harihara by Vidyāpati is a reflection of the views of Maithila scholiasts in his days as well as that of the Sādhakas. Ananda Coomarswamy has rightly pointed out—“In India, we could not escape the conviction that sexual love has a deep spiritual significance. There is nothing with which we can better compare the mystic union of the

280. खन्हि खन्ह भल तु अच् फक्का, खन्हि वसन खन्हि भव छक्का।
खन्हि पत्रवानन खन्ह भल चारि, खन्हीकर खन्हदेष खुरारि।
खन्होनुकुलम चरवाघि गाय, खन्ह मद्दि मोकसि बमर बताव।
खन्ह गोबिन्द भक्क ली महादान, खन्हि भसम पह कान्हीकन।
एक शरारि लेक दुर्भ वास, खन्ह बैकुण्ठ खन्हि कैलास।
भरान्हि विद्यापति विपरीत बाणि, ओ नारायण ओ भूक पानि॥
finite with its infinite ambient... the self oblivion of earthly lovers locked in each other’s arms where ‘each is both.’ Physical proximity, contact and interpretation are the expressions of love, only because love is the recognition of identity.” Aurobindo has recently translated some poems of Vidyāpati into English with a view to acquaint the people with the highly philosophical and technical lines of the poet. In our analysis, Tantricism exercised a very patent influence on the development of Maithila culture. Its influence had been really much deeper than is ordinarily understood. The intimate connection between the Tantra and agriculture is evidenced by the Yantras. The Yantras are complex diagrams and even some of the Aripanas and Kohabar paintings are intimately connected with the fertility organs and agricultural products. The Tantrics believe that gods descend to take their seats on these diagrams. The orthodox Tantrics readily concede that these diagrams also represent the female organs. The Pañcamakāras, according to the Tantric text, are pleasing to the gods. The underlying principle is that the very sense objects which drag us down and bind us by attachment and enjoyment are capable of elevating us to the higher life if sublimated by contemplation. The two verses of the Kālīkāpurāṇa (61. 21-22) refer to the festivity which included sexual indulgence. The Udakasaṃśaḥ Mahotsava was practically of the same nature and Caṇḍeśvara, on the authority of the Devi-purāṇa, has tried to show that if one does not talk or behave indecently, he incurs the wrath of the Goddess. The Gandharvatantra, Kāmākhyātantra, Mahācīnācāracakrama, Nirvāṇatantra and others

281. A. Coomaraswamy—The Dance of Śiva (Bombay—1952) P. 140. Cf. for a similar feeling in Vidyāpati—एकही सच श्रंश मेल रे। पहुँ उठि परदेश गेल रे॥

282. N. N. Vasu—Viśva-kolkata (Bengali) XV. 546.

283. Ibid—VII. 531—Madya (wine), Mānsa (meat), Matsya (fish), Mūdā (fried corn) and Maithuna (sexual intercourse).

prescribe sexual connections as part of the ceremony. 285 The list of the Pañcamakāras is, no doubt, appalling.

In Mithilā, there were two prominent sects of the Tantric cult—Dakṣinācāra and the Vāmācāra. One was philosophical and devotional while the other was revolting. The sixty-four Tantras, divided into three main groups, relate to the technique of worship, psychic subjects and occult phenomena. The Tantrics, in their own way, aim at sublimation through ritual and symbolism. It is a system of thought, action and ritual and they attach much importance to the meaning and significance of the word “OM.” The Vāmācārins observe Cakrapūjā, consisting in a mass promiscuous gathering of the votaries of both sexes at midnight round a Cakra or Circle. The Maithila Tantric writer, Narasimha Ṭhākur, in his famous work entitled Tārōbhaktisudhārṇava (chapter VI), has enumerated the types of women required for the Cakrapūjā and in this connection, he mentions Naṭīs (actresses), Kāpālikās, Veṣyās, Dhobinas (washerwomen), Nāpita, Brāhmaṇa, Śūdra, Goūlin and Mālini. Chapter IV of the same work gives a detailed description of the horrible “Birasādhana” practices, also known as Citāsādhana. These horrible practices are disowned by the Dakṣinācārins. This description, from a Maithila writer of repute, enables us to arrive at the conclusion that Tantricism, or at least a type of it, had been intimately associated with those castes and professions that were despised for many centuries. 286 The Tantras of the Kubjikā school originated among the potters. 287

287. P. C. Bagchi—Studies in the Tantras (Cal. 1939 ) 45. Jyoti-
rtīvara in his VR (P. 52) mentions—
8 Bhairavas—असिताके, रुब, चण्डकोष, आन्नत, एकपाद, बपाठी, विपुरान्तक।
8 Śakti—साधाणी, साधिकरी, चेन्नी, राजशी, कौमारी, वामुप्चा Yogins—कालिका, कामाक्षी, रचनेश्वरी, विराजितारा, वज्जतारा, उमावर, ब्रह्मारं, दुरीरी, निरंजना, महामाया, यूरुषा, भूरुषा, कुरुखा, जातनुसारी सारमेया, अन्तरोखा, कुष्ठीका, अन्तरोधिका, मूका, मीठिका, आकाशकामिनी।
Tantricism was no respector of caste distinction. The Tāntrikas proclaimed the equality of all men and women and the rejection of the traditional marriage morals. Their contributions to alchemy and chemistry are unique. According to Seal, the Tantrics discovered that brain was the seat of consciousness. According to the Tantrics, the world was created by sexual urge. In Mithilā, even the alphabet is intimately connected with the Tantric Yantra. The very first letter of Maithili is taken to be the Kūṇḍalini, i.e., Ḡi is the symbol of the Tantric divinity. Most of the Maithili letters are represented as Tantric Yantras, such as Trikoṇa, Vindu, Vṛtta, Catuskoṇa etc.

Mithilā is believed to have been closely associated with the development of the religion of the Tantras. Gaṅgeśa is believed to have been an accomplished Tantric. Mithilā also contributed to the development of Tantric literature and scholars like Devāditya, Vardhamāna, Madana Upādhyāya and Gaṇanātha are believed to have written on Tantric philosophy. Devanātha wrote Mantrakaumudi and Tantrakaumudi and these two works deal with the details of Tantra worship. Devanātha is described as Saptakaumudikāra. The authorship of the Āgamādvaitatanrṇya is attributed to Vidyāpati (JGNJRI–VI. 241). Narasiṃha wrote Tārābhaktisudhārṇava dealing with the worship not only of Tārā but of other forms of Śakti as well. The above work is also known as Kālībhaktasudhārṇava in other manuscripts. Tārābhaktisudhārṇava has referred to and quoted from a number of authors. Harapati Āgamaśārya (son of Rucipati) wrote Mantrapradipa under the orders of Lakṣmīnāthadeva Kaṃsanaṅrāyaṇa. The work is complete in fifteen chapters and deals with the details of the worship of various deities. Gadādhara wrote a commentary entitled Tantrapradipa on Sāradātiaka. The work was composed when Rāmabhadra was ruling. We are
further told that Raghavendra and Bhairavendra removed the poverty of subjects (Mitra—*Notices IV*. 2172). Cudāmanī wrote *Śādhakamāṇḍana* and Śriśānanātha wrote *Bhavānibhaktimodikā*. These two works belong to the leftist form of worship (*Viracāra* and *Kulacāra*). The first work quotes two verses from *Tarāpradīpa* defining the scope of the Vedas, Purāṇas and the Tantras. The Tantras are meant for the Kali age and for low class people or Śudras. 289a

We have two streams of religious thinking in Mithilā, the Vedic and the non-Vedic. The Jains, Buddhists, Nigranthas, Ājivikas, Kāpilas, Sāṁkhya etc. were the non-Vedic sects. Rāma’s breaking of Śiva’s bow and his victory over Parasarāma is indicative of the victory of Vedic Vaiśṇavism. Orthodox scholars in Mithilā during our period propped up the Vedic studies. The Purāṇas record the stories of the conflicts of the rival groups headed by orthodox scholars and non-orthodox pedants. The struggle between the Śaivas and Vaiśṇavas had been a prominent theme in the history of India and so also the struggle between the different sects in different parts of the country. The Maithila lawgivers tried to reconcile these sects and brought harmonious synthesis. In this respect, Śrīdattotpādhyāya, Caṇḍēśvara, Vidyāpati and

289a. अयुक्त शूद्रक्षमाणो ये नराः कलिसम्मवः—

× × × ×

वचन्द्रेते प्रयोगः काली तारां वाधिकृत्र ओऽक्षा; तत्तमाम्:।

वषा काली तथा नीक्षा वषा नीक्षा तथोमुखः।

यथोमुखः तथा दुर्गाः नान्या भेदीसितु कुशंकिद॥


"भौदे प्रकाशिता विषा भौषिदे: प्रवलीक्रः ।

कृत्वद कृतिमहाराज्ये गुजरे प्रवयं गता।॥

A similar verse in the *Padmapurāṇa* (Chap. 193—V. 51)

नप्पा द्विविधे साहं बुद्धि क्षणांक्षी कतः।

कृतिवद कृतिमहाराज्ये गुजरे भौषिदे गता।॥

Also consult—(i) S. C. Vidyābhiṣaṇa—*History of India Logics*;


(iii) D. C. Bhattacharya—*History of Nāya Nāya in Mithila*—p. 189 ff.
others can claim superiority to the Gauḍṭyas (like Śūlpāṇi) and Utkalīyas (like Vidyākara and Narasiṃha) (Cf. Our Heritage—X. Pts. 1 & 2).

The activities of Maithili Smṛti writers centred round the feudal lords of Mithilā who engaged themselves in discussion which were considered religious. Even though the great political changes were taking place, they clung to the idea of Varnāśramadharma. They wrote everything for the Brāhmaṇas only. The Śūdras were treated as non-entities. Even when the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras were treated with contempt by the foreigners, they failed to see the reality and prescribed punishment for the Śūdras (Cf. Vivādacintāmaṇi). To some extent, Vardhamāna was a realist as he cautioned the society against Prakāśa-taskaras (persons like traders and manufactures, physicians and druggists, false arbitrators and witnesses, māṇtrikas and Tāntrikas etc., who moved freely in the society in the guise of honest citizens). Rudradhara in his Śrūddhaviveka takes note of vitiated Brāhmaṇas (Niṣiddha Brāhmaṇas) as blackmarketeers, profiteers, rebels, vicious etc., and prescribes that they should be socially punished and debarred from participating in Śrūddha ceremony. Even in matters of Dāna, it was only Vidyāpati who cared for the people of ordinary rank and prescribed gifts of less costly things like mastūra, tilā etc.

The Maithila thinkers of our period attempted to keep the Varnāśramadharma in its proper place and wanted to give Dharma a higher status. They accepted the authority of the Tantra-Paṅcarātra and Pāśupata texts. They established a Paṅcopūṣāna to avoid sectarian strife which stood in the path of harmonious synthesis. They made elaborate laws of Dharma to be observed in their daily life. In course of that they tried to solve their own problems in their own way and within the permitted boundary of a Dharmanibandha. Persons like Śrīdattopādhyāya, Rudradhara, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara Miśra and others came as redactors and helped in the development of a sober outlook both in matters of religion, education and culture. The society might have remained
stagnant but persons like Śrīdatta and Vidyāpati were revolutionaries. In those days of Sanskritic studies, it was Vidyāpati who declared that vernacular was the sweetest of all the languages.

Tantricism exalted the female impulse and the Tantric religious ideas did not militate against some of the views propounded by the Bhāgavata. The Harivaṁśa and Viṣṇupurāṇa were influenced by Tantra. According to Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya, the Viṣṇupurāṇa contains the story of Yogamāyā showing how the followers of sub-sect were gradually making alliance with the Tantric mother cult (Evolution of Theistic sects in Ancient India—P. 153). The erotic tendencies in Sahajiyā and Nātha cults may have also fashioned the minds of the people in accepting erotic-mystic ideas of the Bhāgavata. Both Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati refer to the Nātha cults (Cf. Gorakṣavijayanātaka of Vidyāpati). The popularity of Bhāgavata did not appear like the success of a hostile religious sects, since the Bhāgavata transfigured the mighty sex impulse into a passionate religious emotion (S. K. De—Vaishnava Faith and Movement—P. 23). Maithilas were equally conservant with the different forms of Pańcarātra worship. We shall now pass on to discuss the development of Vaishnavism in Mithilā during our period.

The Vedic hymns are replete with the sentiments of piety and reverence and the origins of Bhakti and Śraddhā can be traced to the vedic age. The Upaniṣads further laid the foundation of the Bhakti-marga. It is impossible to read some of the soul-stirring hymns to Varuṇa, Savitṛ and Uṣas and not to feel therein the presence of true Bhakti, however inadequate may have been its philosophical background. 290 According to the MBH (XII. 340. 16-17) the revelation of God to man is the highest boon. The devotee

290. Cf. Belvelkar & Ranade—History of Indian Philosophy—II. P. 409.
Katha. Upi. II. 23; Muniśaka Upi. III. 2; Tatt. Upi. II. 75; Brh. Upi. IV. 3. 32; Svet. Upi. VI. 23; Gītā—XVIII. 66; VII. 14; Bhāgavat—II. 4. 72; IV. 29. 50.
should meditate upon God with minds wholly concentrated upon Him. Nārada defines Bhakti as the nature of a intense love for God. It is of the nature of love which reaches its acme of perfection (Parama). The word “Parama” indicates 291

(i) Devotion is essentially undivided
(ii) It is never overshadowed by thought and action
(iii) It is not inert or idle
(iv) Devotion aspires for something imperishable or infinite. Bhakti is the attainment of God, is the opposite of hate, is of the nature of nectar and the love of God. The Bhāgavata preaches unmotivated devotion. Bhakti is an emotion of affection. Since the theory of Bhakti found favour with Vaiṣṇavas, it would be better to have an idea of Vaiṣṇavism at the outset.

Vaiṣṇavism has been one of the most important cults of India and its history goes back to hoary antiquity. According to the Upaniṣads, God is the protector of all beings, is the lord of all and dwells in the heart of everyman, that seeing him as he is and everywhere, is the eternal bliss to be attained by contemplation and purification 292 of soul. The Upanisadic thought played an active part in moulding the religious doctrines of the later period and, at the same time influenced the later thinkers. It is from here that conception of the supreme spirit, manifesting itself in various forms, sprang up and it resulted in the development of the theory of Avatāras or incarnations later on. In the Mahābhārata, and in some of the Purāṇas, various avatāras are mentioned but an attempt at systematisation is first met with in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa where there are three lists of twenty-two, twenty three

291. N. L. Singh—Bhakti Sutras of Nārada (1911) pp. 1–2; Viṣṇu-purāṇa—1. 20. 17.
and sixteen avatāras respectively. In the epic, Vāsudeva is the eternal soul of all souls and the supreme creator. The worship of Vāsudeva had become prominent in the fourth century B.C. Pāṇini also refers to it. About the second century B.C., Vāsudeva was worshipped as god of gods and his worshippers were known as Bhāgavatas. It was adopted even by the Greeks. The Besnagar Pillar inscription of Heliodoros, who was himself a Bhāgavata convert, refers to Devadeva Vāsudeva.

Hari, the supreme lord of Vaiṣṇavism, is to be worshipped with devotion. The religious idea of devotion arose and received a definite shape, when Vāsudeva revealed Gitā to Arjuna. Violence and efficacy of sacrificial customs were repudiated with candour. Vāsudeva came to be regarded as the supreme creator. It is to Vāsudeva that Obeisance is to be made. It is in the Gitā that we find the earliest clear cut exposition of the Bhakti system. The Gitā preached the eternity and indestructibility of the human soul and it insisted on concentrated mind and devotion to the deed alone, satisfaction and contentment, disinterested action and freedom from all sins through highest knowledge. Bhāgavata is the source and the last refuge of the world and man of passion should surrender oneself to God. God is further personalised and brought home to man by being declared as his father, mother, nourisher, grandfather, friend, refuge, etc. The attitude towards other gods is one of tolerance. Caste is no barrier to the attainment of the highest ideal. What is required is the single-minded devotion in adoring the Bhāgavata. By doing so, a man, irrespective of his caste, becomes holy and attains peace. Two paths, viz., Bhakti and Yoga, are indicated for the purpose. The Gitā systematised the theistic ideas about Bhakti scattered in the Upaniṣads. The Bhāgavata religion, a


294. Pāṇini—IV. 3. 98; Cf. JRAS (1915) P. 168.
reform in action but conservative in spirit, came to fulfil the law of the old Hindu belief and not to supersede it. It made its way as a religion for all. The liberality of outlook accounted for the influence of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult over the lower classes.

The association of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu seems to have been an accomplished fact in the Epic when we find Yudhishṭhira identifying Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. In the Puranic times, the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant and three streams of religion, flowing from Nārāyaṇa (the cosmic and philosophical God), Viṣṇu (the Vedic God at its source) and Vāsudeva (the historical God) mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. Kṛṣṇa's avatāra is assumed for destroying all demons. The Pahārpur excavations have thrown a flood of welcome light on the Kṛṣṇa legend and it is apparent that the cult was highly popular in eastern India. The Senas show special leaning to the Vaiṣṇavite cult as their inscriptions usually begin with the invocation of Nārāyaṇa. R. P. Chanda has tried to show that there was some connection between the Pañcarātra system and the various kinds of Tantra. The Vaiṣṇavism, as a cult, was fully established in eastern India as will be evident from the writings of Dhoiyi, Umāpati, Govardhana Ācārya and others. Their writings are collected in the Saduktikarṇāmdta of Śrīdharadāsa. To crown all came Jayadeva who intensified the devotional strain of a class of mystics. Jayadeva’s poetry has its counterpart in the Belvā inscription of Bhojavarman which refers to Kṛṣṇa as sporting with hundreds of Gopīs. Beginning from the Gāthāsaptaśati of Hāla (C. 100 B.C.) down to the Daśāvatāra Caritam (1066 A.D.), the story has been maintained with necessary local variations. The association of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa is a redeeming feature of the story. Rādhā was regarded as the Śakti. Nimbārka, in his Vedāntadasaka, pays homage to Rādhā, daughter of Vṛṣabhānu. Nimbārka's sect regarded Rādhā as his spouse in the divine sport and worshipped as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa in his energetic power. A class of mystics

295. Chanda—op. cit. 90 ff; Cf. PIHC-I X. for a discussion on the Pañcarātra system.

21 MV.
tried to realise the highest spiritual ideal through Śrīgārā-rasa.\textsuperscript{296} While the attainment of Brahman through Rasa was preached on the one hand, the Vajrayāna cult of Buddhism, on the other, had degenerated into gross sensualism and the Sahajiyās openly preached the necessity of an intimate association with women and looked upon an erotic enjoyment as the highest ideal of life. ‘Sakti Subhodaya’ gives us a picture of such a degenerated society. Hemādri (14th century A. D.) held that the erotic longings of the Gopīs towards Kṛṣṇa should not be followed by others. Mālādhara Vasu (Śrīkṛṣṇa Vijaya) did not attach any importance to the sports of Kṛṣṇa with Gopīs and he depicted mainly the heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa. It was with a view to counteract the degenerating influence that due stress was laid on the Bhakti aspect.

The theory of Bhakti found favour with the Vaiṣṇavas. They regarded Kṛṣṇa as the manifestation of entire godhood. Bhakti was considered to be of supreme importance. The true devotee found a natural pleasure in chanting the name of God and absorbing himself in meditation upon god’s merciful action for the sake of humanity. The path of Bhakti was regarded superior. Bhakti has a dual relation as it existed both in God and in the devotee.\textsuperscript{297} Bhakti was considered much higher than the philosophic knowledge since mere knowledge without Bhakti was only external and superficial and could produce neither realisation nor bliss. The reality of God could be properly realised only through the medium of Bhakti, which, in its turn was itself the emancipation. Knowledge and realisation sprang out of Bhakti. Bhakti was eternal realisation of truth and that is why a devotee wanted neither ordinary emancipation nor rituals. Nine characteristics of Bhakti have been laid down in the Śat Sandarbhā (p. 541).\textsuperscript{298} The true devotee preferred his position as the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{296} Cf. Kṛṣṇa-prakāśa—4. 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{297} S. N. Dasgupta—op. cit. (IV) PP. 399-433.
  \item \textsuperscript{298} Quoted in Dasgupta—Ibid. P. 421—
  \begin{quote}
    अवयं कौन्तेंने विषेण: स्मरणं पालस्वभि
    अच्छेन्द्र स्नेहं वर्षं सौधमात्मनिष्ठंदि
  \end{quote}
\end{itemize}
servant of God to any other so called higher position of power and glory. He confessed to God all the imperfections of his nature (as we find Vidyāpati doing in the last days of his life) and all the bad deeds that he had performed and then prayed to Him for His grace by which all his sins could be washed away. The devotee wished to be intoxicated by love for Him in the same manner as a young woman was smitten with love for a young man or vice-versa. Bhakti is the burning faith in God. Śraddhā, Anurāga and Preman (faith, intelligent appreciation and overpowering love) are invariable concomitants of a life of devotion. Bhakti is free from desire. The whole being is dedicated to the God. Devotion to God gives rise to knowledge, social laws should also be observed till we acquire devotion to God. One should not cherish any thought that might disturb the social order. One should not neglect the observance of social customs. Devotion arises from the renunciation of egoism, pride and other passions. Only supreme devotion can liberate us from bondage. A devotee should have the courage to swim against the stride of public opinion and rise above all fear of the crowd.

Caitanya was the last of the Vaiṣṇava reformers in the series of Nimbāraka and Vallabha and no account of Vaiṣṇavism can be complete without a reference to him. His life unfolds unique pathological symptoms of devotion which is perhaps unparalleled. His emotional flow is more sublime and deeper. He was highly impressed by the writings of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa anticipated Caitanya. Chaitanya's Bhakti aimed at attaching oneself

299. Ibid—को मूढ़ो दासताम् प्राण्य प्रामय पदमिच्छति।
301. Cultural Heritage of India—Vol. II. The following articles may be studied—(i) J. N. Sinha—The Bhāgavata religion; (ii) G. N. Mallick—The Contributions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism; Chintaharan Chakravarti—Śakti worship and Śakti saints of Bengal;
to Kṛṣṇa for His satisfaction alone without being in any way influenced by the desire for philosophical knowledge, Karma and Vairāgya and without being associated with any desire for one’s own interest. 302 Caṇḍīdāsa’s conception of Radha-krṣṇa found new spiritual value in Caitanya who demonstrated the height to which the love of a devotee can rise. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism emphasised on the Madhurya or sweetness. They knew Kṛṣṇa to be their own and affection flowed naturally towards him. They feel the poignant grief arising out separation from Kṛṣṇa.

The indebtedness of Caitanya to the love lyrics of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa is known to us through the Caitanyacaritāmṛta. Vidyāpati’s practical culture of the divinisation of human love had supplied him with deep inspiration that made him the immortal poet of Radhākrṣṇa songs. Dr. S. B. Dasgupta holds that the lyrics belonging to the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā school are ascribed to Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Rūpa, Sanātana, Narahari, Locana, Caitanya and others. 303 The lyrics of Vidyāpati influenced all the substrata of society. At that time there was intimate connection between Mithilā and Bengal. The post-caitanya Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal deviated from the main current. Jayānanda’s Caitanyamangala indicates the growth of some new tendencies within Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and some of their practices surpassed the worst vagaries of the later Sahajiyā thought. Prabodhānanda, in his Śrī Caitanya Candramārtā, laments the sad degeneration among the followers of Caitanya who had fallen far from the ideals of the Master. 304 The love lyrics of the Vaiṣṇava singers brought the deification of human love and with it, the humanity, as a whole came to be deified and heaven above and earth below met together in these songs. 305


303. op. cit. 133.

304. T. K. Raichoudhary—Bengal under Akbar & Jhangir (Cal. 1953) PP. 44, 80 ff; 93, 103, 112 ff; 149, 232–33.

305. Cf. my article—‘Vidyāpati’s Faith’ in the Prabhudha Bhārata.
CHAPTER IV

Vaiṣṇavism and Vidyāpati (a study of Vidyāpati’s faith)—

In so far as Mithilā is concerned, we have no authenti-
cated epigraphic and archaeological evidences to support the
point of Vaiṣṇavism because no systematic archaeological
explorations or excavations have hitherto been conducted in
this hoary land of antiquities. Naturally the data on this
point are few and far between and we have to piece them
together with due caution. The scattered images of Vārāha,
Viṣṇu, Kamaḷāditya, Laksminārāyaṇa and other gods and
goddesses in different parts of Mithilā and the literary refer-
ences thereto throw some light on the problem. An image
of Gaurīḍa, the Vāhana of Viṣṇu, has also been noticed in
Mithilā. Inspite of all these, no systematisation has yet been
possible and no iconographic interpretation has been done
so far. What can, at best, be said in the present state of
our knowledge is that Viṣṇu worship was not unknown and the
people of Mithilā were not unacquainted with the Vaiṣṇava
thought. Along with Śiva and Śakti, Viṣṇu also continued
to inspire and animate the people. The vertical white sandal
paste on the forehead of a Maithila represents his faith in
Viṣṇu. In keeping with the traditions of the Bhāgavata, Hari-
vanśa and Brahmavarta purāṇa, all Vaiṣṇava fasts and festi-
vals are observed and the Śālagrāma of Viṣṇu is even
worshipped today. All these go to show that Vaiṣṇava form
of worship was not totally absent. Śrīdharadāsa (Sadukti-
kārnāmṛta) refers to a number of poems dealing with Rādha-
krṣṇa episode. Umāpati, in his Pārijāta karaṇa, relates to
Krṣṇa’s sports with Gopīs. Jayadeva’s influence on Umāpati’s
lyrics is apparent. ³⁰⁶ Umāpati has borrowed his story from
the Harivamśa (chapters 124–135). Somewhat different ver-
sions of the same story are found in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (V, 30,
31) and in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X, 59). Umāpati deviates
from the Harivamśa at one particular place, when we see that
Krṣṇa’s assistant, in his fight with Indra, is not his son
Pradyumna but his friend Arjuna Dhanañjaya. Umāpati’s

³⁰⁶ Cf. Song No. 24—कमठ वदन कुवलय दुहूँ कोचन अघर मधुरि निर्याने।
सगर सरीर कुम्भ तुष्य सिरिजल, किए तुष्य इदय परनाने॥
lyrics are of dainty poetic styles. He unleashed a force of Kṛṣṇa legend to be followed by his successors in Mithilā and he may be regarded as the precursor of sweet Maithili lyrics in the field of poetry. He pays obeisance to Bhavānī, Hari and Śiva.

Caṇḍesvara in his KR pays tribute not only to Gaurī and Saṅkarī but also to the fish and tortoise incarnations of Viṣṇu (Verses 1–2). In the Pūjāratnākara, he discusses the Tantric rules regarding Śiva, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Śūrya. The catholicity of Jyotirīśvara is evident from the VR. The contemporaries of Vidyāpati offered salutations to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Rādhā, Hari, Kṛṣṇa and others (Cf. Mithila Cat. I, 367–68; Mitra—Notices—VI. 2011). The festivals connected with Viṣṇu and his manifestations are described in details by Caṇḍesvara in his KR and also in the Pūjāratnākara. Viṣṇu was worshipped in Caitra, Āśādha, Śrāvaṇa, in different forms like Matsya, Vārūha, Nṛsiṁha, Buddha, Janārdana, Padmanābha, Nārāyaṇa, Keśava, etc. He also refers to the festivals connected with Kṛṣṇa and his associates. Misaru Miśra also pays obeisance to Śrīkanṭha and Vaikuṇṭha. In his Viṣṇu-pūjākalpalata Bhairavasimha describes himself as a devotee of Hari, Kṛṣṇa and Śūrya. Vācaspati Miṣra also invokes Viṣṇu and we find Lakṣmīnātha Kamśanārāyaṇa describing details of the worship Vaiṣṇava deities like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Narasimha, Puruṣottama, Gopāla, Vālagopāla, Madanagopāla, etc. in his Mantrapradipa. Vidyāpati's obeisance to Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa, shows that Mithilā, in the age of Vidyāpati, continued to worship Samba (JBR5—XLVIII). The Maithilas were conversant with the different forms of the Pañcarātra worship as is evident from the mention of the worship of Sālgrāma by Govindadatta. The writings of Govindadatta (Govindanāmasollāsa), Bhairavasimha, Viṣṇupuri (Bhaktiratnāvali) and Devanātha Sarmā (Tantrakaumudī) satisfied the religious needs of the Vaiṣṇavas in Mithilā. Maithila writers were influenced by the theme of the Bhaṭagavata and Viṣṇupuri, Vidyāpati and Raghupati Upādhyāya can

be cited as examples (Cf. Bhaktiratna\text{"vali of Vi\text{"napur\text{". Vi\text{"napur\text{" was a Maithila and he preached \text{"akti as the means of \text{"advaitamukti.

Mithil\text{" and Bengal, though politically separate, were culturally connected. The influence of Jayadeva was immense on the life and culture of these provinces. Gitagovinda was in its early days the Bible of the Vai\text{"ava thinkers.\text{"08 V\text{"caspati in his Tithi\text{"r\text{"aya\text{" starts with an invocation of the Parm\text{"man while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kr\text{"\text{"a.\text{"10 The Maithila king Bhairavendra had the Viruda Harin\text{"r\text{"ya\text{". Vardham\text{"\text{" in his DV has referred to R\text{"d\text{"a\text{"r\text{"\text{"a.\text{"11 Govindadatta\text{"s Govindam\text{"nasol\text{"sa is yet another important evidence on the prevalence of Kr\text{"\text{"a legend in Mithil\text{". The contemporaries of Vidy\text{"pati have also paid obeisance to Vi\text{"\text{"u, Hari and Kr\text{"\text{"a in a reverential manner and the Kr\text{"\text{"a legend was responsible for the output of a huge amount of literary works. Even Vidy\text{"pati himself was aware of such legends as otherwise how could he be attracted towards it for his literary themes. Kr\text{"\text{"a legend became the vehicle of his poetic excellence and that could not have reached perfection without his being conversant.

308. P. D. Barthawala—\text{"िन्दी कथ्य में मिन्यूं सम्प्रदाय” (शब्दक—स० 2007)—प० २१..... विपत्ति में पढ़े हुए हिन्दुओं ने...... एकाधिक आचरण को प्राप्त करने के त्रिवेद... वे वैष्णव आचरणों द्वारा प्रभावित इस मतिका की धारा में उर्मिका के साथ हुक्की घण्टे लगा लगे। इसका उद्देश्य किवियों की मरु बाणी में छलन-छलन कर बढ़ाने लगा।” जबदेव के राणा-मास्त के कोड़ा गिरों की प्रतिविभाग मैथिल कोकिल विचारित की कोमल बान्त पदावली में सुनाए दी।

309. Mitra—\text{"ोतिस—V. 149 No. 1139.


311. सार्थ रामकिशोर वे विद्या सीता: कपोलस्चे शिबमिमविवर्ष्य प्रसारिणमयाक्षू ते राधाकृति बिद्रोहमयारत: सौभग्योऽर्थम्।

\text{"ये मेव पुरुसराचीकरणनादानोऽवामने जवाब-देनार्थ विद्रोहप्रसारशिवायो गोपालमूर्ति मेरे।}"

\text{"May that Hari as Gopa\text{"la protect you, who, while moving with R\text{"d\text{"a in forest failed to wipe out the sweat on the cheeks of R\text{"d\text{"a, because, R\text{"d\text{"a’s sweat increased instead of lessening, due to the touch of the fingers of Kr\text{"\text{"a,"}
fully with the Vaišṇava thought. A gloss over the PP\textsuperscript{312} will acquaint the readers with a number of stray references about the Vaišṇava sect. The Puranic traditions about Mathurā and Dwārkā were known to him. The PP reveals to us the pre-
valence of the worship of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī. In the Bhūparikrama, he chooses Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, as his hero. Had Vidyāpati been a believer in any other sect, he would have easily chosen another character of which there is no dearth in our legend. This particular point may help us in ascertaining his personal views and that stands all the more verified if we look to his copy of the Bhāgavata. Even when he was staying at Raja Banauli, he, of his own accord, copied the Bhāgavata and that amply demonstrates his personal inclination. He did it simply to console himself and he found solace in copying that MS in his own handwriting as that gave him an opportunity to enliven his association with the Bhāgavata-līlā. The spontaneous poems from his pen relate to the story of Rādhākrṣṇa and nothing else. Vidyāpati's knowledge of the ancient Vaiśṇava text is evident from a number of his lyrics and we can easily differentiate between the erotic and Vaiśṇava hymns (Cf. Bangiya Sāhitya Parisat Patrika B, S. 1363—PP. 153–166; 233–248; S. Jha—PP. 187–193). His erotic songs are sometimes secular and sometimes devotional. In composing devotional lyrics, Vidyāpati utilised his knowledge of Vaiśṇava scriptures. Kṛṣṇa is also taken as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (S. Jha—90; MM—407).

It has been rightly surmised that the finest flowering of the Kṛṣṇa-cult in Bihar was in the poetry of Vidyāpati. The passionate encounters of Rādhākrṣṇa take place against a background of great romantic beauty on the banks of the river Yamunā. According to the Vaiśṇava thought, only love can produce the highest spirituality in man or woman and it does that best when it attains the utmost degree of intensification through the enhanced pain and pleasure of an illicit relationship. Ecstatic oneness is the highest in the Vaiśṇava thought and that gives it a naturalness to make the greatest poetry out of it. His poetry is a green shot in the arid waste

\textsuperscript{312} PP (G)—Tales 7, 42, 25, 36, 43 and Page 123.
of devotional literature. The story, conceived by Vidyāpati, develops through six stages—viz. Pūrvarūga (Dawn of Love), Dautya (message), Abhisāra (tryst), Sambhogamilana (union), Viraha (separation) and Bhāvasamamilana (re-union in spirit).  

The medieval age did not offer any practical solution of all problems and naturally disappointment prevailed all along. When the national vigour was at its lowest ebb, the people began to seek compensation in the worship of God. Islam had come to stay and its contact with Hinduism was responsible for new thoughts in literature and philosophy. Alberuni's India presented a different picture altogether. Buddhist Tantricism held sway in Bengal, Jainism in Gujerat and Rajputana while the dominant creed of Hinduism, with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa at its head, was prevalent in India. At one time a heterodox system, Vaiṣṇavism had earlier been appropriated by the Brāhmaṇas as their own with necessary rituals. The religious upheavals, set in motion by the Bhakti movement, culminated in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa which conceived of God as pure, free and omniscient and described at length the events of his incarnation, Kṛṣṇa, in order to stimulate the love. While preaching for the spiritual emancipation of the individuals, it did not remove the chains of social slavery. Acting in consonance with one's own caste, prescription of idols and image worship and other technicalities failed to counteract the growing rigidity of either the caste or the priesthood. The grandest description of Viṣṇu's universal forms and attributes in the Gītā and the allegorical legends relating to his various incarnations, no doubt, stimulated the creation of beautiful art objects in different forms and colour.  

Islam was essentially a religion centred upon this world and attached equal value to empirical and transcendental considerations. It brought a dynamic message of social democracy and taught men that equality and fraternity must

314. Sachau—Alberuni—Vol. I. P. XLVII.
be realised in this life. It had no priest-ridden society and no caste system and naturally, therefore, it shook Indian faith to its very foundation. The oppressed and the destitutes responded to the new appeal. The Muslim occupation did not mean any change to common man as to who ruled. The simple faith and democratic ideals of Islam infringed upon this society and produced a ferment. It insisted upon the superiority of man and declared him to be the lord of creation. This aspect of thinking greatly affected the Hindu thought and culture and we find an echo of this feeling in Vidyāpati and other contemporary Vaiṣṇava thinkers. \(316\) Vidyāpati proclaimed that man was the highest truth and nothing was more essential than the realisation of the basic truth. It was therefore, in the field of Vaiṣṇavism that we find the fusion of two ways of thinking (Hindu and Muslim). The fusion was of the active mentality with a passive philosophy of illusion. The dullness of the medieval age and the emphasis on complete indifference to inequalities were removed to a certain extent, by the new Vaiṣṇava thinkers among the Hindus and the Sufis among the Muslims.\(317\) According to Sufism, there was only one way to knowledge and it was here in India that popular Islam presented the most bewildering diversity of orders, rituals \(318\) and beliefs. North Bihar \(319\) was the centre of Sufism. The Sufi saints had practically little or no concern with the ruling circle and they tried to pick up the language of the people, evinced partiality for India's

316. हे सुखि मानुष जनम अनुप—Similar feelings have been expressed by Chaṇḍidāsa and Rabindranātha Tagore.
319. Historical Miscellany (Patna—1932) for Askari's article on Sufism—G. D. College Bulletin No. 4. (Edited by R. K. Coudhary)—Askari's article. Cf. Sources of Indian Tradition—Chapter on Sufism.
culture and manifested a liberal outlook. Sufi insistence on love influenced the Indian thinkers and since Vidyāpati had some association with the then Muslim rulers of Bengal and Jaunpur, we can not preclude the possibility of his living contact with the contemporary Sufi saints. Love became the central motif of the Vaiṣṇava faith, though it was not able to throw off its past shackles of surrender and subject. Love was the path for spiritual salvation.

It is in this background that we should present our study of Vidyāpati’s faith and his conception of Bhakti and Madhurya. Bhakti is selfless devotion. It leads one to self realisation and destroys Rajas and Tamas qualities. It is one of the five means of concentrating mind on Hari. The movement itself took its inspiration from the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. A host of reformers preached a thorough reform in the conventional form of worship because that was shaken to its foundation by the Islamic impact. Vidyāpati was influenced by the contemporary reformers, though he was himself fully conversant with the Puranic conception of Bhakti. The Puranic influence brought Kṛṣṇa-śrīlā to the forefront. The advent of Islam acted as a catalytic agent which brought the loose elements together and gave birth to Vaiṣṇava poetry.

320. V. R. Dikshitar—Puranic Index—II. 522.
321. S. S. Das—Hindi Sāhitya—PP. 273–74 (Prayag–1944)—“परन्तु विषयपति पर मात्व संप्रदाय का ही प्रभृति नहीं है, उन्हींने विषुवासित्व तथा निन्दावाही अनेक मौलिक में रात्रि मित्र हो सकता है, पर दुःख की निर्माणकक्ष के रूप में वे नहीं देख पड़ती। उन्हें वह रूप विषुवासित्व तथा निन्दावाही संप्रदाय में है पहले पहल मात्वादु वास था।” भिष्माने विषुवासित्व से मित्र अधिक हुआ के साथ रात्रि की प्रतिशाला की और उन्हें अपने प्रत्यय कुण के साथ गोली में विनाश करने वाली कहा। रात्रि का यह चरम उल्लब्ध है। विषयपति ने रात्रि और कुण की घोटा का जो विजय वर्णन किया है वह पर विषुवासित्व और निन्दावाही में प्रभाव प्रस्तर है।” उन्हींने विषयपति को श्रीराम साहित्य का धार्मिक कवि कहा है और साथ ही मंत्र काव्य का प्रमुख कवि माना है।
322. कोलाम्बु कैव्यम्—i. e. Līlā in Māyā—कोलाम्बु एवं प्रयोजनस्वरूप।
On the basis of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, the conception of love was interpreted as a mode of play. It was supposed to symbolise the creative power, though to a rational mind it appears like an adventure into the uncharted future from the certainties of his past and present. The greatest defect was that it did not overcome the philosophy of illusion. The only difference was that the old wine was now kept in a new bottle. The basis of the whole medieval religious reform was *Krṣṇa-līlā*. *Līlā* in the form of sports was first popularised by Jayadeva. Through *Līlā*, *Rādhā-krṣṇa* legend was brought down to the level of the people. The whole theory of love came to be based upon the concept of love as existed between *Gopīs* and *Krṣṇa* or *Rādhā* with *Krṣṇa*. Grierson is of opinion that it dealt allegorically with relation of soul to God under the form of love which *Rādhā* bore to *Krṣṇa*. Here *Rādhā* represented the soul, the *Dūti* (Messenger) and *Krṣṇa* the deity. The immortality of Vidyāpati's *Rādhākrṣṇa* songs is an eloquent expression of his Bhakti. By means of *Itī-Bhakti*, Vidyāpati wishes to attain communion with Hari.

The feeling of devotion or Bhakti-rasa comprises the following sentiments—viz. Śānta, (quiescent), dāsya (servantal), sakhyā (friendly), vātsalya (filial) and Mādhurya (sweetness). The greatest depth of emotion is reached in sweet sentiments.  

323. यदि हरिरस्मणे सरसं मनो, यदि बिलासकलाकु मोह हुमे।।
मधुरक्रोमवंदनपदवरी, परंतु तदा जवदेससरस्तावी॥


326. Beames—*Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries—P. 31.*

327. *MM—No. 855—

मासव जाय, कैलाग छोड़ावोक, जाधि मनिर वञ्च राख।।
वोर उदारि अंगर मुख हैरत, चान व्यक्ति छवि अभा।।
वोर करपुरान हम मालकि, और चाँदक पक्षमान।।
सागर रैनि हम बैति गमावोक, सणित ने साग दाने।।
मधुर गमर अतिक हम राखकु, किबेन पटाकोल दूली।।
माणिक एक माणिक दश पवरि, उतिति रहि पुष्कु सूती।।
कमल नवन कमलापति चुम्बित, कमलकरण समदादे।।
इरिक चरण वे गावधि विचापति, राधाकुण्ड विलापे।।
An intimate personal tie is established between Kṛṣṇa and the devotee in his mental attitude. The Madhura or the Srṅgārarasa was pronounced to be the sweetest in the Vaiṣṇava faith. Among the several approaches to divine experience, the Madhura approach is estimated to rank very high. It restores the primitive unity and expresses not only a vital ideal but also a metaphysical fulfilment. Medieval poets were adept in sublimating the erotic sentiments and that is why, the Madhurabhāva is known as the psychology of eroticism. 328 The Vaiṣṇava poets drew largely upon the Upaniṣads, wherein the sweet sentiment between man and woman was recognised as the dominant influence. 329 Srṅgārarasa was regarded as capable of making the universe permeated by sweetness. 330 According to Abhinavagupta, the commentator on Bharata’s Nātyāṣāstra (GOS—p. 269), love elicited a response in the heart of every living being. Vidyāpati took to Madhurarasa because it included all other Rasas. 331 Love and sweetness are the remarkable features of Vidyāpati’s poetry and it is through these two media that the devotee hopes to attain God. Our poet’s Bhakti was based mainly on the Madhurarasa. It is to Rādhākṛṣṇa that he diverted his attention for everything and it was his conviction that people attain their objectives by pinning unlimited faith in Kṛṣṇa. His ultimate faith is evinced by the fact that he, himself in the last part of his life, turned to Hari for guidance, nay for deliverance. It was devoid of all rituals. His influence on the later Vaiṣṇava literature is immense. 332

332. S. K. Chakravarti—ep. cit.—PP. 210 and 247; D. C. Sen—Bungabhāṣa O Sāhitya—विरह ओ विरहान्तर मिलन वर्णान्य विभावति बैण्व कविदेर अभिनवम् ; Rabindranāth says—चक्कितास गंगीर एवं व्याकुल, विभावति नवीन एवं मधुर। Cf. Chittaranjan Das—Kṇeyer Katha—PP. 36 and 40.
the erotic passions of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā play a very prominent role. As a poet of beauty and pleasure, as Rabindranātha called him, Vidyāpati in his early youth wrote entirely secular lyrics nodoubt but his study of the Purāṇas and other Vaiṣṇava literature enabled him to identify himself with the wave of the age. After Jayadeva, he was the greatest master singer of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy and there are poems, without bhaṇītās, where līlā has been sung with full devotion. These songs epitomise his Vaiṣṇava leanings.333 His description of the physical charms of Rādhā is indicative of the fact that he was highly impressed by the Śakti334 form of Rādhā. Rādhā stood for energy. Rādhā is nothing but the transfiguration of the infinite potency of love contained in the very nature. Vidyāpati, through his poetry, ever longed for the opportunity of witnessing from a distance the eternal love-making of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the supra-natural land of Vṛndāvana. This eternal līlā is the eternal truth and a peep into it is the highest spiritual gain.335

There is unmistakable influence of Jayadeva on Vidyāpati. According to Jayadeva, Mādhava pleaded Aṉāṅga not to punish him by wrongly identifying him with Śiva (Gītagevinda III. 11) and a similar request to Aṉāṅga is made by Rādhā in one of the songs of Vidyāpati (MM—245). Both Jayadeva and Vidyāpati refer to the use of flute by Kṛṣṇa and both depict the intense love of Rādhā. Both are erotic poets. Being influenced by the Bhāgavata, our poet refers to the mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa worship. While depicting the four hands of Murāri-Kṛṣṇa in one of his lyrics, our poet

333. MM—P. 98; Nos—467 to 569; 719 to 757 (in all there are 195 such poems).

334. विदितः देवी विदिता होः अविरल केत्त सोहन्नी।
   एकानेक सहस्रो भीतर न, भीतर संग बुरपन्नी॥
   कुमालखुप तुम फली काव्यां व उलखुप तुम बातों।
   रिखिस्यहर मरणवा काह्विचे, गंगा काहिचे पानी॥
   ब्रह्मपार ब्रह्माणी काहिचे, हरपार काहिचे गोरी।
   नारायणर क्रमर काहिचे, वे जान उनपत तोरी॥

says—"with one he pulls the hair; with the second he presses the neck; he puts over the temples of cheeks with his third hand and with fourth he touches the nipples of the breasts." (S. Jha-P. 188). Kṛṣṇa was Hari and Mādhava and also a cowherd (S. Jha. No. 90). He cracks jokes with cowherds and has his sports with cowherdesses (MM—Nos. 473 and 477). Rādha recognised the divinity of Kṛṣṇa (S. Jha—No. 14). Vidyāpati describes the constant association of Kṛṣṇa with Vṛndāvana. In one of his padas, he describes the rūsalīta after the Bhāgavata (MM—No. 110). His scheme of Rādhākrṣṇa relationship was largely mystic-erotic. Amṛta-kara describes the divine of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (Cf. Rāgata-raṅgi—P. 85). Vidyāpati's daughter-in-law, Candra-kalā, refers to the transcendental character of their amorous relationship (Ibid—pp. 53-54). Govindadāsa pays glowing tributes to Vidyāpati for his contribution to Vaiṣṇavism. Govindadāsa says—"Glorious is the wise poet, Vidyāpati, whose sweet songs, dealing with the exploits of Govinda and Rādhā (Gorl) have captivated the heart of the world" (S. Jha—P. 189). Though Vidyāpati recorded some advance in Vaiṣṇava philosophy, giving a new tinge, he should not be taken as a precursor of Vaiṣṇavism of the type we find in Bengal. He was essentially a poet of the people and wrote on diverse themes.

Vidyāpati believed in the unity of Godhead. He conceived of Śakti behind Nārāyaṇa as the nourisher and sustainer. He did not make any distinction between the Gods. 336 It

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336. एक शरारत केक दुध बास। खने बाणकुण्ड खननहि कैलाश।
× × ×
मन जयदेव हरिहर क दास। नीूनकीूण्ड हरि पृथु बास।
Cf. कालिका पुराण—अतस्वं च विचाता च तथागमि न गूः।
गरहुः पुराण (दिवीप अध्याय)—अहं ध्यायामि तं बिश्नं परमात्मानमहस्त्रम्।
गंगा वास्त्विृतं—स्वस्त्वमस्य वस्तुसिद्धिरसिद्धत: प्रसादादेवं वयुः स्थिततो हरिणा समेत्य।
पुरुषपरीम्—विष्णु कैलास निवेदयति गिरिजानाथाकामुक्तच्या
मद्याणि प्रयुक्तचर्चि यवने नामात्म सिरमाहू।
निद्रातमयलिमिः सतक्षेत्रमध्यि विद्वे वरे
तच्छति परमात्मस्य तुम्हारे पुष्पामिश्रकुलों भावना॥
For a similar quotation Cf.—‘विमागमर्’।
matters little by which name you call them. Vidyāpati has been generally described as śaiva and the conservative scholars of Mithilā fastidiously cling to this point merely on the ground that his ancestors were Śaiva. All poems, written on palm-leaf, hitherto discovered are songs in praise of Rādhākrṣṇa and not one of them deals with Śiva. Similar is the case with the songs in the Kṛtipatāka. In the first nine pages of the manuscript of this book, the subject matter is love and amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Gopīs. According to Vidyāpati, love tempered with piety is ideal. His similes and metaphors are, nodoubt, brilliant poetic feats. He found spiritual satisfaction by writing Vaiṣṇava songs. The senses of sensuality and lust are redeemed by others and are platonic and spiritual. 337 He moves all day in the sunny grooves and floral meadows of the earth, but in the evening rises high and overtakes his fellow poet. He occupies a unique position among the singers of the Kṛṣṇa saga. Looking through the vista of centuries we see him standing in pure light as the guide and saviour of Vaiṣṇava faith. He founded no sect and laid down no dogmatic creed. Like other Vaiṣṇava singers, he conceived of the eternal love on the philosophy

337. N. N. Dass—Vidyāpati Kītyāloka—P. 21;

(i) किष कहु है सिख आनन्द ओर, चिर दिन मनिर माधव मोर।
(ii) भनवहि विषयपति मुखुर भोमति, इरिक भरण कल तेबा।
(iii) धन धन तीर भग गोवर्धनिक, इरि मजु हृदय हुकसिया।
(iv) करति तेज कहु भज जे हरि सजे अनंतार रीय ठाम हे॥

Cf. D. C. Sen—Madhyayuger Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya—P. 149; D. C. Sen & K. N. Mitra—Vaiṣṇava Padāvali (Calcutta—1930) Introduction—ब्रह्मव विषयपति भो चान्त्रोद्वभ गीति कविता साहित्य साहित्य अविवाह वाहिक सभाद। "यदव गीतिकाव्यर व्रजानांतराशुरवर प्रभु।"

of Rādhākṛṣṇa. The divine love is the most intense and most romantic where the two are the eternal enjoyers with the sole aim of realising infinite potency of bliss. That is why the songs of this master singer exercised potent influence on the different faiths of Eastern India.  

Even when he used the name of his patron in the Bhānītās, he did not forget his allegiance to Hari. About half of his poems deal with the theme of Rādhākṛṣṇa. His ultimate hope lay in Kṛṣṇa or Hari. Whenever he felt desperate and became morose, he kept his own feelings in the mouth of Rādhā and expressed his oneness with Kṛṣṇa. Unless one is inspired by a particular faith, one cannot display one’s poetic excellence for a particular type of belief. It is true that there are two types of poems in his Padavali viz.-(i) gross sensual type which he wrote for pleasing his masters and (ii) highly intellectual and spiritual type which inspired the Vaiṣṇava poets like Caṇḍīdāsa and Caitanya. Charm and grace of his poetry have been the subject of literary

339. MM—Nos—41—हरि सरीरे ज्ञात आनन्द 89; 103; 185; 177—
माष कठिन हृदय परवासी
तुला पेयसि मोह देखि वियोगिनि, अधुळ पकट गर बालिः
हिमकार हरि अभवत कर आनन्द, कर करुणापाय हरि। For a different reading—Cf. Pada Kalpataru No. 1879.
340. Some of his poems are purely secular. Thirty five poems refer to Haragauri and Ganga and more than half are devoted to Rādhākṛṣṇa—Cf. MM—P. 93.
341. MM—No. 218—माष देखि व्रजोगिनि बानि
अधि न हास विलास सखोसंग, आहिन्त अव तुला नामे।
आनन्द सुरद सुधात समदीक्ष, वोळ मधुर धृष्टि बानि।
कौयल अहन कमल कुमभादेल, देखि गय अ धूलि बानि।

×     ×     ×

रग्राह आनन्द सुमस्म भुकुम समतेजस तुला धारि।
जनि बललीलन मीनजक्क फरशान, अहे विध हस्ति राधार बाहि।
Cf. No. 767—कित कहकै सोखि आनन्द गोर, विरिदिन माष कथन मोर।

Caitanya is said to have fainted while singing this favourite song of Vidyāpati.

22 M. V.
criticism but his platonic and spiritual themes have been the basis of higher thinking of the Vaiśṇava philosophers. It was his association with the court that stood in his way of frank expression of thought, otherwise he was himself thoroughly identified with Hari. 342 Hari was the enlivening force for Vidyāpati. 343 The Rāsalīlā, a patent story of the Kṛṣṇa legend, demonstrates the ideal of erotic relationship. Love takes the form of adventure. 344 Vidyāpati’s wailing for Mādhava is a sign of poet’s affectionate feeling for the Lord. His description of the wisdom of the Gopīs and Kṛṣṇa’s anxiety for Gopīs in a dark rainy night are some of the places where the poet is at his best. His attachment with Kṛṣṇa is evident from the huge mass of his poetical writings. Sincerity

342. MM—No. 543—रसरस लागि पुनर्धि निते काम। अनुबंध ज्वये तोहरि पर नाम
343. Ibid—No. 535—नाम छल तिष ठोर। सर गदवड़ कह मोर।
344. I bid—No. 478—भद्भुट्टर रापावन विबाह। Cf. No. 482.

Rādhā’s restlessness for Kṛṣṇa and urge for union have been depicted in the following lines—

Also Cf. No. 546.
of feelings is not possible unless one has completely identified himself with the cause which is so dear to him. His poems manifest the actual extent of pangs experienced by his hero and heroine. Radha is attracted not by the physical beauty of Krishna but by the qualities he possesses. Radha’s longings for Krishna have been picturesque and can be described as the spontaneous outflow of poet’s own feelings. Through the Bhagavata-hakta-ratnakara, we learn a good deal about the Radha Krishna cult. Rupa Gosvami’s Padavali (Edited by S. K. De-Dacca-1934) gives a detailed account of the Krisnaite writings of the Tairabhukti Bhaktas. It clearly shows that the attitude towards the Krishna cult in Mithila and Bengal was almost the same. Govindadasa and his brother Rama-
dasa\(^{345}\) developed the Krisnaite theme in the field of drama and rare lyrical notes are found therein. Both Vrishupurfi and Vidyapati not only digested but developed the philosophy of the Vaishnavas. Vaishnavism was a faith with Vidyapati. His aim was ultimate salvation. Caitanya did not care for Moksa.\(^{346}\) According to Caitanya, services to Krishna with all senses working in harmony constituted pure Bhakti and herein lay the distinction between Vidyapati and Caitanya. It is true that Vidyapati also identified and found himself lost in Krishna. He ultimately sought refuge in him but with an eye on the theory of ultimate salvation. With a heritage of fatalistic philosophy of life in which ultimate salvation was the only objective, Vidyapati could very well say—“thus far and no further.” Vidyapati was, nodoubt, forced by time and circumstances. In his last stage of life, he was confined more to a personal longing for a salvation than to a wide r

imagination.\(^{347}\)

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345. Cf. अनन्द विजय (a drama). Cf. R.K. Choudhary—‘Sanskri Drama in Mithila.’

346. वैतन्य Says—मक्ति युक्ति सिद्धि काम सकलक्ष्य अशान्त।

347. MM-No. 757—अनुसन्धान माधव माधव समार्थन सुन्दर मेल मथाई।

ओ निज माध स्वरचिद्ध विसरं आपन गुण ज्ञ्यमान।

माधव अपरं सोयर सिनेह।

अपन विरहे अपनतनु जर बिवहे मेल संदेह।
Believer as he was in the unity of Godhead, he could make his both ends meet by proclaiming that there was no difference between Hari and Hara but even for his mental satisfaction he composed Vaiṣṇava Bhajanas. Vaiṣṇavism was his personal acquisition. The picture of Radha Kṛṣṇa is so deeply engrafted on his mind that he always likes to see Kṛṣṇa present before him. His longings and desires were unfulfilled

Ibid.—No. 769—तात्त्वक सैक्त बारें बिन्दु सम, धून स्वतरमधुन समाहे।
तोहे विसारि मनोतोह समाप्त, अव मद्धुहृद कोन काजे।
माधव हम परिणाम मिराजा।
तुहे वा तार देवनयामय, अतए तोहर विशुदासा।
अच बजाम हम निंद्रकाल, चरा सिंहुक दिन गेला।
निपुने रमण संग रते मातु, तोहे मवह कोन बेला।
कप चतुरानन मरि गरि जायोत, न तुहा आदि अवसाना।
तोहे जननी पुनः तोहे समाहोत, सागर कर हर समान।
मये विवापति शेष समन मय, तुहा बिनु गति नहि आर।
आदि अनादि नाथ कहरिस सबलानध मय तोहादा।

Ibid.—No. 771—माधव बहुत मिनति काले तोय।
देव तुजों तिल देह समर्पिष्ठ, द्वार जने छािव भोग।
गमन होस गुन तेसन पाहे, जब तुहें कारव विचार।
तुहे मग्नाय जगे कहरिस, वह बाहिर नहि मुनि छार।
किये मानुस पशु पाये जानाइ, अवछाओ पीठ गग।
करम विपक मातान पुनःसन, मिति रहु तुहा परसंग।
मनह विवापति वहिनस काल, तरहे स्व मय सिस।
तुहा पद पवन काल अवबाहन, तिलै एक देह दिनबन्धु।

and thirst for Krishna could never be quenched. His constant faith in sin and other allied conventional philosophy is a part and parcel of his Vaishnava songs. With the coming of salvation, he believes that all his sins will be washed away. He becomes conscious of the fact that on the day of Judgment, he is all alone and naturally, therefore, he returns to his only friend Hari, who is the destroyer of all sin. Hari is the only solace and the last refuge. In the face of these evidences, it can be said with some amount of certainty that Vidyapati was a Vaishnava by faith and instinct. We can not call him a Smarta Panchadvopasaka, since there is no

348. Ibid—No. 768—है कि पुडछे कृत्य मोय। सोहं परिकम अनुराग वशानभ, तिले तिले नृतन होय। जनम अवध इम रूप सिद्धार्थ, नयन न तिरस्पित गेछ। सोहं मधुर बोक अवगाही सुनु, श्रीमत्ये परसन गेछ। कत मधुमालीन समस गमणामोक, न दुसार हैसन। काल लाङुहु विहियहिये राखल, तेयो न विव जुङहु गेछ। वतन रसिकसन रसे अनुमृगन, अनुभव काहु न पेष। विभाषित कह प्राण जुङहाँ, काले न मिलक एक। विभाषित कह प्राण जुङहाँ, काले न मिलक एक।

There is a good deal of controversy over the authorship of this poem. Dr. Srikrumar Bandhopadhyaya in Bangla Satiye Katha—PP. 22–23. Says—"विभाषित को छादक किंसी अन्य कवि को इसका रचनिता नदी कहा जा सकता है..." कथन का विश्वास, विश्वव्यापी, अतीत काल में प्रसारित, सदिये रसयोगेकारी परिवार चन्द्रीदत वा शानदान में नदी है (Cosmic imagination). प्रेम की चिन्तन अगस्त, आदरा और वास्तव के बीच अनस्तिक व्यवहार, सीतादेवी की खिरठत अखिल अकान्ता से उसका मूल मस्तख को और दुहार अभियान, रूप में रुकती ही की ब्रम्हां, अनाज की और व्याकुल हस्तसारण।... प्रेमी कुंकागाह महिमा और आरोपण का सूर इस कविता में इस आधरकारी रूप में अविवृक्त हुए हैं कि इस कारण से प्रथे के श्रेणी गाँव समूह में इसकी स्थान मिलता उपचुक है। कोटस की सीतादेवीमोग अपरिखि और कृपा का सदास संभान में ब्रह्मवियान हिठावासी मानो इस महामाता में निविवध कारता में सुलहो हो गयेहैं।" (Quoted in M.M—P. 499).

349. Ibid—No. 770—जनये जनये बटोर्डू, मेकि परिकम खाय। मरन के बैरे हेरि कोई न पूछत, करम संग चित्त जाय। हे हरि कहौ तुज पदनाय। तुम पद परिकम पाप पवीयंपिव, पाप हर कीत उपाय।
mention of Sūrya worship in his poems. In assessing his personal faith, we should take into consideration only such palm leaf poems as are without Bhūtītās. Worshipping ancestral deity is a part of household duty and holding a particular view is altogether a different thing. Perhaps this aspect is overlooked by those who try to prove him otherwise.

350. *Ibid*—P. 86. There is no reference to sun worship anywhere in the Padāvali. Vidyāpati wrote on almost all of them except Sūrya, but he did so at the instance of masters at the court. Left to himself, he would have devoted himself more and more to the singing of Kṛṣṇaite Bhajanās. Ramanath Jha in his Introduction to the *PP* (P. 57) says—"if there is any particular manifestation of the Almighty that Vidyāpati adored and paid devotion to, it was beyond doubt, Śiva." The above assertion is nothing more than a travesty of truth. Various incarnations of Viṣṇu were known in Mithilā before the advent of Vidyāpati and it was he who popularised the theme of Kṛṣṇa-Mādhava though differing from the Bhāgavata in many respects. Among all the writers on Vidyāpati, only MM and N. N. Das (*op. cit.* PP. 1–24) take a sober view of the whole thing and while the former is inclined to accept him as a Vaiṣṇava, the latter calls him a "बस्तुत्तण्डवादी"—For other views of conventional type, Cf. S. N. Thakur—*op. cit.* PP. 187–181; U. Misra—*op. cit.* PP. 184–87; Inspite of everything, it must be remembered that Vidyāpati was a believer in the unity of Godhead, Dr. Subhodra Jha, after examining all the theories hitherto advanced by different scholars, observes—"...all that we can say is that Vidyāpati was devoted to Viṣṇu also. We might be able to accept him as a Vaiṣṇava had we not come across texts where Vidyāpati is showing equal reverence to some other gods as well." (*The Songs of Vidyāpati*—Introduction—P. 72). Here it may be added that he has not added any new material to the existing stock of knowledge nor has he adduced any relevant arguments. If Vidyāpati wrote many other things which a Vaiṣṇava would not do, that was due to his association with the court and nothing else.
CHAPTER IV

One can continue to be a Muslim and a communist at the same time. According to cultural tradition, he will continue to be a Muslim even after conversion to communist doctrine. What amount of Siddhi in Saiva or Sakta cult he had acquired is yet a matter of conjecture, but his Padavali is before us for close and critical scrutiny. To say that his Bhajananas are not popular so he cannot be called a Vaishnava is a vague argument and can be controverted like this—since there are practically no Buddhists in India, so there was no Buddhism at all. Buddhism, a living force for centuries, is not so now. Are we, therefore, to conclude that Buddha did not propagate Buddhism? These types of conventional arguments do not stand in face of the evidences collated above. The unpopularity of Vaishnava songs in Mithilā was due to her orthodox outlook. The wide prevalence of Vaishnavism would have meant the end of a class who thrived on the possession of the so-called spiritual knowledge and guided the people at the altar of worship. When man can communicate with God without any medium, what is the necessity of a priest or the like. That is why the conservative people refused to make it popular. By checking the growth of Vaishnava Bhajananas, they stood in the way of the development of the language of the people whose growth was already stunted and overshadowed the all pervading canvas of Sanskrit language. Sanskrit was the vehicle for predominating over the unlettered mass to whom knowledge in a sealed book was something like an inverted comma. In all states, the rising people's language had to face these difficulties. In Bengal, the Vaishnava movement gave rise to Bengali language and literature alongside Sanskrit.

Any account of Vidyapati's faith would remain incomplete without a reference to his treatment of the Rādhākrṣṇa theme in the Padavali. In the presentation of this theme, Vidyapati has displayed his originality and set a new line. There is difference between his theme and the Bhāgavata theme. Vidyapati has twisted the story according to his convenience. The story begins with Rādhā's Vayah-sandhi. Rādha, according to our poet, is younger than Krṣṇa. The messengers talk
to Rādhā about Kṛṣṇa and vice-versa. Both of them see each other and thus begins the Purva-rāga. This first occasion was also caused through the attempts of the messenger. In this period of Purvarāga, the messenger depicts the beauty of each other to both of them. It is here that Vidyāpati, through various illustrations, and examples, paints different traits of Rādhākrīṣṇa. Then the stage is set ready for Abhisāra and the first meeting takes place. Rādhā narrates the experience of her first meeting with Kṛṣṇa. Then begins Māna and they meet again when Kṛṣṇa entreats Rādhā. Abhisāra goes on and they meet each other in the groves and while doing so, Rādhā is conscious of the unfavourable criticism of the society in which she lives. In the meantime, Kṛṣṇa informs Rādhā about his departure from Gokula to Mathurā. The event takes place and the pangs of separation become unbearable to both of them. Even with everything at her command, Rādhā does not feel happy and same is the case with Kṛṣṇa. The go betweens describe each other’s feelings to them. Imaginary and real meetings take place. The meeting is generally on a mental plane and Rādhā feels satisfied.

The story, on the whole, is Ekaṅgi and the poet has taken only such episodes which he thought necessary for his poetic drama ( Cf—Gittinātyakāra Vidyāpati—published in Vol I of the Papers submitted to the All India Maithili writer’s conference, Darbhanga—1956 ). Vidyāpati has changed the episode wherever necessary. It is said that when Kṛṣṇa went to Mathurā, the messenger took Rādhā’s message to him and this is Vidyāpati’s own innovation. He again brings Kṛṣṇa back from Mathurā and arranges a meeting between the two.

351. करिकरे मधुरा अनुमति मँगल, तत्तदि पड़त सुखाय।
× ×
सहित सरिर मोर तेहः चक आपलच चिक रधेष सेषामां।
ता बिनु रात दिवस नहि जाणत ताहि रघु मन लगी।
× ×
हुस एक दिवस निचय आयव परवेष न ताइ।
विषापति कह चिक रघु तह प्रेम पिषाहस जाइ॥
The pangs of separation are gone. In the original story of the \textit{Bhāgavata}, reference is made to \textit{Gopīs} and not to \textit{Radha} in particular. He has referred to \textit{Uddhava}, but here, again, a departure has been made from the original story. The poet does not send him to \textit{Brāja}. From Vidyāpati’s description of \textit{Uddhava}, it appears that the poet was thoroughly acquainted with the original form of \textit{Krṣṇa}.\textsuperscript{352} \textit{The originality of Vidyāpati lay in the fact he took episodes for the theme of his poetry and succeeded in constructing a connected whole of a living story. He gave a new shape to the \textit{Krṣṇa} episode and utilised his poetic genius in decorating it. It is actually here that his genius stood exposed.}

Vidyāpati has introduced \textit{Krṣṇa} in his vigorous youth. \textit{Krṣṇa}, introduced by Jayadeva, was brought to perfection by Vidyāpati.\textsuperscript{353} Following S. K. De, Dr. J. K. Miśra has

\textbf{352. क्वः ! कन्ह हुमलो भ्रष्ट जायस्।}

\begin{center}
कन्ह पितुनन्द वसीमति कौरान विशि फिरि मालक खाशि।
Caturbhujam form of \textit{Krṣṇa}—
एक गाह चिक्कर दौंसर गाह गाम। तत्ति चिक्कर वाटो एक कुच सीम।
\end{center}

निविदात्म पौयक नहि अवकाश। पानी पत्रमक बाढ़ आस।

\textbf{353. (i) \textit{Krṣṇa’s features}}—

\begin{center}
अभिभव ज्ञातर सुमदर देह। पीतवसन जनि दामिनी रेख।
सामर शामर कुटिकन्व बेरस। काजर साजल मदन दुःवेर।
\end{center}

\begin{center}
(ii) \textit{Pūrvarāja}—

नन्दनक नन्दन कदमक तकतरे पेरे पेरे चुरारित कजाज।

सोय संकेत निकेतात्मन बससिद्ध बेरे बेरे श्रीमत पत्र।

सामरी तोरा धागा अनुशुद विक्कळ मुरारी।

जबनुनक तीर वचन उदबोगके फिरि फिरि तत्ति निहारी।

गोरसे बेचन अवश्य जास्त जनि जनि पुछे वन मारी।

There is no reference to this aspect in Jayadeva.

\begin{center}
(iii) \textit{Krṣṇa as a hero}—

एक दिन हेरि हेरि हैंसिद्ध जाय। अन्द दिन नाम धरि मुरारि बजाय।

आज भगि नियरे करल परिहास। कह बालिये गोकुले बेड़कर बिखास।

लजनी हे नागर सारारा। मुख बिनु परम भगि बेड़ाज।

परिचय नहै देखो आन काज। ना करे सब्रम ना करे काज।

(iv) \textit{Brndābhana Krṣṇa}—

किखल नहै रस किखल नय। सकछ अंगी तेष दनवाल होि।

\begin{center}
× × × ×

विकापति कहि कि विकिख आर। सुन कएक निकह मदन माणवार।
\end{center}

observed that Vidyāpati, inspite of his deep study of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, in his treatment fundamentally differed from it. According to Dr. Miśra, Vidyāpati was largely influenced by Jayadeva and the Brahma-vai-varta-purāṇa. A great poet generally takes clue from different sources and constructs the story in his own way. Kālidāsa's Abhijñana-Sākuntalam is a living example of this type where Kālidāsa is at his best though he was indebted to the Mahābhārata for his story. Vidyāpati's deep feelings, expressed in connection with the Kṛṣṇa cult, were based on the actual experience of life and were not merely the result of a feeling for poetry as some writers would have us believe. The poignant and deep feelings of separation are unique. Rādhā's love attainment, at a particular moment, reaches perfection to a degree, unheard of, so much so that the poet pictures 'Viparitarati' in the coming of a pralaya. Lila Roy observed that Vidyāpati's poetry was comparatively but frequently obscure.


355. अंकुर तपन तप अंद सारश, कि करन बारिद मेहे।

356. संग हे कि कहन किस्त नहीं नृते।

357. Bengali Literature (P. E. N. Bombay); Cf. R. K. Choudhary—Maithili Sahityka Nibandha-sangi—Chapter on Vidyāpati.
Vidyāpati expressed everything in artistic and musical language which stirred Rabindranātha's youthful imagination and in the words of Gurudeva—"His poems and songs were one of the earliest delights that stirred my youthful imagination and I even had the privilege of setting one of them to music." 358 Vidyāpati succeeded in painting nature in the background of human emotions.

All these bear the stamp of his sincerity born of actual experience and they are recorded with force and vigour. His joy knew no bounds when he sang about Kṛṣṇa's sports with Rādhā, beginning from longing right down to the stage of conciliation. Human touches are always there. Even when there is repetition of facts, freshness of beauty is not absent. He was a marvellous poet of love. Like a gardener, he succeeded in weaving out a beautiful garland of songs. Like other Vaiṣṇava poets, Vidyāpati longed for the opportunity of witnessing from a distance the eternal love sports of Rādhākṛṣṇa. He enjoyed the eternal līlā in the eternal youth and he aspired to have a peep into that eternal 359

358. Rabindranātha Tagore's letter to Śri Narendranātha Dass, dated, the 23nd. November, 1937.

359. Cf. Padakalpataṛu—No. 484—दूर जन आकूल दूर कह कोर
dूर दरसले विखापतिँ मोर।

H. P. Śastri Says—विखापति बहिःध्वनि तद् दूरा क अनलक्षतद्वाक सुन्दर सुन्दर जिम्स विखापति कथ्या, साक्षात्ता समय से शुभके सुन्दररत हुनःरतं करिया तुखिया छेन।

Rabindranātha Tagore—Adhunikā Sāhitya—"विखापति कैवित्य प्रेमेर मंगन, प्रेमेर नृप, प्रेमेर चालकबृक्ष्य""प्रेम जन्वति, संगीत एवं विवचित रंगे विखापति पद प्रमाण परिपूर्णो..."

Vidyāpati's description of the Vibrations of Rādhā's heart—
हे सत्क दमर दुखक नाही कोर।
हे भर बादर मांडर शून्य मंदिर मोर।
क्षमिपि गरगजनि सत्तलियं भूमन मरियं बरक्षितियं।
कन्त ताहुन कामदार कले खर्दर हन्तियं।
कुलिश वरताक वातमौदित ततुर नाखत मातियं।
मत दाहर बाके वाहुकि फाटे जात हातियं।
तिगम हिरगम ईर यामि औषधियं विजयरिक पतियं।
विखापति कहौं वैज्ञम गमाओप, हरि विना दिन रातियं।
sport. Posterity remembers Vidyāpati for his love-lyrics attributed to Radhakṛṣṇa and he, thereby, proclaimed that “God is love.” In the words of Grierson—“God is love” is alike the motto of the eastern and of the western worlds...... The

Cf. PIHC—VI. 237. Vidyāpati has been described as a Yuga-dharmānusāsan Kuvi whose aim was लोकरञ्जन, by Pandit Rāmacūratta Sārma in his Bhāratavīyā ḍhānavārd, 518.

Cf. Rabindranātha—“तम यदि न दातो देखा, करो आमाय देखा। के मनकरे काटबे आमार पमन बादल देखा।”

Describing Māna—Vidyāpati sings (MM—No. 442)—मानिनी भाव बचित नहीं मान।

‘कहुँतु रंग पदन सन लल्लूँ बालक पप पंचवाणी।’

जुझि रयनि चकमक कर चौदमि एहब सत्य नहीं आन।

एहि अवसर पप सुंदर जेलन सुख जकरहि हो से जान।

रमाजी रसरस बक्षि बिलास बिलास करि जेकर अभर मधुपाने।

अपन अपन पप सबहूं जेमाहोल मुखुद्द तुम यथामान।

बिलास ततिरिणि सिलसिलस संगम उर चमु समु निरमान।

बारति तपि मंगलत हरितराम करुपनि सरसस दान।

दीप दोपक देशि धरि न रहए सन हुड़ कर अपन गेहान।

संपित मदन बेदन अतिदारुण कवि विद्यापति मान।

Cf. For a similar feeling in Chaḍḍidāsa—

प्पलान कोविर आतिसा करक गान, अभरा वर्का ताहर तान।

मदन पवन वहुंक बन्द, गणन उदय हुक चन्द।

About the above poem of Vidyāpati, S. K. Chakravarti (op. cit. P. 240) Says—“पप पदेर तुलना बगतेर गीत साधिये गाते कोवियो मिलना।”

Describing the Viraha, Vidyāpati says (MM—No. 766)—

आज रजनी हम भागे पोहावह, पेलेटुँ पिया मुख चंद।

‘तीव्र जीवन सफल करि मानहुँ, दसदिस भेक निरदेश।’

आज मधुरगैं गेह करि मानहुँ, आज मधु देह भेक देह।

आज विहि मोहि अनुकूल होयक, दुःख सबहूं संदेह।

सोहि कोविका खास बालक, खास उदय कह चंद।

‘पाँच बान जब खास बान हृद मदन पवन बहु मंद।’

अवहि वहुं मोहि परि होयत, तबहि मानव निज देह।

विद्यापति कहं मगिनह, धि धि धि तुम्हा तब नेहा।

These extensive quotations have been given just to give an idea about Vidyāpati’s philosophy of love. His indebtedness to old Sanskrit poets and dramatists is evident from his poetry.
warmer climates of the tropical countries have led the seekers after truth to compare the love of the worshipper for the worshipped to be that of supreme mistress Rādīhā for her supreme lord Kṛṣṇa. It is true that it is hard for a western mind to grasp the idea, but let us not, therefore, hastily condemn it; the glowing stanzas of Vidyāpati are read by the devout Hindu with as little of the baser part of human sensuousness, as the song of Solomon is by the christian priest." These Vaiṣṇava bhajanas inspired the people with a new hope. It was ultimately Caitanya who immortalised Vidyāpati's songs. The later Vaiṣṇava singers of eastern India, as a whole, claimed Vidyāpati as their own. It was not the sensous part of his poetry that made him so popular in these days but the aspects of eternal truth embodied in his poems. While all other writings have passed into oblivion, his charming Padāvali is yet honoured and is one of the finest treasures of the Maithili literature.

Like various other cults, Mithilā seems to have been associated with the Nātha cult during the period under review. The tradition of the Siddhas had not yet died out and Dharma-śvāmi bears testimony to this fact. Various cults had, by now, got mixed up with the Tāntric and Śāivite. There are Yogins of these cults even today and some of them have the air of

Vidyāpati utilised his knowledge of Sanskrit in flowery style of poetry and a comprehensive study of these aspects has been nicely presented by Śrī N. N. Dās in his Vidyāpati Kavyaloka, a work which has not yet been surpassed. Cf. PIHC—VI. 237; Rāmāvatar Sarma—भारतीय इतिहास, P. 518 ff.

Cf. Bible—Let him Kiss me with the Kisses of his mouth.

......he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts
His left hand is under my head
and his right hand doth embrace me.

According to Browning, when passion and Philosophy meet in a single individual, we have a great poet and judged from this standard, Vidyāpati was really a great poet. Cf. MM—P. 124 for the chart showing the use of Kṛṣṇa's various names.
Śaivism in them. Mostly nātha cult temples were converted into Śāvite ones. Since Śiva is considered to be the highest Yogi, followers of the Nātha cult dress themselves in that fashion. The Nātha cult has many thing in common with the Buddhist and Hindu Tantra, rather they are common to all esoteric Yogic schools, that is, the culture of body through the process of Hāthayoga. The Nātha Yogins frequently use the mystic sound of Vama-Vama and that goes to show that though associated with the Tantric Buddhism, they had an air of Śaivism. The Vallālacarita refers to Rudraprāhmāna (i.e. Brähmaṇas deriving their origin from Rudra or Śiva). Matsyendranātha, the founder of the Nātha cult, is deified in Nepal as Avalokiteśvara, and in Tibet with Lāṇḍupa, the first among the Buddhist Siddhācāryas. According to S. C. Das, Gorakṣa was the founder of the Nātha cult. From the list of eighty-four Siddhās, it appears that they are anomalous lists containing names of many Buddhist Siddhācāryas. The tradition is referred to in the Nātha literature and Santa literature of northern India. Eighty-four is rather a mystic number. The mystic nature of eighty-four is also the accepted number of Yogic postures. The Skandapurāṇa also gives a detailed description of eighty-four Śivalīgas in eighty-four consecutive chapters and side by side we find the tradition of nine Nāthas. In a well known poem of Govindadāsa, there is a reference to this cult. Kṛṣṇa disguised himself as a Kāṇapatakā yogi to propitiate Rādhā who had got angry with

361. For details—Cf. (i) H. P. Śāstri—Buddha Gītā O Dohā; (ii) Sukar Muhammad—Gopāchandrer Sanyāsa; (iii) N. K. Bhattacharji—Mayanāmatir Gītā; (iv) H. P. Dwivedi—The Nātha Sampradāya (v) R. Sankritīya—Purāṇaṁ nibhandhīvatām.


363. Cf. Kāliya—Yogīnka Number; Dr. Shahidulla’s introduction to Śatyapurāṇa PP. 3-4; Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika of B. S. 1329; 1331; 1341; M. Abdul Karim has compiled a collection of Songs entitled Gorakṣa Viṣaya; Briggs—Gorakpanth & the Kāṇapatayogi.
him. He went as a yogin to Rādhā’s house explaining the name of Gorakha and blowing the horn. 364

The Nāṭhas are also associated with the Tantric texts. Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka refers to Machchanda-vibhu (Machandara). In a work, entitled, Goraksā-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha, many orthodox schools have been severely criticised and the supremacy of the Yoga school has been established (Cf. Gopinātha Kavirāja’s edition). The tradition of the eighty-four Siddhas is very important inasmuch as the tradition is found frequently mentioned in the Vernacular literature. The VR enumerates a list of eighty-four Siddhas, though actually there are only seventy six names—Silanātha, Gorakṣanātha, Chaurāṇginātha, Chāmārīnātha, Tantipā, Halipā, Kedāripā, Ūhoṅgapā, Dāripā, Virupā, Kapālī, Kamārī, Kāṁhakaṇa, Khala, Meṣala, Unmana, Kāntalī, Dhovi, Jālandhara, Doṅgī, Makhavaha (= Saraha), Nāgārajuna, Daulī, Bhīṣāṇi, Achiti, Champaka, Medini, Cheṇṭasa, Bhūṣurī, Dākali, Kūjī, Charppaṭi, Bāde, Chāndana, Kāmari, Karvata, Dharmāpā, Patāṅgabhadra, Pātalibhadra, Pālihita, Bhaṇḍa, Mino, Nirdaya, Savara, Sānti, Bhaṛṭhāri, Bhīsana, Bhaṭi, Gaganāpā, Gamāra, Meṇḍrā, Kumārī, Jīvana, Aghosādhara, Girivara, Sīyarī, Nāgavāli, Dhibharahā, Sāraṅga, Magaradha, Ahita, Vichita, Nevaka, Chāṭala, Nāyana, Bhalo, Pāhila, Pāsala, Kamala, Kamaṅāri, Chipila, Govinda, Bhīma, Bhairava, Bhadrabhamari, Bhūrūkuṭi—(PP. 57-58). Some of the names of the Ṣaṭhayogapradīpikā (Chapter I—verses 5–9) are common. Albert Gruendel & Rahul Sankritiyan have given a full list of these eighty-four Siddhas. In the Tantramahārṇava, eight nāṭhas are said to be residing in eight directions and they are—Gorakanātha (east), Jālandhara (north), Nāgārajuna, (in the south), Dattātreya (west), Devadatta (South west), Jaḍa Bharata (North-west), Ādinātha (Midland) and Matsyendranātha (South-east). The Kāpālika school was introduced by the Nāṭhas and there are twelve of them, viz.—Ādinātha, Anādi, Kāla, Vaikālika, Karāla, Vikarāla, Mahākāla, Kāla-Bhairavanātha, Vaṭuka, Bhūtanātha, Vīranātha and

Śrīkanṭha. Twelve mārga pravartakas are—Nāgarjuna, Jaḍa Bharata, Hariścandra, Satyanātha, Bhīmanātha, Gorakṣa, Carpaṭa, Avadya, Vairāgya, Kanṭhādhari, Jālandhara and Malayārjuna ( Cf. Gorakṣa Siddhānta Saṅgraha ). The conflicting evidences are so confused that it is difficult to make out a connected story of the whole thing.

Vidyāpati, in his Gorakṣavijaya ( a drama ), has brought out the following story. The traditional story how Matsyendranātha, the preceptor of Yogi Gorakṣnātha, was brought back to the path of Yoga by his disciple, Gorakhanātha and his friend Kananipāda. In the Maithila tradition, it is interesting to note that Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha are identical and that the son of Matsyendranātha, killed by Gorakṣanātha, was called Bauddhanātha or Rudranātha. The play, in itself, is very interesting. Matsyendranātha becomes a king and is engrossed in worldly pleasures. His disciples, Gorakhanātha and Kananipāda, go on searching 365 him. The two yogīs had supernatural powers and in disguise of dancers they show excellent poses and sing charming songs. Matsyendranātha, however, learns that these yogīs ( who were really his Śīyas ) were responsible for the death of his son. On being threatened with death, they with the aid of supernatural power, bring king's son back to life and king's joy knew no bounds. It is then that Gorakhanātha is recognised and Matsyendranātha realises what power he had lost by becoming a king. Gorakhanātha rebukes the king for his engrossment in worldly pleasures and ultimately Matsyendranātha leaves the palace and joins the path of spiritualism or the yoga. It has been held that Gorakhanātha was influenced by the writings of the Siddha poets of Bihar. Bihar served as a link between Rājasthān and the Punjab on the one hand and Bengal on the other. The Siddha tradition was not forgotten in Mithilā and their rhymes appear to have influenced Vidyāpati. 366 The Nātha cult seems to have been well-established in popular estimation and had been

365. Cf. Song No. 4.
366. Cf. BTA-357.
ingratiating itself with the orthodox by its frank and open allegiance to Śiva and other Yoga practice. The popularity of the Nātha cult is also attested by frequent references to it in the Persian and Hindi writings of the Sufi saints of Bihar, specially in the Mīrgāvati of Sheikh Qutbān. The Nāthas were, in one way or the other, connected with Śaivism and the practice of Yoga was an important feature of this cult. Śiva has been described as Kapālī in the VR (P. 58).

An overall survey of the religious condition of the period under review reveals to us that Śaivism, Śaktism, Vaiṣṇavism and other minor cults (such as Nātha, snake worship, tree worship, etc.) were prevalent in Mithilā. Worship of Śiva image and Liṅga was popular (Cf. the Bhagalpur grant of Nūrāyanaṇapūla). Images of Umā-Māheśvara and Śiva-Pārvati in amorous poses are abundantly found in Mithilā. The worship of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was not unknown. The whole family of Śiva has been immortalised by Vidyāpati. The worship of Mahiṣamardini Durgā (Cf. my article in the JBRS—XLIII) and Saptamātṛkās was also very popular. The Durgā puja was ceremoniously observed throughout Mithilā. The cult of mother goddess was very popular. Viṣṇu and Lākṣmi formed an integral part of the cult of Vaiṣṇavism and gradually Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and other incarnations of Viṣṇu were absorbed in this fold. Viṣṇu’s association with Lākṣmi is evident from Bhagwānpur sculpture whereas Viṣṇu’s standard eagle is seen through the remains discovered at Āstī (Matiāhi). Though sun images and temple have come to light, sun worship does not seem to have been very popular. As opposed to this, the popularity of snake worship was greater as will be evident from the huge mass of folk-songs associated with Behulā. Manasā was worshipped in Bihar, specially in its northern part. Throughout the month of Śrāvaṇa, the people gather together and indulge in singing, dancing and worshipping Lakhindar and Behulā. The antiquity may be traced back to the medieval period and Vidyāpati’s Vyādi-Bhakti-Taraṅgiṇī refers to Manasā worship. According

367. *ibid*-411.

23 M. V.
to G. C. Basu, the popular story current in Bengal was adopted by the people of Mithilā...a local tradition was formed or the same story was prevalent in Mithilā from older days (Cf. New Indian Antiquary Vol. III. Nos. 3 and 4, 1944, pp. 49-57).

Sukumar Sen in his introduction to Bīprādāsa also supports the contention that Vidyāpati was the author of the above mentioned book. Buddhists were in a minority. The sacrifice in the name of Tantric mother goddess was popular. Circular square or triangular maṇḍalas were made in the embers of the sacrificial fires. All important religious ceremonies were observed and on all auspicious occasions people visited important Tīrthas or places of pilgrimage, a list of which has already been appended earlier. Religious toleration was there.

IV
Art and Architecture

Introductory—

Like all other aspects of life, art, in India, has been intimately connected with religion. The Brahmacayāpātāpurāṇa, in a pregnant passage, says—"Mūrti (image of art and religion), the wife of Dharma (the principle underlying Order in the cosmos and the human social structure) is form, luminous and charming." The concept is symbolised in the female deity, so often seen in Indian art, the transcendental power or Šakti. Art does not admit of any precise analysis, though it is the vehicle of abiding values that civilisation creates and nurtures in different epochs. Art depicts the deepest instinct and aims at the reconciliation of emotion and experience. Indian art has always been dominated by the idea of the unity of life and all its symbols stand for some metaphysical meaning. A proper study of art is closely linked up with the study of history. 368 It has been rightly held that art lifts the individual to the universal through the visions of one in the many and according to the Viṣṇudhar-mottara, the universal is given artistic representation. It

368. For details—Cf. Radhakamal Mukherjee—The Social Function of Art (Bombay 1951) and also—Cf. A. Mukherji—Folk Art of Bengal.
CHAPTER IV

says—“Worship and contemplation are possible only when he (worshipper) is endowed with form because human beings are limited and finite.” Art is an integrated and total experience brought about by the fusion of individual feelings and striving with social values, judgement and experience. Art is conditioned by moral, religious and economic values. *The distribution of surplus wealth and leisure and the relation of social classes to each other largely define the forms and emotional contents of art.* We see that in Islam the logical consequence of the absolute unity and omnipotence of God was incompatible with His representation in material objects. The Islamic prohibition of paintings led to the development of geometrical and decorative art. 369 *Each distinctive social system has its own characteristic art form.* True art expresses the valuable ideas of a national culture. *The art of upper class and the art of the people represent difference in style and technique.* 370

The whole of north-eastern India was noted for its artistic contribution so much so that it developed a new school of its own, popularly known as medieval school of eastern sculpture. Under the Pālas, the eastern school of sculpture blossomed into a prolific elegance and ornamentation. Under the Kārnāṭas and the Oinwāras, *new cultural forms took shape and they are the most distinct ingredients of the present day culture of Mithila.* Under them, music, dramaturgy and literary forms acquired a bewilderingly rich variety. A lyrical and colourful stream of music and fine art flowed uninterruptedly in Mithila during the period under review. A wave of popular Hinduism in the form of Bhāgavata creed and saivism was reflected in drama, song and dance and in the festivities, domestic rituals and folklore of the common people. Art under the Pālas was sophisticated and ornamental but almost parallel with it, pottery, textile, printing, painting on walls and various domestic crafts grew up under the influence of popular Hinduism.

The sculptures in bronze, stone, ivory, etc. have been found in abundance in Bihar. The theme, on those sculptures, is predominantly religious but undue importance to sex aspect can not be ignored. Indian thought generally takes a much wider view of art. Beauty, according to the Indian philosophical concept, is subjective and not objective. It belongs only to spirit and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision.\(^{371}\) Art reveals life and soul within the matter. The images of Trimūrti are not rare in Mithilā and each aspect of Trimūrti is correlated to Puruṣa-Prakṛti-Brahmā, Śiva representing truth, Viṣṇu representing equilibrium and rhythm and Śiva representing the power of regeneration. The Hindus had Śiva-Pārvatī as the vehicle of their expression in art and the Buddhists, in order to satisfy their sexual obsessions, dragged Buddha from the noble height to his new role Vajradhara (holder of Vajrayāna) and united him with a female Śakti (Prajñāpāramitā) and called this union 'Sampuṭayoga.'\(^{372}\) The Śāchānamālā of the 12th century A.D. strictly enjoined to conceive of the female partner in this Yoga as a young woman of the most exquisite beauty and has also given her qualities.\(^{373}\) The Tāṇtric mode of Śakti worship in Mithilā was largely influenced by Buddhism. The most popular form of the combination of Śiva-Pārvatī is the Sukhāsana pose (cf. Images discovered at Jayamaṅgalāgarh—G. D. College Bulletin No. 2) whose beginning can be traced to the early Pāla period.\(^{374}\) The Mātsyapurāṇa gives a detailed prescription for carrying the image of Śiva-Pārvatī in amour.\(^{375}\) Four images, conceived in accordance with the above prescription, have been reproduced by the late R. D. Banerjee.\(^{376}\) Some such images discovered in Bihar are preserved in the Patna Museum.

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372. B. Bhattacharya—*Buddhist Iconography*.
374. R. D. Banerjee—*Eastern School of Medieval Sculpture*—P. 111. Similar images have been discovered at Srinagar (Saharsa).
376. op. cit. Plates LV-a, b, c and LV-d; Cf. T. A. Gopinātha Rao—*Hindu Iconography*—Vol. I, Plate LXXIV; Vol. II, Plate LXXIV. for similar images from Rajputana and south.
Though not exactly rare, the amorous image of Śiva-Pārvatī is very rare. Pārvatī with her hand placed on the right shoulder of her consort is seen sitting on the left thigh of Śiva in a Sukhāsana pose. Śiva is seen closely embracing Pārvatī with front left hand on her breast. The amorous portrayal of Śiva-Pārvatī seems to have been a regular feature of the artists for centuries. One of the most ancient symbols of Hinduism is the four headed Lingam (one such image of immense importance is to be seen at Bheetha, near Naulāgarh, 377 Begusarai). The four heads are those of the four central deities of the Hindu pantheon. Vidyāpati’s description of the different poses of Śiva are interesting. Cobra has been represented as Śiva’s special emblem because its spiral coil is taken as the symbol of the principle of cosmic evolution, or of life. The deadly poison contained in its fangs represented the principle or involution or death and its habits of shedding its skin periodically was a symbol of re-incarnation or rebirth. Śiva’s Vāhana, Bull or Nandi (specimens of which have been found at numerous places in Mithilā) carried the sacrificial wood and symbolised his generative force. On the spiritual plane Nandi represents Dharma. Śiva’s tāṁḍava performed on the prostrate body of the demon dwarf, Tripura, represents the world. Ďamaru symbolises the vibrations or the life principle and Ganeśa represents the wisdom. The Śiva-cult is the oldest in India and its worship has been prevalent since the days of Janaka (Cf. Havell—op. cit. pp. 75–80). Though there is abundance of amorous treatment of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in the medieval literatures of Mithilā, Bengal and other parts of India, the absence of the motif in sculpture is conspicuous and unaccounted for. The Belwa (Saran) door frame (in the Patna Museum) is an important piece of art. It has two representations of man and woman in embrace. Uncontrolled sexual exuberance has been depicted here in art. This is matched by another set of two representations of man and woman in embrace, now lying at Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhanga). These sculptural remains, having

sex as their motif, have a marvellous counterparts in the love-songs of Vidyāpati, which give pictures exactly similar to those given in the sculptures. Vidyāpati's amorous woman is matched here with exquisite care and delicacy and masterly finish of medieval plastic art (they have not yet been photographed). The Bhagwanpur art throws sufficient light on the life and condition of the people of Mithilā. The "mother and child" representation is indicative of the fact that poverty had its all powerful grip on the life of the common man. Vidyāpati expressed in his works both the lust for life and the spirit of denial and devotion. In Mithilā homes for generation, two contradictory environments could prevail simultaneously—the scholar husband dedicated to knowledge and the maidens doing household work in a spirit of gaiety and life absorbing artistic activities. The common people have preserved the vivacity of life and culture Mithilā had in the past. A noteworthy development under the Oinwāras was the dissemination of courtly art into the village. When the court ceased to be powerful, the cultural forms remained alive.

The period, under review, was not devoid of artistic achievement. References about the big royal palaces and ordinary huts, in the contemporary accounts and literature, show that the period was marked by two types of house-building. Though devastated by the ravages of Kośi and other rivers, the available pieces of broken images and dilapidated structures, discovered from different parts of Mithilā, speak volume of the prevalence of developed art and architecture. Mithilā, though full of rich historical tradition and important archaeological sites, has not yet been treated well by excavator's spades and there is no room for any doubt that the excavations, if carried on, would yield marvellous results. Both Dharmasvāmi and Vidyāpati refer to the magnificence of the royal palaces and writings of the contemporary Sṛtikārās also refer to the existence of such houses. Vidyāpati, in his Kirti-lātā, has given a graphic description of the royal palace and has given us an insight into the architectural design of the period. The following architectural terms in Vidyāpati deserve
notice—(i) Kriḍāśaila, (ii) Dhārāgrha; (iii) Pramadavana; (iv) Puršavūṭikā; (v) Yantravayajana; (vi) Srīgāraśāṅketa; (vii) Madhavimāṇḍapa; (viii) Khaṭvahindola; (ix) Kusuma-sajjā; (x) Catura Sampallava; and (xi) Citraśāli etc. It is evident that till his time, the old ancient tradition of ancient architecture continued in its entirety. It may be noted with satisfaction here that Vidyāpati has not failed to make a mention of the additions made therein by the muslims, specially of Jaunpur. Vidyāpati refers to (i) Khāsadarbār (Audience Chamber—Cf. Bhuktāsthāna maṇḍapa), (ii) Dara-sadara (the great gate-house—Cf. Rājadvara), (iii) Nimāja-grha (Royal chapel—Cf. Devagṛha) (iv) Khvārgrha (–Āhāra- maṇḍapa) and Ṣora-magrha (= Sukhamandira). The Sharquis seem to have drawn largely upon the old Indian tradition in so far as the conception of architecture was concerned. The VR also gives a detailed account of the palace and the temples. The continuous contacts achieved a remarkable synthesis.

Jyotirīśvara’s account of the royal court is not only interesting but marvellous. The word 378 ‘Sthāna’ indicated an exalted place (derived from the Persian astān = threshold) or the exalted dwelling of a Pir. The Muslim architecture at Jaunpur presented a blending of the Indian and Islamic style and that, in return, led to the growth of new Indian style in every province. 379 At Jaunpur, local styles enjoyed greater ascendency. The Jaunpur style of architecture shows indubitable influence of Hindu art, having sloping walls, square pillars, smaller galleries and cloisters without minarets of the usual type. It is here that Hindu and Muslim architectural elements coalesce to form a new type of architecture.

378. VR—P. 9. स्थान सूचित, कप्यारक कन्हसिस, सोनाकसरारी, मज्जो-काशकचन, श्रीखण्ड स्टम्भ, मरकतकशीर, गौमेदकमवन, वेळांजवरणि, वनदक्वल, अगरकमुहध्वत, कस्तुरकवरा, मुकाकलोध, चतुमकः विलेयन, पवाराक कहल, एवं सर्वशुष्ण सम्पूर्ण आकाशमयण्ड देवु । Cf. PP 20–21—where he mentions—प्रतिमा रचना, वास्तविषा, शिल्पिविषा etc, as qualities and characteristics of art.

379. In that respect, Ibrāhīm Shah may taken as the precursor of Mughal art in India.
According to Vidyāpati, there were Śiva temples, decorated with mast flags and pictures, at Jaunpur. The value of medieval style lay in harmony of structural achievement rather than splendour and variety of the constituent units. It is remarkable to note that this synthesis could be achieved even in Temple architecture. In the temple architecture, Mithilā did not lag behind.

The people of Mithilā were adept in the art of temple building. Spooner has presented a detailed study of these temples and has called them as "Tirhut types of Temples." Refuting Fergusson’s point, Spooner calls northern types as ‘Tirhut types’ consisting of a cella, tower and porch. In the vast majority of cases, the relationship between the divisions of the cella wall and those of the Śikhara is faithfully maintained. The Tirhut temple architecture stands for a plain undecorated walls, undecorated painted roofs and square in plan. There was a small square room to contain the sacred image, a sloped roof and a narrow portico. A series of temples, with utmost culmination of the temple architecture, illustrate the development of this style. Some remains of the palaces have also been noticed. The literary concept of the VR about the finely carved stone basement with accessories can be gleaned through the few remnants of the Karnāṭa palaces (now in the Nepal territory). The ruins of the old temples and palaces can be seen even today at Bheet Bhagwānpur, Andhrāthārhi, Bhagirathpur, Uchchaitha, Birpur (Begusarai) Bahera and a number of other places. The Tilkeśvara temple (Darbhanga) and Sun temple at Kandāhā (Saharsa) have not yet been studied from the artistic point of view. These two are very old temples of Mithilā and speak volume about the architectural designs. The recent discovery of the remnants of a full-fledged temple

380. The lotus and pitcher supplied a constant motif in the construction of the Hindu temples.
381. JBORS—II. 121 ff.
382. Ibid—126.
383. Ibid—121—134, for details and examples.
384. JASB—IV. 122—23.
at Bahera shows that the architects conformed to the old rules and regulations. The Bahera and the Bhagirathapur discoveries give us an insight into the architectural development. Ornamental and decorated bricks (one of rare type at Bahera) and fine stone slabs and door frames go to suggest that this type of workmanship was not neglected in our part. It has been suggested that Bhagirathpur bricks bear the specimen of *tantric cakras* and some of them exhibit an example of artistic workmanship. The long stretches of temple corridors, the symmetrical arrangements of the entrances, quadrangles and staircases, the construction of halls, the remarkable simplification, elongation of massive and squared figures, etc. illustrate the geometrical pattern of the artists.

In so far as the architecture is concerned, the construction of forts rather fortifications in general claimed the attention not only of the writers on polity but of the architects as well. From the time of the *Jātakas* the city of Mithilā is said to have been well-fortified. In those days, there were seven moats. The sides of the ditches were generally lined with the bricks. Generally there were a water moat, a mud moat and a dry moat. Even during our period, forts were not few and far between. The fort builders of Mithilā conformed to the standards set in by the ancient writers. According to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (chapter 8, 216) the ditches were excavated with the mouths connected with the river. According to the *Devipurāṇa* (chapter 72–27) the construction of a brick-built wall is indispensable in artificial forts and the maximum height, prescribed by the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, should be twenty cubits (chapters 103–20). The *Matsyapurāṇa* (chapter 217–8) states that the forts should have ditches. Kauṭilya divides fortifications

385. Cf. my article—*Some recent Archaeological Discoveries in North Bihar* in *JBR*-XLIII.
387. *Supra*—S. V. Fortifications.
into seven kinds (AŚ-Bk-II. Śukta-IV. 6 chapter 3). Artificial fortifications were not unknown. There were three types of artificial forts—viz. by the construction of wall, the construction of trenches and the construction of forests. The Maheśvarā inscription (dated 1291 A.D.), discovered and edited by me (ABORI-XXXVI), refers to the construction of a strong fort. Even earlier than this, Dharmāsvāmī has given a graphic description of the fort of Simaraongarh. The fact, that the capital of Mithilā was surrounded by strong forts, is confirmed by Feritha, Barni, and Mulla Taquia. The existence of a number of Garhs or Forts in Mithilā confirms our point of view that the people of Mithilā were adept in this type of architecture. Almost every part of Mithilā has yet ruins of old forts and the names of some such important sites are—Asurgarh, Alauligarh, Śri- nagar (Madhipura), Sāhugarh, Jalalgarh, Garhi, Naulagarh, Jaimangalāgarh, Mangalagarh, Bheet Bhagawanpur, Havidih, Harisimhapur, Sivasimhapur, Balirājagarh, Khajouli. Bawanagarhi, Simaraongarh, Bijalgarh, Kāpgarh, Ekma and others.

The sculptural brilliance in Mithilā was no less important and from a study of the contemporary literature, it appears that the Maithilas attached equal importance to the canons of iconography. Even the few images, noticed so far at Simaraongarh, are sculpturally superior. No thorough survey of the sculptures of Mithilā has yet been made and it is beyond the scope of our present work to do so. Images of almost all popular gods and goddesses are frequently met with and they are important from the artistic point of view. A number of Viṣṇu images, in various incarnations, have come to light from different parts of Mithilā. The tradition of black stone was continued by the rulers of Mithilā. Beginning from the time of Nānyadeva, the art of this part was acquiring importance and ruins at Simaraon, Hāvidiha, Āsi, Bhagwanpur, and the reliefs of Sanghoul, Kandāḥa, etc., the image of Kamalāditya at Andhrātharhi, Sūrya images at Barouni, Baraipura and Jayamaṅgalāgarh, and a large number of images, spread over here and there, speak volume about the sculptural
brilliance of this land. The precious relics of art and architecture still lie buried under the ground and await to be explored by the antiquarians. References to temples are also found in the VR. Dharmasvāmi refers to an image of Tārā in Vaiśāli and that stands confirmed by an inscription of the same region. Bihar had a long tradition of sculpture making. The Pāla and Sena sculptures are efflorescent in poise and repose, characteristic of spacious epoch in Indian culture. It profoundly influenced the later art of Nepal, Tirhut, Burma, Ceylon, Java, etc. The Imadpur metal images are exceedingly beautiful and some metal images were also noticed at Bahera and Jaymāṅgalagarh, now lost to us. It has been held that where authority and tradition hold their sway, architecture becomes the central and most dominant in art, subordinating itself to sculpture and all other art forms.

The sculpture produced a remarkable combination of monumentality and stillness with a quiet but alluring physical grace and pliable exuberance of human moods. In Mithilā, it was the outcome of strange spiritual discipline associated with the development of Tantricism in which erotic rupture and spiritual bliss were one and the same. In the execution of icons, the suggestion of the sex is the full rounded breast and heavy slanting hips of the female deities and in the broad shoulders and thin strong waist of the male deities, along with their caressing poses and gestures, was coupled with the elaborate flow of garlands and garments and the lively sport of the Gandarvas. And yet these deities overwhelm us with a profound abstraction that set them far above the plane of the senses. The Tantric ritual, thereby, had its own contribution to sculptures in the middle ages in which transcendentalism and humanism were so marvellously blended. We have referred to above a familiar erotic pose of

389. Cf. G. D. College Bulletin—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; My articles already referred to; JBORS—XX. PP. 15–19; VR—Kallola–3.


Śiva fondly embracing Śakti on his lap. In his Durgābhakti
taraṅgiṇī, Vidyāpati has given detailed account about the
(i) Pūjārghanirmanāṇa, (ii) Pratimānivesa, and (iii) Pratima-
laksana etc. In the age of Vidyāpati, the cult of divine
child, Kṛṣṇa, was the focus of awakening of the national
spirit and the hymns of Vidyāpati made a definite contribution
towards this aspect. The abolition of distinction be-
tween human and spiritual desires and sentiments linked art
and vernacular literature indissolubly with religion. The
Pālas had given a local colour to the sculptural and architec-
tural art of Bihar and the tradition was continued by the
later rulers of Mithilā. The stray finds from different parts
of north Bihar confirm our statement and it can be said, with
some amount of certainty, that Mithilā in her own humble
way contributed to the gliding stream which aimed at seeking
a common and glorious destiny in harmony with the entire
humanity.

The universal observance of the rites formulated at the time
of Harisimhadeva (C. 1324 A. D.) was strictly followed under
the Oinwaras. The modes and motifs of the drawing pattern
were influenced and the folk ritual came to be elevated into a
sacred mythological system and was ultimately given even a
literary base. We can cite here for example the story of Sāmā-
chakewa, a folk festival with its accompanying colourful toys
and artistic figures. The story is preserved in the Skanda
purāṇa in the following manner—Sāmā is shown to be the
sister of Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa. Her husbands' name is supposed
to have been Cakravāka. Chudaka, a low caste person,
reported that Sāmā had an illicit relationship with the seven
ṛṣis of Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa cursed Sāmā to become a bird and
her husband also chose to transform himself into a bird. The
seven ṛṣis were also cursed and became birds. Samba under-
gen a penance and got the release of his sister and others
from the bird life. The Sāmā-Chakewa festival is commemorated
in the Maithila folk art. The scarecrows are the slanderers who
are installed in the fields for public ridicule.

The festival is celebrated in Mithilā in October-November (Kārtika). Sāmā and Chakēwā are the names of particular kinds of birds while the scarecrows are given the names of Chugalā and Brṇdāvāna. Women make earthenware figures of Sāmā and Chakēwā, of seven other birds called satbhāiyā, six other figures called Sheeri Sāmā, two back to back figures of birds called Batobahinō and finally the two scarecrows made of straw and jute with earthen faces. These are colourfully and artistically made and is placed on equally colourful plate like basket (Changera) along with a decorative earthen vessel. For fifteen nights, women go forth to their respective fields every night carrying the basket on their head. They sing and indulge in playful skit and group dances. On the final full moon night they place an artistic four-faced lamp (Chaumukha deepa) in the filed and fix the scare-crow. The purpose of the ritual seems to have been the installation of the scarecrow in the field. The folk ritual had to be incorporated into the Skanda Purāṇa possibly during the rule of the Karṇāṭas-Onwāras. The fusion of folk art with the court art and the extension of court art to the ordinary home are interesting sociological phenomenon and deserve further study.

Painting is an important medium of expression of moods and sentiments. It is the spirit of a people and environment that determines the dominant trend in painting. In the Viṣṇudharmottara, we find a definite prescription of the use of colours in painting according to religious symbolism. Colour symbolism in Indian art underlies not only the painting of statues which according to Sātvika (truth), Rājasika (activity) and Tāmasika (ignorance) aspects had to be painted in white, red and dark respectively. Love was to be painted in Śyāma hue, anger in red, pity in grey, fear in black and supernatural in yellow colour. Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra has emphasised the importance of colour. The themes of the Vaiṣṇava poets and artists were generally derived from the legends of the love of Krṣṇa. Krṣṇa is considered as the divine soul. The mode of expression of the Vaiṣṇava poets and artists is

rather imagist than allegorical, in the sense in which “in imagist art things are what they suggest, while allegory, however, appropriate, is always arbitrary; to understand the Krishna-lila as an allegory is to misunderstand it, since it is neither fanciful, nor pseudo-historical, but a drama perpetually enacted in the heart of every bhakta.” The hymns of Candidasā and Vidyāpati, which so much influenced Rabindranātha, were indebted to Vaiṣṇava thought which inspired mediaeval art and poetry. The medieval painting was inspired by Bhakti mysticism. It was lyrical in tone and truly national in appeal. Its subject-matter was based on folklore, mythology, religion, music and erotics. The Vaiṣṇava poets humanised the art more and more and brought it into closer association with the daily routine of life, toil, ordinary happiness and sorrow of men and women. Here was the conception of oneness of life which was brought home to the rural masses by poetry, music and paintings in terms of popular Radha-Krishna motif. Vidyāpati equally succeeded in depicting penances of Śiva-Pārvatī in painting with deep lyrical tenderness and reverence. Śiva represented the common man.

During the age of Vidyāpati, various forms of art were prevalent in Mithilā and painting was just one of them. Besides the more known and prevalent forms, in the fields of painting Mithilā had two special contributions to her credit—(i) Aipana (Alpana or Aripaṇa). It was an important folk art.


Also Cf.—(i) Mithila ka Chitrakalaa by Dr. Brajkishore Varma in Vaidēhi.

On almost all auspicious occasions, nay daily among the orthodox sections, the women of Mithilā sketch auspicious drawings in the court yard, door front and other places. They draw circular patterns of designs with a white liquid paste of ground rice. In various Aipana designs, painted in various colours Śiva-Pārvatī, Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī and various other gods and goddesses are produced with great originality and imagination. Aipana is an example of the prevalence of the Sakti cult in Mithilā. Maithila women specialise in it. Even in the earlier writings like the Purāṇas and Harṣacarita, we come across references to Aipana. It represents the traditional folk art of Mithilā. It is associated mostly with the Tantrika designs and its various forms now remain unexplained by many of such women who actually carve them. The aṣṭadala Aipana is one of the most popular forms, a beautiful eight petalled lotus. This form is connected with Durgā, who, on ceremonial occasions, is depicted on eight petals—conch, disc, lotus, sword, shield, mace and rope, etc. Mithilā has been able to maintain her tradition in this field.

Maithila home-art can be broadly divided into four main classes, viz.—
(a) line-drawings on the ground known as aripaṇas
(b) wall-paintings
(c) terracotta figurines and dolls of other materials
(d) utility articles in colourful forms.

The Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha women specialise in the first three categories of the artistic work. The Kulīna home art was the extension of the palace art of the Kărṇāṭa and Oinwāra dynasties. In all these we can see traces of basic symbolical pattern of the Vedic sacrifices and even more pronounced than these are the Tantric symbols. The Sarvatobhadra ( Svastika ) pattern is drawn near the Tulasi plant in the month of Kārtika and is composed of fortyone Svastikas interlinked in a complex

397. V. S. Agrawal—Harṣacarita ( Patna—1953 ) PP. 70–72. We have a further reference to the inscribed miniature painting of the two palm-leaf MSS of the 12th century A. D. Cf. ARASI—1903–4, P. 82.
design. There are directives for making attractive drawing on the ground in works like Saṃskāraratnamālā, Kṛtyaratnakara, Anuṣṭhānaprakāśa and Devitantra, etc. The art of beautifying the ground was known all over India. In the Tantric works there are references to the decorative patterns drawn on the ground in connection with rituals, Saṃskāras and ceremonies. The square circles are also called maṇḍalas. In Mithilā, for every major Saṃskāra a different kind of ariṇa is drawn and its authentic form is maintained in the home.

In drawing ariṇas, no brushes are employed but only the nimble fingers. Apart from the natural white colour of the powdered rice (piṭhāra ), often turmeric is mixed to produce yellow effect and Sindoor for the red. The outer forms of ariṇas are often symbolical of the Tantric designs, some inner features are related to the Śākta creed. The red dot symbolises the power of mother-goddess. Patterns are generally representing natural phenomenā and objects like flowers, leaves, trees, fish, peacocks, snakes, sun, moon, shrines, things associated with deities like drum and triśula, conchshell, ploughmen, sweeper, triangle connected with Gaurī, etc. The geometrical shapes, mainly triangular and circular, are often used in ariṇas for certain kinds of worship such as Tusāri pūjā for unmarried girls, Prthvīpūjā, etc. The Leaf pattern is the commonest form used for social festivities like marriage, etc. The Daspatā ariṇa is the richest among the leaf pattern (ten-leaved designs). Saṣṭhi pūjā ariṇa uses a single leaf. The Madhusūrāṇī ariṇa is based on one large and ten small leaves of Maina tree. The Kojagarakā ariṇa (using the Makhāna leaf base) is meant to welcome Lakṣmī. Similar ariṇas are drawn on the Dipāvali or Sukharātri day. Ploughmen and sweepers are drawn in Chaturasankha ariṇa.

Another important aspect of the folk art in Mithilā is known as Koñhabara so frequently referred to in the poems of Vidyāpati. The word Vilepana (Koñhabara) for painting has been used in the VR (Supra). Koñhabara indicates painting on the wall of a house where newly married couples enter after marriage for their first meeting. This house is specially
made at the time of the marriage or a separate room in the house is set apart for the purpose and the walls of that particular room are painted with stories and legends, from folklore and mythology. This painting is done with Gairika, a mineral pigment, i.e., red colour. No other colour, except this, is allowed in this drawing as that colour is taken as auspicious. This is also one of the important folk arts of Mithilā and some women specialise in this particular form of art. These drawings deserve careful study. On this auspicious occasion, womenfolk assemble and sing songs. Wall paintings of different forms and kinds are not new. Earliest extant of wall paintings are to be seen at caves IX and X at Ajanta. References to wall paintings are also found in the Buddhist literature. Vidyāpati also refers to the art of painting. Śaśi and Mūladeva were two artists. Mūladeva was an accomplished artist who drew a picture, depicting the entire incident of the two deer on one side and the portrait of the princess and himself on the other. It was merely by his skill in painting pictures that Mūladeva obtained the desire of his heart.

Wall paintings are more direct and reveal to us the variety of life in spirit. These paintings are generally found in the Gosauṇighara (family deity), Kohbara (honeymoon room) and the verandah of the Kohabar, more popularly known as kohabaragharakakoniya. These paintings are glimpses of life and nature. An important painting of narrative type is Harisaun pūjā ka citra, done only in Sindoor on the wall. There are twenty sketches depicting the life of two girls of whom one is married. Sarovarcitra includes various kinds of fishes, turtles, etc. In the Kohabar four women known as Nayana yoginas are seen carrying various articles on their heads. There is also a bamboo bush (known as Bānsa) complete with birds and a lotus plant depicting moon. The paintings on the verandah of the Kohabar are profusely illustrated from the scenes of rural life.

399. PP (G) Tale 21.

24 M. V.
The peacock's love dance in all its glory and naughty scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life when he stole the clothes of maidens swimming nude in the river have an obvious appeal to the marriage party. This art of Mithila has refinement, continuity and a literary base which one can expect in tribal art, or in the folk art of the village people.

Archer styled the wall-paintings of Mithilā as the "Maithila Paintings." Besides the wall, pottery, fans, dishes, paper and other articles of daily use are painted. These paintings apparently display a sense of sensuality. It is an ordinary domestic art and forms an important part of Mithila's rituals. According to Archer, the Maithila painting has been as natural and as necessary as sweeping the courtyard or going to a well. Pink, yellow, green, blue, and red colours are generally used. The subject matter of such paintings falls into two groups—(i) a series of heavenly forms to which are sometimes added the more mundane figures of bride and bridegrooms along with the members of their wedding trains and (ii) a series of animal forms. Raina, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Durgā, Kali, Sītā, Radhā and other gods and goddesses are generally painted. At the wedding ceremony, painting is considered essential and at marriage paintings, sun, moon, bamboo-tree, lotus, parrots, turtles, and fish come into prominence. The bamboo tree and the ring of lotuses represent the diagrams of sexual organs and fertility, parrot symbolises the love birds, turtles the lovers' union and fish the emblem of fertility. The Sun and Moon symbolise the life giving qualities. About the Brāhmaṇas' and Kāyasthas' paintings, Archer says—"the colours of the Brāhmaṇa paintings are parallel to those in paintings by Mīro, while those of the Kāyastha paintings resemble the black terracotta colours of Greek vases..... the Brāhmaṇas' paintings bear thin, wavering and nervous lines, the Kāyasthas' paintings have firm, vigorous and precise lines ......... they are series of neatly regulated panels." ⁴⁰⁰

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⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Archer's article in the Mārg-III. PP 25-33. The figures of Bak (heron) and Thug (robber) are shown of the bridegroom as he arrives at the Maṇḍapa. A large toy elephant is
nature of most delicate painting and it is here that poetry and painting interpreted each other. The universal love drama of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa has sustained the vigour of painting for centuries. The subject matter of these paintings can be divided into two types—(i) Gods who bring their blessings to the bridal pairs such as Śiva, Pārvati, Rādhākṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu in all his incarnations, Durgā, Kāli and Gaṇeṣa; figures of bride and bridegrooms with all their attendants; (ii) Various symbols of fertility and prosperity like elephants, fish, parrots, turtles, sun and moon; a bamboo tree and a great circular lotus flower. The variety and inventiveness make them perhaps the most sophisticated and elegant of all popular paintings in Bihar. The Brāhmana and Kāyasthas have preserved in an unbroken tradition, though the work of the two castes has remained clearly distinguishable.

Painting as a craft in Bihar continued as is apparent from a recently discovered palmleaf manuscript of Kālacakratantra (a Buddhist Tantric Text) in the Cambridge University Library and it is dated (V.S. 1503 = 1446 A.D.). The wooden covers of this MSS are printed on both sides. The MSS was written by the scribe, Karanā-Kāyastha, Jayarāmadatta who was the Śāsanika of the village Ara in Magadha.

In one of the scenes, Buddha is accompanied by the three principal Brāhmanical Gods, Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva and by the thousand eyed Indra. Some form of Nāga worship is portrayed in one of the scenes, where a man is seen in the art of adoring a serpent, coiled round a tree. The hood of the serpent is adorned with a jewel. Next we come across the worship of a hare, a goose and peacock and these are indicative of some sort of esoteric symbolism.

placed near the Maṇḍapa, along with two descriptive earthen pots such as Purhara and Pātīla, the latter containing also a lamp. Inside the Kohabara also, there is an elephant but on its back are two figures representing the bridge and the bridegroom. The scheduled and backward people express their artistic interests in certain utility articles, some of which are prepared for use at the festivities in upperclass homes.
How this painting came to originate in Magadha is yet an enigma to many. Jayarāmadatta appears to have been a cosummate master of pen and he was possibly responsible for the illumination of these paintings. He may have been a traditional craftsman without any formal training and he might have carried the tradition of folk painting from his native land of Mithilā. The paintings on the cover show signs of synthesis between the elements of local styles and contemporary folk traditions. This indicates that in the middle of the 15th. century A.D. the tradition of painting was still alive in Bihar. The artist has drawn his iconographic scheme from the Pāla style and has derived certain stylistic characteristics from the contemporary style of the apabhraṃśa school. (Cf.—JRAS—London—1965—pp. 103-111).

Besides these specialised art of painting, there were minor domestic arts preserved by women-folk. The needle work is a very old art in Mithilā and Vidyāpati, in his Kirti-lata, refers to the prevalence of Kastā. The Muslims were equally expert in this branch. This word is yet in vogue in Mithilā. This folk art was carried out in every home with an innate sense of design and a variety of technique. It is prepared by women. The MARG issue on embroidery has brought to the public notice the importance of this art of Bihar. Sufānis containing stylised embroidery work are remarkable for detailed and complete workmanship. The prasādhana is an extremely sophisticated art.

The cultivation of music as an art in Mithilā is a very old practice. 401 Since the days of Vedic Civilisation, Mithilā has remained the centre of the Vedic mantras. The history of Mithilā school of Music can be traced to the Vedic Mantras and even now there are places associated with the different Vedas. Yajuṣa and Rigā are said to be connected with the Yajurveda and the Rgveda respectively. There has

401. Indian Nation—Pujā Issue—1947; Chetanātha Jha’s introduction to Parijatāharapā; Jayanti (Ram Lochana Saran Jubilee volume); PP. 291—297; Mithilā Mithra (1944)—Isanātha Jha’s article—विषायति वो हुनक संगीतकला।
been a continuity in so far as the history of the development of music is concerned. The first ruler of the historic period, Nānyadeva, (also known as Abhinavagupta) was a great musician and a prolific writer on art and aesthetics. His commentary on Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra (Bharata Kośa) is still regarded as a masterpiece. Singing or Music is connected with the Sāmaveda according to Bharata. The music of Mithilā developed on lines different from the present day Hindustani music of northern India is partly explained by the South Indian influence. The Kārnāṭas brought with them south Indian talents. In the Gorakṣavijaya, a drama by Vidyāpati, there is a reference to a dancer from Tailaṅga deśa (Modern Andhra). It was the Kārnāṭa ruler, Harisiṃha, who introduced a mixed Sanskrit-Vernacular operatic form of drama.

The VR (Kallola sixth) concerns itself with gentle art of music and dancing. The Vidyāwanta, a professional singer and music master is not inferior to that of the exalted Bhāṭa. Here the names of the Rāgas, of the Śrutis and Gāyana-doṣa (defects of singers) and fourteen kinds of Gītā-doṣa (defects of singing) are mentioned. We have, then, enumeration of various kinds of dancing, ten qualifications of drum players, twelve kinds of drum-music, the time-beats (Tāla), ten rasas, thirty Vyabhicāribhāvas or opposed sentiments, eight Sāttvika or proper sentiments and so forth. The dancing girl (Pātra) is well-practised in thirty two kinds of movements and thirty two kinds of graces. There is a list of twenty seven kinds of lutes.


403. VR—p. 44 ff. p. 48. Rāgas—वासरी, कौशिक, मल्लार, नेच, मानसी, गुडकी, सहारी, देशाणी, दीपक, देशी, वसन्त, वंगाल, कासोद, करोट, भेरव, भेरवी, गान्नार, गुजरी, हिंदुदेख, रामकरी, etc. Cf. Lochana’s description of Malthili Rāgas—कृष्णा विभावी तदनु भेरवबहिरानि वराहानि।
   नोपी वाहम गुजरी रामकरी कापिशारक्री।
Music was not only a favourite pastime of the rulers of Mithilā but it was widely cultivated by all sections of people. Vidyāpati names one Kalānidhi, who sang hymns so exquisitely as to gain applause of all the courtiers and also a reward of gold by the king of Gorakhpur. 404 Umāpati, in his Pārijatāharana, Jyotirīṣvara, in his Dhūrtasamāgama and Vidyāpati in his Gorakṣavijaya have given us the list of musical rāgas, then prevalent in Mithilā e.g. Natarāga, Mālavāraṇa, Vasantarāga, Barādirāga, Āsvāvarāga, Pañcamarāga, Rājavijayarāga, Kedararāga and Lalitarāga, etc. Vidyāpati himself was a great musician of repute. He represented the golden age of Mithilā music, when its influence on Nepal and other adjoining states is also visible. A large number of works on music and allied subjects sprang up. A whole picture of the Rāgas and Rāginīs of Mithilā can be gleaned through the pages of Locana’s Rāgatarāṅgini. The lyrics of Vidyāpati are meant literally to be sung. He exploited almost all types of lyrics in Maithili. The distinguishing characteristics of Maithili lyrics are— (i) extraordinarily musical; (ii) directness and spontaneity; (iii) length is invariably suited to the expression of one powerful mood or emotion; (iv) range is wide and unlimited; (v) chief sources of inspiration are the events and experiences of everyday life; (vi) Sanskrit
stories and legends and (vii) Sanskrit poetics and erotic conventions provide eternal background to its colour and imagery.\textsuperscript{405} Our poet wrote in certain traditional \textit{rāgas} and setting tune to his poems was one of his greatest achievements. The following important \textit{rāgas} found favour with Vidyāpati—Mūlava, Sūhaba, Gurjari, Vasanta, Ahira, Śrī, Dhanacchi, Varāli, Kolāva, Sāmari, Kānal, Lalita, Bibhāsa, Abhogya, Manāri, Mallāra, Narita, Sārangi etc.

In Mithilā, each \textit{rāga} comprises the distinctive notes associated with a particular mode and emotion elicited universally in the cyclical recurrence of seasons and hours in human heart. Each \textit{rāga} comprises five or six \textit{rāginīs}. Rabindranath has rightly observed—"Our songs speak of early dawn and the embroidered, starry midnight sky.............our song is the world.............pain of dripping rain and the worldless ecstasy of the deep madness of the early spring as it reaches the utmost limits of the forest."\textsuperscript{406} The \textit{Bhairavī-rāga}, hymn of worship of Śiva, is sung in the early dawn and arouses a poignant sense of futility, impermanence of life and the mystery of the infinite. \textit{Basantā} and \textit{Hindola} depict Kṛṣṇa dancing with his flute in hand. They are well-known for their representation of melody. In the \textit{Meghamallāra}, the pictorial representation is that of a woman, draped in the skirts of leaves that are agitated by high winds. Both the lyrical poetry and music seek to express in the famous \textit{Bārahamaśā} songs of Mithilā which take the form not of a symbol or icon but illustrate a dramatic situation, appropriate for various seasons. The descriptive\textsuperscript{407} imagery in these lyrics, the harmony in the \textit{Rāgas} or \textit{Rāginīs} and scenic representations in painting symbolise universal sentiment of wholeness. During the period under review, poetry, music and painting, expressing the same impersonal moods in different idioms, were impregnated with religious motifs from the legends.

\textsuperscript{405} J. K. Miśra—\textit{op. cit.} 76.

\textsuperscript{406} Quoted from \textit{Jībanasṃrti} by A. Coomarswami in \textit{Rājaputa Painting—Vol. I. P. 65.}

\textsuperscript{407} R. K. Mookherji—\textit{op. cit.} P. 168.
of the Bhāgavata and the Purāṇas that reached the masses through poets and artists. It has been rightly suggested that "rarely in the history of world's culture has there been such collaboration of the arts expressing the communal vision of a whole people and epoch as was then witnessed in northern India"—(Mookherji—op. cit. 168 ff).

Nanyadeva is credited with the compilation of a work entitled Sarvasvatādayalaṅkāraham and this particular work is the most exhaustive commentary on the Nātyaśāstra. Karṇāṭarāga possibly came with him. He has given a list of about 180 rāgas. Jayadeva also influenced the music of Mithilā and all his twenty four prabandhas or songs are assigned to definite Tāla and Rāga. Harisimhadeva 408 was also a great musician and his court was an important centre of musical studies. The Rāsārṇavasudhākara of Siṃha Bhupāla (probably a Maithila) is a short but interesting treatise on poetics and his Saṅgitaratnākara Vyākhyā is a treatise on music (JBORS—XIV. P. 2). Jagaddhara wrote Saṅgitasargasva. Locana divides Gīta into instrumental and vocal and controlled and uncontrolled. He refers to a work, entitled Rājasaṅgita-saṅgraha, now lost to us. He gives a legendary origin of art in Mithilā and says that Śivasimha appointed Jayata (Jayanta?) for the poet laureate Vidyāpati. He is believed to have determined new type of Rāgos. Mithilā was the centre from which radiated the light of the art of music and dancing in different directions. The Maithila musicians enriched Nepal, U. P., Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Buddhana Miśra went to Bengal as expert in Music and Vamsamani Jhā and his descendants created name in Nepal. Maithila musicians were invited to the court of Tripura.

In the field of dancing too, Mithilā did not lag behind. From the Nṛtyavīdayakatha of the PP, we learn that dancing was developed in the age of Vidyāpati. He has quoted verse from Bharata (Nātyaśāstra—I. 17) to show that from the Ṛgveda came the text, from the Sāmaveda, the art of singing, from the Yajurveda, the lore of gesture and from the Atharvaveda,

408. PP (G)—Tale 22.
the expression of emotion. Nrtya has been declared of two fold kind. Nrtya of women is called Lasya by which Gauri is delighted and that of men is called Tanḍava by which Mahadeva is delighted. According to Grierson, Lasya is a ballet in which emotions are indicated by attitude and gesticulations. He means by Tanḍava a frantic dance performed by men in honour of Śiva. Its importance in society has been well-discussed on the authority of Bharata. The use of words Nāṭa and Naṭina in Maithili folklore and poetry shows the prevalence of miming art. The art of drama rendered benefit to the whole world. We have already referred to the description of the dancing girl as given by Jyotirīśvara. Dancing has played a significant part in the finer as well as coarser spheres of life. Religious dances, folk dances, etc. have often given clearer interpretations of the mode of life of the people. Dancing in India has been conceived of as an expression of spiritual energy on the earth plane through senses and intelligence. Śiva, the lord of creation and the first dancer expressed the great cosmic activities of creation, preservation and destruction. Similarly the Rāsa dance of Kṛṣṇa has an undying significance. Here Rādhā is the love energy of creation. Dance and Music were the excellent modes of regulations of emotions. The very aim of Nāṭyaśāstra (a fifth Veda) was the attainment of four Puruṣārthas (Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa). Rasa finds expressions in various gestures and postures of dance. Thirteen important rasas or emotions are—Srīgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Adhbuta, Hāsa, Bhayānaka, Bibhatsa, Raudra, Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhyā, Vātsalya and Madhura, Bhakti finds artistic expression in subjects relating to the love of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa. Vaiṣṇavite literature had centred in the Bhakti cult, which comprehends all three cardinal virtues (Faith,
hope and charity). It may be noted here that very recently an image in a dancing pose was discovered from Uchaittha in the district of Darbhanga. According to Bharata, Laya is the perfect harmonious combination of nrtya, gana and Vadya. In our country, the additional use of music was sought to crystallise apprehension, thus contributing to achieve some simplifications and abstractions as in music. Painting, music and dance have contributed to express and intensify generic and impersonal moods and sentiments.

Besides the classical standard, Mithila is the homeland of a number of folk dances. It was here that the classical music and the folk dances blended together in perfect harmony. In that sense, it may be called unique. The rural art of Mithilā exhibits a profundity of philosophical conception and currents and cross-currents of everyday life. Romance is the basic theme of these folk dances. The VR gives an interesting description and enumeration of the different forms of folk dances. Śrīhastamukhāvali of Subhaṅkara Ṭhākur deals with various kinds of the art of dancing on traditional lines. It deals with the motions of hand in dancing. A commentary on this work was written by Ghanaśyama. The commentary is a comprehensive work and deals with 212 varieties of poses. Subhaṅkara’s Saṅgitāmodara (in seven chapter) (Krṣṇamachari—History of Sanskrit literature—P. 865) deals with the various aspects of music and dancing. We may broadly divide the folk dances of Mithilā into two classes—(i) Women’s dance and (ii) Men’s dance. The Kirtaniyā dance is the oldest folk dance and is associated with worship of Viṣṇu. In the age of Vidyāpati, the Kirtaniyā dance assumed its present character. It is democratic in character as all types of people participate in it without any distinction. It is a dance of great spiritual fervour. The themes of these Kirtaniyā dances were derived mainly from the Purāṇas. The

Rāmalīḷā and Kṛṣṇalīḷā dances were equally popular. The\textsuperscript{413(a)} Jāta-Jaṭina dance is a versified performance in which only young girls participate in the months of Āśvina-Kārtika. It depicts the complication of matrimonial life and dialogues, in the form of songs, are full of satire and humour. The Shāma-chakeva is another folk dance of Mithilā and its origin is traced back to the Skanda Purāṇa and Padmapurāṇa. This dance begins in the month of Kārtika (in the bright half) Śyāma is a female and Chakeva is a male and they stand to each other as brother and sister. The actors are represented in clay images made for the purpose. The aim of this particular folk dance is to inspire pure love in the hearts of brother and sister. It begins after Chaṭha and ends with the Kārtikapūrṇima. We have also already discussed it earlier. Another important folk dance is the Naina-yogina, (associated with the Tantric cult) connected with the marriage ceremony. The Salheśa Pūjā, in the form of a dance, is also an important art in Mithilā. The Dusādhas are usually connected with it (Cf. Maithil Chrestomathy Pt. II. PP. 3-11). The Salheśa dance is not only thrilling but sometimes inspiring as well. The Fishermen celebrate Kamala dance. The Dhānukas and Musharas are associated with the Goraiyan dance; the Saperās with the serpent dance; Dusādhas with the Rāhu dance, Musharas, Chamāras and others with the Dinābhadri dance. Jyotirīśvara refers to Lorika dance as early as the 13th century A.D. The Musalmanas of Mithilā are associated with the Marsia songs.\textsuperscript{414}

We now give below a description of some of the most popular folk-dances that are even now performed in Mithilā on different occasions.

\textsuperscript{413(a)} My paper Jata-Jatinas was accepted for publication in the Bihar Theatre. I had seen proofs and had appended an English translation of the same but I am sorry to state that the issue probably did not come and even my matter was not returned.

\textsuperscript{414} For details—Cf. an account of Folk dances in Mithila as given by Dr. Braj Kishore Varma in Maithili language in the appendix. Also cf.—मिथिल्का क लोकनृत्य परम्परा by Prasūlla Kumar Singh Moun in Vaiḍēhi—November 1958.
Dasaut or Ghasakaṭṭi (the grass-cutting ceremony)—

This is performed on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. This dramatic performance is done mainly by the womenfolk. It is ritualistic in character and is performed in the house-hold court yards of the parents of the bride. In the course of time there has inevitably been much change in the form and atmosphere of the original dance and is now no more than a spontaneous expression of the joy of living through their mimetic representations of the scenes and incidents of the village-life so familiar to the performers.

After the marriage-ceremony is over, the performance in connection with the grass-cutting ceremony otherwise known as Dasaut, is held. The bride and the bridegroom also participate in this dance though the role of the former is passive. The groom is required to cut the grass and feed the oxen of the father-in-law who in turn promises to give the oxen to him, a bazar is held, things are sold and stolen; therefore one of the ladies assumes the role of darogā or a sub-inspector, others that of constable; investigation is carried and the groom is declared accused and accordingly punished. All this ends in humour and merry-making. The background is furnished by a number of folk-songs which give tempo to the dramatic actions. The dancers move slowly round with very little footwork, but a great variety of movement takes place in the gestures of the hands and arms. The movements of the dance are much more restrained and gentle than among the ordinary peasant women, and except when the dancing is performed, the feet are hardly ever left entirely off the ground. True, the foot-work is in itself some what monotonous, but it lends a peculiar dignity to the dance, especially as the movements of the upper part of the body are undoubtedly of extreme grace and beauty.

There is no doubt that the tradition of this fold-dance is very ancient as we have a similar reference in Kālidāsa’s Kumāra-Sambhava to a performance done mainly by women on such occasions.
CHAPTER IV

The Kirtana-dance or the Kirtaniyā drama:

The Kirtana-dance, popularly known as Kirtaniyā, was once the most widely practised of all the folk-dances in Mithilā. It is of great antiquity, and is associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. In course of time, however, the performance fell into disuse and came to be neglected. Credit goes to Vidyāpati in Mithilā and Caitanyadeva in Bengal, who gave its present character. Of all the features of the dance the most striking is its democratic character for, the people of a whole village, rich and poor, young and old, freely participate in it without any distinction of caste or rank. The dance is performed to the accompaniment of ḍhol (a rural drum) or mṛdaṅga and jhal and the general form of the whole dance is extremely simple since it consists of the devotees moving round in a circle raising and lowering their hands in time with the beating of the drum accompanied with jhal. It is no doubt a dance of a great spiritual fervour in which the religious emotions of the dancers are worked up to a fanatical pitch, so that the dance usually ends in a sort of ecstasy of feeling. Occasionally the form of the dance is varied by its being taken as a procession through the village called Nagara-Kirtana. Sometimes it continues for weeks and months without any break.

It seems that in the course of the centuries this Kirtana-dance gradually developed into the famous Kirtaniyā drama of Mithilā in mediaeval period. We have already noted above that independent of the court, traditions of dancing and acting flourished in the rural areas of which we have unmistakable mention in Jyotirśvara’s Varṇana-Ratnakara. Owing to the dearth of adequate information and memoirs or histories, we are not in a position to ascertain the conditions of the stage in Mithilā. There are, however, still a few centres of professional acting, (though work is neglected and decaying) at Hati under the leadership of Babujana Nayak; at Lagama under Ajabalala Jha; at Alapura under Khusidasā; at Sarisava.

415. For detailed description—see Mishra, op. cit. 292 ff; Narendra-nath Das, Introduction to Maithili Stage, etc.
and Ganhavari; at Siripura under Umakanta Jha and others in the district of Dharbhanga.

In Mithilā, a group of actors was known as *jamatī*, and its leader *Nayak* who played the *ṣūtradhāra* and the hero, generally *Kṛṣṇa* or *Hara*. The role of the female-actors was all done by males, and there was no restriction of caste or sub-caste in the choice of actors for a centre. It maintained a thoroughly democratic character and the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Kāyastha, the Dusadha and the Camār equally participated in a *jamatī* and enjoyed it without any distinction of caste whatsoever.

The Nāyaka was also the convener and he was invited to stage the performance of a Kirtaniyā drama at some public place or private household, on various occasions such as the marriage-ceremony, Upanayana-ceremony, Durgotsava or other important social or religious functions. Sometimes he along with his troupe was invited to the royal court also, but unfortunately we have no details about it.

A successful actor was expected to sing the *mana*, the *nacari* and the *Tirhuti* and to have a general proficiency in gesticulation. Their impersonation of a particular character was never realistic and most of the things were symbolically represented through accepted conventions.

In Mithilā there were many kinds of actors of which the *Kirtaniyās* formed only a particular group. They were so named because they presented dramatic performances in praise of the Lord, who happened to be *Kṛṣṇa* or *Śiva*, as is to be seen in such successful dramas as *Uṣāharaṇa*, *Pārijātaharaṇa*, *Rukminiḥaraṇa* and the *Gaurisvayambara*. Umāpati Upādhyāya, the famous author of the *Pārijātaharaṇa* is said to have been the founder of the Kirtaniya drama in Mithilā for he himself used to sing and dance before *Kṛṣṇa*’s image like the great Caitanyaadeva of Bengal. It may be suggested that they were very much inspired by the *Yatras* and *Kirtanas* of Bengal and Assam in their later performances.

The performance was invariably held at night, the stage being a simple platform. After the *Nāndipātha* the *Nayaka* or
the Sūradhāra made his appearance in his usual costumes—a jama, a nīma and a payjama and a pair of sandals called padduka. Covered in a wrapper he also put on his head the old-fashioned sathapaga (the Maithila headdress, which used to be sixty hands in length, a sign of respectability and as such known as satha or sixty), with a rod in his hand, known as phulahaththa. Generally accompanied by his wife, the naṭi, he introduced the occasion, the author and the play to the audience. He took pride in showing his scholarship and knowledge of “learned” things.

The number of actors was generally small. The Nāyaka, the Nāyikā, the Sakhas (two or three), Nārada (or Ghaṭaka as a negotiator) and the Vipāta (the Vidūsaka) formed the set characters of a Kirtaniya party. Sanskrit, and often Prākṛta were used in dialogues and stage-directions, and for the rest everything was conveyed through Maithili songs and verses. Prose-passeges and dialogues were rare in these plays. Any action that needed detailed performance on the stage e.g. Pārvatī’s penance, or a battle, etc. was generally shown through a description of it sung on the stage. The orchestra was specially trained in the Nāradīya form of musical Kirtana.

The audience formed mostly gathering of the most learned and the most illiterate. Entertainment was the chief aim. Apart from the vocal and instrumental music, they enjoyed the fun of the vipaṭā, the beautiful songs of the Nāyikā, attempts to bring such machines as the Garuḍa, the Mayūra and the Airāvata and the symbolical gesticulation of the actors to use the spectators.

The structure of this drama was of two kinds—those using Sanskrit and Prākṛta dialogues and verses and those using vernacular songs only. The first type was meant for presentation to the court where the performance was witnessed by cultured and scholarly audience and the second was meant for the people in general portraying Maithila belief and customs and ceremonies and rites which contributed to its popularity all the more.
The Rāmalīlā

The Rāmalīlā forms a part of the famous Yātrā (Journey) which is rather an operative than a dance performance. It is generally staged in the open greens of villages, and sometimes in the courtyards of some rich persons of the village. Everywhere some form of Yātrā exists known under varying names, e.g. Krṣṇalīlā in Bengal and Rāmalīlā in Mithilā, in other parts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Themes from the Rāmāyaṇa are preferred to the Krṣṇalīlā.

The main factor in these performances is not the dancing itself but the acting and melodious singing with incidental dances by the sakhis. The performance is accompanied by an orchestra made up of a dhol (drum) and a chorus of singers, dressed in their peculiar white robe known as choga. Recently the violin and flute have been added to this and also unfortunately, the ubiquitous harmonium. The leader of this troupe of Yātrā players is known as Adhikārī. There are also a few mask dances enjoying an almost equal popularity, such as the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa series showing episodes from the ever-appealing romances of the divine Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā; the Hara-Pārvatī dances, also depicting a divine Romance, namely that of Śiva and Śakti and the Gaṅga dance, a choreographic description of the river ‘Gaṅgā’ in all its moods and seasons.

The Holi dance:

The Holi-dance is performed by the villagers on the eve of the Holi festival and after; to the accompaniment of songs and dholaka. It is a simple dance which symbolises mirth and carefree pleasures of the villagers on the eve of the dawn of the Holi which is hailed though the dances and songs. The most striking feature of the dancing is its reckless atmosphere of joyous abandonment which pervades it, and which is in complete accordance with the sentiments of the gay little songs to which the dances are an accompaniment. Unfortunately, this dance is now gradually dying out.

Jata-Jatina:

One of the most popular folk-dances of Mithilā is the Jata-Jatina dance, a versified performance with hardly any parallel
in other parts of the country. The main actors are Jata and Jatin. In the months of September-October (Āśvina-Kārtika), under the moon-lit, starry sky this performance is done in most of the villages of Mithilā. All the actors are girls and young women of the locality. The Jata is a male hero but his part is played by some girl or sometimes by a boy. The costumes of the Jata and the Jatin are unique. The former puts on a white garland of Kumudini (a kind of water lily) flower round his neck and a white mukūṭa on his head. The Jatina wears ornaments, all of flowers. After having dressed up themselves beautifully, they stand face to face at a distance of about 3 yards. About a dozen young girls line up behind each, and start performance through Maithili songs in the form of questions and answers. The costumes of the girls standing behind the Jata and the Jatina are natural without any make-up decorations or ornaments.

The plot of this performance is short, like one-act play. It depicts the complications of the matrimonial life of the Jata and the Jatina, the shadows and sun-shines, the sorrows and pleasures that beset this life; the sordid and brutal raping tendency among the males; the echoes of the acute problems of the youth and many other things connected with day to day life. The stage directions of this performance are also very brief but precise. The dialogue are full of satire and humour. The Jata is a man of aggressive nature and he attempts to crush the independent personality of the Jatina even before being tied in wedlock. Naturally there is a conflict between the two and in this battle of conscience the Jatina tries to preserve her individuality but at last the Jata triumphs over the Jatina and the latter becomes a puppet in the hands of the former. Thus, the independent flow and the growth of Jatin's life gets sapped and finally dies out for ever.

The performance is simple but thrilling. Songs and music provide hilarious scenes and there is not a set stage. It is performed either inside or outside the courtyard and goes on practically for the whole of the night. The necessity for staging this performance arises when there are insufficient
rains and the women folk generally believe that the per-
formance brings rains. Women of all orders take active part
in this performance. The tradition of this dance is quite
ancient and is maintained even to-day. 416

Śyāma-Chakeva:

Śyāma-Chakeva is yet another popular folk-dance of
Mithilā which also finds mention in the Skanda and the Padma-
purāṇas—a fact that clearly speaks of its great tradition.
We have already discussed its Purāṇic tradition earlier.

Eight days after the celebration of the Chaṭṭa pūjā in
Mithilā, in the second half (Śukla pakṣa) of Kārtika, the
songs of Śyāma-Chakeva reverberate like the enchanting
heavenly music through the forests, the rivers, the green fields
and the dusty village of Mithilā. It is mainly a performance
of little boys and girls who often include young girls and
ladies. But this performance is now staged only in some
villages and towns of Mithilā. It is a tragedy that the people
are now gradually forgetting the ancient tradition of songs
and dance in Mithilā.

Śyāma-Chakeva is a simple village-dance in which the
main actors are Śyāma (female) and Chakeva (male).
Śyāma is sister and Chakeva her brother. Besides these two,
there are six other actors—(1) Chuṅgala (back-biter), (2)
Satabhaiya (seven brothers), (3) Khoṇḍaricha, (4) Vava-liṭara,
(5) Jhaṅjhi-Kukura and (6) Vṛndāvana. All these actors
are represented through clay-images specially made for this
occasion. The main purpose behind the presentation of this
performance is to inspire pure love in the hearts of brother
and sister but Chuṅgala, the back-biter tries to spoil the relation
through his evil ways, and is penalised by the girls who burn
his image (symbolising wretched idiot and fool) daily for
seven days and while burning his image sing a song with pur-
ports to say that chuṅgala deserve hanging.

416. For the Mithilif songs sung on this occasion, see Ram Ikbal
Satabhaiya or the seven brothers have been included to give it a broader look and wider connotation. The images of the Satabhaiya really symbolise all the brothers and sisters of the world.

Khañjaricha is a synonynm for Khañjana the bird who is first seen in the autumn, on the eve of this performance. He is hailed as the fore-runner of the autumn, through numerous songs.

As the songs of Śyōma-Chakeva are sung on the banks of the rivers, the fields and the forests, it is felt desirable to include Vana-litara (the forest-bird) who lives in bushes, in the list of the actors.

In villages, every farmer or cultivator keeps a dog (known as Jhañjhi-Kukura) who is like a member of the family. He follows the party of the dancing and singing girls in the groves and forests, rivers and fields to protect them from the wild animals like bears, etc.

Vṛndāvana, (a place of pilgrimage for Hindus) stands here for a special kind of forest. But the peculiarity is that the clay-image symbolising Vṛndāvana bears human face which is pierced through with long straws. When the singing girls reach the groves and fields they set fire to it and sing a particular song which says: "Vṛndāvana is set on fire, there is no one to extinguish it...... our brothers will certainly put it out."  

These different inburnt clay-images are put in a chañgeri (made of bamboo and muñja) along with a lamp. The girls carry them on their heads and move through the lanes and muhallas of the villages boisterously singing and dancing. After the parikrama they assemble near the paddy-fields, or mango-trees, or neem or imli tree and spread the images on the earth; pick up green grasses; give to eat, and then they get back to their respective homes singing.

The final celebration (which starts from the Saptami in the śukla pakṣa of Kārtika) is completed on the day of

417. It is also the name of a bird which is not meant here.

418. Cf. the song.
Kārtika Purṇīmā. On that day a boat of plantain tree is constructed and the girls put the images on it after breaking them, along with rice, ciurā (flat rice), sweets, curd, etc. And, finally the boat is sunk in some nearby tank or river, and they sing the departing songs which is quite pathetic and touching.419

A simple dance, the foot-work is unique. When the whole village is asleep, the enchanting songs reverberate through every nook and corner providing the solemn background of these wandering bands of dancers who possess no make-up, no stage. Their simplicity is their only make-up and the endless fields, rivers and forests their only stage.

*Nayana-jogina*

It is yet another ritual connected with the marriage ceremony. After the completion of the marriage ceremony the groom is asked by a band of ladies to recognise his bride from amongst two or three girls (including his own bride) who are all under veil. They are then required to look at each other and the bride is asked to make presents in the form of ornaments to his groom. The ladies sing songs which serve as play-back to the joyous scene connected with this performance. It is all simple but thrilling for the young couple. The performance is all set without any decorations whatever. It is a part of the marriage ceremony of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and bears Tantric significance.

*Salhesa-Pūjā*

The Salhesa-pūjā or the song of king Salhesa is most popular throughout the district of Darbhanga amongst the low-caste people and it is celebrated in form of a dance by a priest through a big song to the accompaniment of a Dholaka. It is said that he was the first Caukidār, and is much worshipped by Dusadha—a caste whose profession was to steal and to act as caukidārs, preferably the former. Throughout Tirhut, Salhesa *sthānas* (places of Salhesa worship) can be

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419. For the numerous songs sung on this occasion, see Rakesh, op. cit., 372 ff.
seen under the village *pipal* tree, composed of a red mud platform surmounted by mounted figures made of clay, representing the various characters of the song. Here the Dusadhas worship him.

Although a song, it is written in prose and is chanted, rather than sung. 420

Once in a year the dance is performed at the *Salhesa-sthāna* where Dusadha and other castes of the village assemble together with flowers, and other objects of worship. Decorations are simple but quite representative of the occasion. The priest utter mantras and after sometime begins trembling showing thereby that King Salhesa had entered his body. Thereupon he shouts, runs and moves on the edge of the sword. He then goes on throwing flowers and uttering blessings on those who offer various presents to please the God. After sometime the priest comes back to his normal form and the celebration is over.

It is practically one man's show—the priest who manages the whole affair by trembling, shouting, running, moving on the edge of the sword, enchanting the song of Salhesa and finally distributing favours on the devotees. Right from the beginning to the end the dance is thrilling, sometimes inspiring and very often pleasing to the ears and eyes.

*Kamalā-Pūjā*

It is yet another popular song throughout Mithilā among the low-caste people. Kamalā, the river, represents Kamalā the water-goddess and goddess of fish and much enthusiastically worshipped by the Mallahas (the fishermen). Once in a year in which the people of the whole village are invited to see. Like King Salhesa, goddess Kamalā also enters the body of the priest who trembles and shouts and later bestows blessings on the devotees who promised to offer presents to her in case their desires were fulfilled.

The background of the Pūjā is provided by the song of Kamalā (*Kamalā ka gita*) which narrates her brave exploits

420. For the song, see Grierson, *Maithila Christomathy*, pf. II. PP. 3–11.
and divine deeds, to the accompaniment of a dhola, mrdanga and jhala. The song is no doubt soothing to the ears and the performance on the whole is an exhilarating.

Like Kamala Pujä, the Kosi-pujä is also celebrated against the background of the song of the Kosi river in the same style in some parts of Tirhut (Cf. R. K. Choudhary—Kosi Songs—in the SPARK of 1954).

Other dances

Besides the above dances, there are other minor dances among the different classes of low-caste people. The Goraiyan dance among the Dhanukas and the Musaharas, the serpent dance among the Saperas or natos; the Rahu dance among the Dusadhas; Dinabhadri among the Musaharas and others among the Camaras, Dom as, the Mana-chubbhi and Bhikhari Thakur’s Bidesia deserve special mention. Of these the Rahu-pujä among the Dusadhas is no less important than the Salhesa Pujä. The Dusadhas trace their descent from Rahu who is as such a great object of worship among this caste, on this occasion a huge sacrificial hit is made and out of it spring forth the raging flames towards the sky. The bhagata or the priest with a stick in his hand sings and crosses the flames along with two others. And, then the Bhagata starts showering blessings on the devotees who include all classes of people. The style of performance is almost the same as in the Salhesa-pujä. The Manachubhi (one which pierces the mind) and the Bidesiya (though not originally Maithila and imported from South Bihar) are also very popular dances with the low caste people.

And lastly, a few words about Marsta. The Muslims of almost every district of Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur have incorporated dancing into their great mourning period of Muharram as part of the ceremonies which express their grief. The principal dances on this occasion are called Marsta and Jari (meaning mourning). The dances form themselves into a ring, and holding up the flouting skirts of their dhoties in one hand, and waring scarte pieces of cloth in the other, move round stamping out a rhythm with the aid of the ball-anklets worn on the ankles and small bamboo sticks to the
tune of songs led by the presentor of the group, who stands outside the ring of the performers and intones the dirges relating the tragic events on the battlefield of Kerbala when the two brothers—Hassan and Hussain met their untimely ends.

It can be safely remarked that the life and energy of the dance seem to be derived almost entirely from incidents in the colourful lives of the Hindu heroes and gods whose festivals are celebrated in great number throughout the year or, it may be suggested, it seems to be derived from the incidents of the peasant's own lives, lived so close to nature, and so dependent on her moods.

The introduction of purely religious imagery in the context of a purely erotic experience bespeaks of a mind which was audacious enough to yoke together even the most heterogenous ideas. In one of his well-known conceits Vidyāpati frequently compares Rādhā's breasts to two gold idols of Śiva. Not content with that, Vidyāpati has developed this image in many ways. When for instance the pearl necklace of Rādhā is dangling over her breasts, it appears as if cupid were worshipping Śiva with the sacred water of the Gaṅgā. And when her head is bent down and her tresses dangling over the bosom, it appears as if he were worshipping Śiva with lotus fanning. Even in the poems written in his old age one finds this wit persisting (Vayās katay tați gela). An analysis of this poem will reveal the tone of good humoured levity which characterises it. And yet the high seriousness of the experience, the tough reasonableness that lies beneath the lyrical grace, is not in any way spoiled. The use of boldly realistic imagery of colloquial rhythms of every day speech heightens the pathos of the situation. The attitude implicit in the serene contemplation of physical infirmity and helplessness has none of the sentimental fretfulness of a romantic poet; it is the attitude of one who sees life steadily and sees it whole. And the element of humour and fun which enlivens his Nacharis makes their appeal to the hearts of the simple village folk of Mithilā irresistible.

Both Jyotițśvara and Vidyāpati, if read together, give us
a list of various other minor artistic performances. Vidyāpati also refers to magicians. The showing of a thing as existing that doth not so exist is called 'magic' and he who is an adept threin is a warlock." 421 Pakṣadhara, one of the greatest logicians, has been characterised as an expert warlock. The rulers also encouraged this art. The people were amazed at the magical feats of the warlocks. The description of a droll has not escaped the attention of our poet. He says 422—"He, who, by his comical art, and by changing his bodily form or voice becometh the favourite of a great man is called a droll."

Vidyāpati's list of musical instruments and number of rāgas in his songs, if read with Jyotirtṣvara's account, gives us an insight into the cultural achievement of the age. The art of letter-writing, its various forms and manners, is evident from his Likhnāvali. Calligraphy was not neglected. It has been held that calligraphy and painting appeared in India with the introduction of paper, one of the commodities which the Muhammadans brought with them to India. This affected the graphic art of India. The Indians had clung to the picturesque palm-leaf. 423 The Maithila scribes have been well-known for their finest writings on the palm-leaves. The tradition is very old. Innumerable palm-leaf MSS, discovered in the length and breadth of this country, bear testimony to this fact and the colophons of those MSS give us the names of those copyists. In Mithila, there is no dearth of these records and we have even today a copy of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, copied by a person of no less eminence than Vidyāpati himself. We have already referred to the handwritten manuscript of Kālacakra-tantra written by Jayarama

421. PP (G) Tale 24—वस्तुनयन्त्रतथाभूतेत्तथाभववर्द्धस्यम्। इत्याक्षरमिति प्रायिस्तिदित्ततस्मैनुः ज्ञातिकाः।
422. Ibid—Tale 29.
423. Percy Brown—Indian Paintings under the Mughals (Oxford-1924).
datta of Ara. This art was widely cultivated in Mithilā till the end of the last century and the Maitihla pañjikāras even now maintain it.

According to Shelley imagination is the great instrument of moral good and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the causes and that is why he calls the poets founders of the civil society. His version can be well tried upon our poet whose vision is immensely wide and who has left no aspect of society untouched.\(^424\) That accounts for the immense popularity of Vidyāpati, though most of his works are yet unpublished. Even an ordinary and unlettered man in the field is seen today singing, while ploughing and sowing, the songs of Vidyāpati. He is really a people's poet and illustrations are even now given by a piece from the poet. Whatever he wrote in language was for the common people. No functions in Mithilā are begun without a song by Vidyāpati.\(^425\) From whatever point we judge, it is apparent that he served the interest of the society. The art of writing Padāvali reached its height in Vidyāpati and in that respect he can be regarded as the precursor of later Vaiśṇava Bhajanāvalis and Padāvalis. Poetry is undoubtedly an art and in the words of Lord Jeffrey—"As the object of poetry is to give pleasure, it would seem to be a pretty safe conclusion that poetry must be the best which gives greatest pleasure to the greatest number\(^426\) of readers." Vidyāpati was a man of varied interest. He wrote with force and sincerity born of actual experience. Freshness is one of the remarkable features of his poetry. Nachāris and Mahēśavānīs\(^427\) depict the life of the people. He took every poetic element and subdued it to a harmony of artistic perfection. According to Browning when

\(^{424}\) N. N. Das—op. cit. P. 27—विचारके समाज के गम्भीर निरीक्षक थे।

\(^{425}\) गीताज्ञानी गोत, श्रोग, कविता, मितारी, गंगेशवानी श्लोक।

\(^{426}\) Quoted in N. N. Das—op. cit. P. 280.

\(^{427}\) Blochman—Aini-Akbarī—111, 282 refers to Laehrīs (Nachāris) of Vidyāpati—and calls the same as one of the specialities of Mithilā.
passion and philosophy meet in a single individual, we have a great poet and that Vidyāpati was.

V

Hindu Muslim relations

Any survey of cultural life during the period, under review, would remain incomplete without a reference to the relationship that existed between the two major communities, that is, the Hindus and the Muslims. As Dr. K. M. Ashraf has observed—"Under the Muslim rule, we do not enter into a new era in Indian history, but only a stage in the great social development which has been going on since the first dawn of Indian History......Hindu social system is one of the strongest and the most endurable in the world. It happened by a strange chance that the first power with which Hindus were brought into permanent contact was one which differed from them as widely as possible in almost everything......a complete antithesis of their whole system. As a result of the muslim impact......political and social division were levelled, caste was modified; religious tendencies took a new direction and force; and finally the conception of India as a whole was made possible."

(op. cit. 107). According to Professor Habib, the administrative unification of India was a Turkish achievement and they were driven to it by circumstances rather than by conscious planning.\(^\text{428}\) As a result of the contact between the two communities, a number of old social and legal functions had passed outside the operation of caste rules. With the elimination of the old rivalry of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the authority and personal influence of the Brāhmaṇas as a class increased among the Hindu masses and that led to even more rigid restrictions of caste rules. Malik Muhammad Jāyasi has given a long list of the occupational castes. The introduction of Islam in India effected a change in classes and in their relative position, but

\(^{428}\) Introduction to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's—"Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th. century"—(Bombay-1961), p. XIX.
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did not uproot the institution. In fact, Islam also succumbed to the spirit of class division (op. cit. P. 195).

The early Muslim settlers tried to be accommodative. Shihabuddin continued the figures of goddess Lakşmî on his gold coins. According to Habibullah, it indicates the extent to which the conquerors were prepared to compromise their religious ideas with the demands of the state (Cf. Foundation of Muslim Rule in India—p. 300). Qutubuddin Aibak allowed Rajput princes to rule over Delhi, Ajmer and Gwalior even after the conquest of those regions. The Turkish nobles entered into alliance with Hindu chieftains. Balban sought the co-operation of Danujrai (of Sonargaon) against Tughral. The mystic attitude towards the Hindus was one of sympathetic understanding. They fought against illiteracy and held aloft the Islamic principles of equality and brotherhood. Conciliation and concord between the various cultured groups was an urgent social necessity and the mystics helped in the development of common cultural outlook. Amir Khusrau (the Persian poet) refers to Hindu customs and ceremonials in a spirit which must have been instrumental in discovering the principles of essential unity between the different religions. He came and settled in India. He was the greatest fertilising force in Hindustani music. It was he who either invented or brought to India some of our noblest and most beautiful instruments. Indian music assimilated new forces and theories. A delicate Muslim superstructure with fine curves was given to the robust body of Hindu music and the dominating figure in this regeneration was Amir Khusrau.

The considerations of religion and caste were transcended by the trade morality and guild spirit which determined the relation between Hindu and Muslim working classes. Both Hindu and Muslim traders were given freedom to carry on their business. According to Professor Habib the acceptance of Islam by the city workers "was a decision of the local professional groups, and that in making their decisions they were naturally more concerned with mundane affairs and
their position in the social order than with abstract theological truths" (Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's History of India—Vol. II. P. 59). The Muslims did not bring with them artisans, accountants and clerks, their buildings were erected by Hindus who adopted their ancient rules to newer conditions. Thakur Phero's work on medieval temple architecture, Vastusāra, written during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, does not make any reference in the construction of temple (Cf. JUPHS—1943 July, pp. 112-117). Their coins were struck by Hindu goldsmiths and Brahmin Legists advised the king on the administration of Hindu Law. The period under review saw the growth of Hindu mercantile community, Alauddin Khalji had to depend upon the Hindu Nāyakas for grain and clothes.

After the passing of political powers into the hands of the Muslims, the Rajputa feudal lords lost their sway. The lower orders did not suffer any loss of economic position. The substitution of forced labour by fee labour had a tremendous effect on the condition of the masses. Hindu money-lenders advanced money to Muslim aristocracy. Social and economic forces brought the two communities together. Political disturbances hardly disturbed the rural pattern. The peasant carried on their vocation without bothering about any change.

The Hindu Society was composed of a heterogeneous mass of peoples of differing degrees of cultures and languages. In short, it can be said that Hinduism presented a panorama of beliefs which extended from the profoundest faiths of philosophy to the grossest form of superstition. The Muslim society, though not so sharply divided, had higher and lower classes comprising of sharīf (ruling groups upper strata) and ajlap (the lowly and the mean). The contact between the Hindus and the muslims inevitably produced their effects and the Hindu reformers sought to minimise the differences and bring them together. The Sufis became interested in the principles of Hindu Philosophy and both the Hindu and Muslim writers contributed equally to the development of Indian languages. There were fusions in artistic styles, painting and music. Bhakti and Tasawwuf (mysticism) were the
direct results of the contact between the two communities. The Muslims adopted many Hindu manners and customs. The age of original Hindu thought was now gone and as Dr. Radhakrishnan observes—“the philosophers, or rather writers of philosophy of this period of decadence, profess to be votaries of truth, though they understand by it merely the pious sophistries or the sacrosanct hair splittings of this or that school of dogmatics. These professor dialecticians imagine that the small brooke by their side, trickling away in the sand or evaporating in the fog, is the broad river of Indian philosophy.” 429 Whereas the Bhakti was the revival of the popularity of the Bhāgvatapurāṇa, the Maithila Dharmāsāstra writers did not ignore the study of the Sūtras. No commentary of importance is seen after Vācaspati Miśra, the doyen of the Maithila Nibandhaṅkaras. According to Keith, these writers fail to evolve any independence of attitude and to establish the legitimacy of a custom of their area by torturing ancient texts which obviously meant something else. 430 The fusion, in the realm of art, is evident from the architecture of Jaunpur to which Vidyāpati is an eye witness. The Jaunpur art is characterised by a happy synthesis of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideals.

During our period, the Muslims had made a large number of converts. Social practises of the Indian Muslims were largely influenced by the Hindus. The Satya Pir was popular with the village folks of both the communities. The rapprochement on a national scale does not seem to have been possible. Since the political supremacy of the Muslim was a reality, the Hindus had practically no political status. There was no interdining or inter marriage inspite of the good neighbourly feelings that they had at places. Neither of them could relax in any way the social bigotry. In Bihar the mingling of the two communities seems to have been more than in any other part. The Muslim thinkers of Bihar addressed

429. Radhakrishnan—op. cit. II. 771-772.
some non-Muslims as *Thakkara* (Thâkur) and justified it on the ground that the word meant *Khudâwând*. The Muslim saints of Bihar justified the acceptance of charity given by non-Muslims and some of them even justified the use of vermilion by Muslim women.\footnote{431} Though there was a difference in the concept of domestic life, we see that in both the societies, a distinct preference to a male over female was given. So far as *Purdâh* is concerned, Vidyâpati and Jayasi refer to it as being prevalent among the Hindus. Vidyâpati throws a flood of light on the relationship, then existing between the Hindus and the Muslims. From the *Kirtilätā*, it is evident that condition of the Hindus was most deplorable. At Jaunpur, where the Hindus and Turks lived together, one is found reviling the religion of the other. Hindu male and female slaves were sold and purchased. There is also a reference to the forced labour resorted to by the Muslim soldiers. Their code of behaviour was different from the Hindus. The Brâhmaṇas were vexed in a number of ways (*Kirtilätā*-Pallava-III & IV). Times had changed considerably and Vidyâpati deplores the dearth of people who could reward a poet adequately. Inspite of these facts, the reality is that the relation between the two communities had been intimate as we see that in the language there had been sufficient mixture. The use of large number of Hindustani words, phrases, idioms and similes in the contemporary literature shows the extent to which social contacts had developed. Even in the writings of Jyotirâvara, there is a scent of Persian influence interspersed here and there. The *Kirtipatâkâ* and the *Likhnâvali* also contain some vague references about such contacts between these two peoples. Vidyâpati’s patron Śivasiṁha is said to have granted lands to muslim saints and *Faqîrs* (*Cf. Aini-Tîrbut* and the *Bàyaz* of Mullâ-Taqia). North Bihar was an important centre of the Sufi saints. Vidyâpati, in his poems and writings, has immortalised various Muslim chiefs and rulers of the time. In his *PP*, Vidyâpati has further given examples of the tolerance of

\footnote{431. *BTA*—430–431.}

\footnote{432. *PB*—LIX.}
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Hindu rulers towards the Muslims and the loyalties of muslims towards their Hindu masters. 433 We shall see later on how a large number of Perso-Arabic words were absorbed into the vernacular language of the land i.e. Maithili. That shows that there was a regular contract between the two communities (Hindus and Muslims of Mithilā). In some respects, complete fusion between the two is discernible in Mithilā. Dalāna, Mahapā, Haveli, Rikōbī, Kabulā, Adanā and titles like Khān, Bakshi, Choudhary, Mallik, Majumdar, etc. are the examples of fusion. Tazia or Ḍahā as it is called in Maithili attracts not only the Muslims but also the Hindus. Even Jyotirīśvara mentions a large number of Perso-Arabic worlds. Grierson in his Bihar Peasant Life (P. 404) has shown that the Kunjarā community worships a deity called Rāma Ṭhākur and similarly Hindus are found worshipping Ghāzi Mian and others Pir. Bryne's Bhagalpur Gazetteer (1908) contains an account of such fusion at Sarsendi near Kishanganj of the district of Saharsa. A deity called Bālapira is worshipped by the Hindus and Cocks are sacrificed for him. The rāgas like Iman and Firdausī invented by Amir Khusrau were adopted by the Maithila musicians and Locana bears testimony to the fact (Cf. Viśvabharati quarterly—1944 Part III; Locana RT—PP. 126, 127, 128, 129). There was no absence of mutual tolerance. The contributions of the Muslims of Mithilā to the development of Maithili literature are also worth noting (Cf. Grierson—Maithila Chrestomathy P. 20).

433. For a detailed account of the political relations—see my book—History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut (1200–1765 A.D.); My article in the JOT (already referred); Askari's articles in the JPRS (various volumes) & in the G. D. College Bulletin No. 4 for Sufi Saints. HCIP—Vol. VI for Hindu Muslim relations; the Bayāt of Mulla Taqia. The Aini Tirhut contains a long list of the Muslim families of Tirhut, with an account of each of them. Many family papers of most of the muslim families of Tirhut are yet untapped.
CHAPTER V

Section—A

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I

Mithilā is bounded on the north by the Himālayas, and on the south, west and east by the Ganges, the Gaṅḍaka and the Kauśikī respectively. It comprises the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsa, Purnea, north Monghyr and parts of the Terai region under Nepal. It forms the north-eastern part of the State of Bihar.

The Mithilāmāhātmya describes the boundary of Mithilā in the following manner—"Between the Himālayas and the Ganges, intercepted by fifteen rivers, lies the most holy land known as Tīrabhukti; beginning from the Kośi and running upto the Gaṅḍakī, its length is declared to be twenty four Yojanas, that is, 192 miles; beginning from the Ganges and extending upto the Himalayan forests, its breadth is sixteen Yojanas, that is, 128 miles. There is situated the city of Mithilā." The name, 'Tīrabhukti,' appears in the records of the Gupta period (circa—4th century A. D.). Tīrabhukti is modern Tirhut.

The antiquity of Mithilā is proved beyond any shadow of doubt. The story of the Aryan colonisation of Mithilā is narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and name Mithilā or Videha is derived from Videgha Mathava. The word Mithilā was derived from "mānth" (to churn) by the author of the Uṇādisūtra. According to the Matsyapurāṇa, Mithilā was also the name of a sage. Mithi was one of the rulers who is said to have carried out Aśvamedha Yajña and thereby rendered it holy. Mithilā was originally the name of the capital of the land, which was known as Videha. Mithilā and Videha ultimately came to be synonymous. Mithilā figures prominently in the Vedic and epic sources.
The land of Mithilā is alluvial and fertile. The life of the people of Mithilā is mostly dependent on the various rivers. Tirabhuuki reminds us of the fact that Mithilā is a land of rivers which have always acted as dividing lines both politically and geographically. The Saptagaṇḍaki and Saptakauśiki form the two main river systems of Mithilā. The Saptagaṇḍaki, before it reaches the plain, is also known as Triveni (the three streams). The Saptakauśiki descends on the plain near Varāhakṣetra, a holy place mentioned in the Purāṇas and the Gupta records. The Gandaka region is associated with the legend of Gajendramokṣa and the place is identified with modern Hariharakṣetra (Sonepur) on the western bank of the Gandaka. The Brhadviṣṇupurāṇa gives a long list of the rivers of Mithilā. The numerous beds of hill streams pass through Mithilā on their way from Nepal to the Ganges. Bagmati, Kamla, Balan, Tiljuga, Jiwacha, Karamanasa, Karai, Lakhandei, Adhwar, Dhemura are some of the important rivers of the region. Of the Saptakosi, the Sankosi, the Arunkosi and the Tamur Kosi form the Triveni and they find mention in the works of Kālidāsa.

II

Mithilā is a land well-known for orthodoxy and conservatism. All important castes and groups are found in Mithilā. The predominance of the Hindus in the area is natural as we know that the geographical factors have played a very important part in the formation of the area. The insularity of the area is also due to the geographical reasons. The depredations in the medieval period were comparatively less than in other parts of India and that is why the Muslim population in the area is limited. There has hardly been any change in old social structure during the last six hundred years when Harisīmhadeva introduced Kulism. The society, already based on the Varnāśramadharma, was made more rigid and conservative in the fourteenth century A.D. The reforms of Harisīmhadeva aimed at the preservation of the purity of blood. The predominance of

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the priestly aristocracy has been so great that any reform outside the accepted scheme has been more an illusion than a reality. The caste system of the Hindus also affected the Muslims of Mithilā and they are also divided into Sheikh, Pathans, Momin, etc. According to Sir George Abraham Grierson, Mithilā has been a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms, and has passed through conquests after conquests without changing its ancestral peculiarities.

III

In Bihar, Mithilā was first to be aryanised. Mithilā is associated with the name of Janaka Videha and stands apart pre-eminently as the land given to intellectual pursuits and consequently to speculations about the spiritual well-being of man. Janaka gave impetus to philosophical discussions and encouraged the cultivation of Brahmanvidya. The philosophical discussions at his court formed the kernel round which the Indian culture had grown, developed and ultimately perfected in later years. "The path of duty can be known from the usages of Mithilā,"—a passage attributed to Yajña-valkya is later echoed by Vidyāpati in his Puruşaparīkṣā where he says—"the people of Tirabhukti are by nature proud of their merits." It was here in Mithilā where Janaka ruled, Yajña-valkya legislated and Gautama meditated.

Mithilā was also associated with the leaders of Jainism and Buddhism. We have no definite information about the ancient ruling dynasties except the Janaka dynasty. For sometime, Mithilā formed a part of the republic of Vaisāli and during the Gupta period, it formed a part of the Gupta empire. It appears that it also formed a part of the empire of Harṣavardhana. The period, following his death, is one of political turmoils and confusion and the real history of Mithilā, as an independent unit, begins in 1097 A.D. Mithilā, under the Karṇāṭas, ushered in a new era of splendid glory and achievements. It was under the Karṇāṭas that Mithilā once again became the centre of philosophy, law and
literature. Mithilā became a distinct regional and cultural unit. The Karnaṭas were replaced by the Oinwaras in about 1325 A. D., and under that dynasty, Mithilā made remarkable progress in literature and philosophy. Vidyāpati flourished under the Oinwaras. The Oinwaras were replaced by the Khandawalas in about 1556 A. D. Under the Karnaṭas, the social structure of the upper classes was stabilised, in fact stereotyped, by the introduction of Kulinism.

The contribution of Mithilā to the development of synthetic Indian culture has been immense. Yajñavalikya developed the Madhyanandini branch of Yajurveda (universally known as Śukla) and accepted by the whole of northern India). The Yajñavalikyasmṛti came to be duly recognised and formed the bedrock of the Mithilā school of Hindu Law. The contribution of Mithilā to the Smṛti is equally important. Mithilā has produced illustrious writers and thinkers and India is justly proud of Mithilā's contribution to Nyāya. It was first systematised by Gautama and in the twelfth century A. D., Gaṅgeśa gave it a new orientation. In the realm of philosophy, specially Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā, Udyotakara, Maṇḍana, Prabhākara, Vācaspati, Pārthasārathi, Udayanācārya, Murāri, Gaṅgeśa, Pakṣadhara and Śaṅkara made their valuable contributions while in the realm of Smṛti, Śrīkara, Halayudha, Bhavadeva, Śrīdhara, Aniruddha, Caṇḍeśvara, Gaṇeśvara, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati and others are notable figures. Scholars from different parts of India used to come here for training and proficiency in Neo-Logic or Nyāya-Nyāya. It was with the permission of his teachers of Mithilā that Raghunātha Śiromaṇi started his famous Nyāya-Nyāya centre at Nadia. Mithilā greatly influenced Bengal in philosophy and poetry. Mithilā offered hospitable welcome to the scholars of Vikramśilā and Nālandā and helped them in preserving the manuscripts they had brought with them. From the literary point of view, the medieval age has rightly been described as the golden age of Mithilā.

The literary achievements of Mithilā were second to none. Padmanābha Datta started a new school of Grammar known
as ‘Supadma Vyūkaraṇa.’ Bhānudatta, author of Rasamañjari, wrote on Rhetorics and Erotics, where Jyotirīśvara had already made a name by writing Pañeasūyaka and Raṅgasēkhara. Prthvīdhara Ācārya wrote a commentary on Mṛčchakaṭṭa, Bhavadeva on Naiṣadhiya-carita and Govinda Thakur composed Kāvyapradaṇa. Śrīdharadāsa brought out a magnificent anthology, known as Saduktikārṇāmā. In the field of lexicon, Śrīkara Ācārya’s commentary on the Amarakoṣa is a remarkable achievement of Sanskrit literature.

In the realm of music, Mithilā made notable contribution and that is evident from the Varnanāratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. Since the days of Nānyadeva, Mithilā has been an important centre of music, drama and dance. Nānyadeva is credited with having developed popular rāgas and is believed to have been the inspirer of the Mithilā school of music which assumed a new form after being influenced by Jayadeva. Hariśimhadeva was himself a great patron of music. The Varnanāratnākara gives a detailed account of music, dance, drama and other allied acts and activities of the period. Books on music were written and compiled and Śrīhastamuktavali of Subhaṅkara Thākur is considered to be an important contribution in this respect. Locana’s Ragataraṅgini mentions a number of Rāgas and Rāginis associated with the Mithilā school of music. The musical tradition is yet in vogue in different parts of Mithilā.

Śiva is the most popular deity of Mithilā. Vidyāpati, who wrote Saivasarvasvasāra, also composed Nacharis and Maheśavanis (songs of Śiva) in honour of Śiva. The Ain-i-Akbari describes Nachari as one of the peculiarities of Tirhut. The religious impact on the Maithili literature is not negligible. The worship of Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu has been very popular and Mithilā has been recognised as one of the important centres of the Tāntric cults. The life of the people of Mithilā has been under the wholesome influence of Tāntrism and that can be gleaned even through the popular painting of Mithilā, commonly known as Aripaṇa. The first verse that is taught to a beginner is indicative of the influence of Śakti
and even the script, *Mithilākṣara*, is attributed to Tāntric *Yantra*. No aspect of human life is free from the deep impact of religion and it is, therefore, natural that the language should have been influenced by such forces. The social and cultural environments have influenced poetry and melodious songs. Maithili has been deeply coloured by the changing religious faiths of the people under successive dynasties. Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Śaktism, Vaiṣṇavism and others have left an indelible mark on the literary heritage of Mithilā. There has been a very rich and long tradition of Maithili love poetry connected with *Rādhākrṣṇa*. Maithili lyrics inspired the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The songs of Jayadeva, Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati used to delight Caitanyadeva.

**IV**

The basic unity of the Hindus and the Muslims expressed itself in attempts that were made at synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. Such synthesis is borne out by the fact that a large number of Arabic and Persian words find place in the Maithili vocabulary since the days of Jyotirīśvara Ṣākūr. The titles like *Khan, Choudhary* and *Bakṣi*, etc. among the Hindus are the direct results of such contacts. The *Muharram* is observed both by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. Sir G. A. Grierson observed the *Kunjras* (a caste of vegetable sellers among the Muslims) worshipping a Hindu deity, known as Rāma Thākūr and Hindus worshipping *Pañchpīṭriya, that is*, Ghazl Mian and four other *Pirs*. The famous *Imana* and *Firdausa rāgas*, invented by Amir Khusrav, find mention in Locana’s *Rāgataraṅgini*. Muslim poets have composed *Marsiyas* in Maithili literature. In spite of the declared conservatism of Mithilā, the fusion of the two communities has been complete and instances may be multiplied to prove this contention. The Hindus, while worshipping a deity called *Balapira*, sacrifice a cock for this god. Muslims are similarly found singing Maithili devotional songs. The impact of Muslim contact was visible throughout India and Hinduism was obliged to relax its social rigidity and exclusiveness if it
wished to keep its masses to itself. Many of the Brāhmaṇas and upper caste Hindus allied themselves with the masses and advocated the removal of social inequality and stood for the unification of the people. Since vernacular was the best medium of communication between the masses, these leaders did not hesitate to adopt it rather they gave it a literary shape and form. In this movement, the leadership came from the upper classes of the crumbling nobility. Maithili emerged from the classical and indigenous sources—the first supplied the body and second the spirit.

V

As a centre of culture and studies, Mithilā has earned a name in the annals of scholastic learning. The Buddhists met their real opponents in Mithilā and the result was the establishment of the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇical thought. Rigorous disciplines were introduced and the scholars strained themselves to prescribe rules of social and moral conduct. The mint, anise and cumin of the Brahmanic law in their everyday life are responsible for the archaic complex and synthetic character of the Maithili language. The influence of Sanskrit on Maithili is apparent. Thoughts, themes, prosody, imagery and even plots have been frequently drawn from Sanskrit and even grammar is not completely free from its tentacles. Scholiasts always looked upon Maithili as 'degraded' or 'fallen' (Apabhramśa). There had been hardly any aristocratic patronage of the language. Sanskrit and Prakrit were frequently used and Maithili just formed a part of it in the form of songs, etc.

At a time when Maithili was born, Mithilā had a long literary tradition. Sanskrit was the main vehicle of expression and the chief source of learning. The influence of Sanskrit on Maithili is similar to that of Latin on English. Even after the Muslim conquest, when Sanskrit ceased to be a living language in a greater part of India, Mithilā continued to cultivate it with all earnestness. The famous writers of Maithili in the early period were equally great in Sanskrit, now
the language of a very small coterie. That is why Maithili is, to a great extent, indebted to Sanskrit even in modes, ideas, figures and themes. Sanskrit provided Maithili with a great intellectual and spiritual background. As a repository of knowledge and culture, Sanskrit reigned supreme as medium of religious and secular culture. Priests, philosophers and the Nibandhakāras composed their works in Sanskrit and they were patronised by the royalty and the aristocracy. As the Devabhaṣā (the language of the gods), it was held in high esteem since it was the embodiment of the Indian tradition. Writing in Sanskrit was considered to be a qualification and a sign of greatness and hence persons, even well-versed in languages, chose to write in Sanskrit. They tried to live upto the great tradition represented by Sanskrit. The process of writing in people's language was started by the Jainas and the Buddhists who took to Prākṛti and Pāli respectively. No other modern Indian language has followed the lines of Sanskrit so closely as Maithili. The greatest Maithili treatise on Grammar, by Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Dīnabandu Jha, has been written in the sūtra form and has a long Dhātupātha attached to it in the Paninian manner. Even in the Maithili dramas we frequently come across three languages viz. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili. The earliest drama Pārijātaharana by Umāpati is in all the three languages mentioned above. Mahākavyas, Khaṇḍakāvyas and Campūs are still very popular in Maithili. Even the Vratakathās are based on the epics and Purāṇas. Vidyāpati and other writers were indebted to Sanskrit.

Sanskrit also proved a hindrance to the growth of Maithili. The reason that made Sir Thomas More in England to write his Utopia in Latin in preference to English or Ragunātha Siromāni to write his Cintāmaṇi Dīdhiti in Sanskrit in preference to Bengali has similar parallels in Mithilā, where, inspite of the growth of Maithili, scholars preferred to write in Sanskrit. Maithili had fairly established itself by then. The scholars stuck to Sanskrit for the natural desire they had to belong to the great tradition Sanskrit embodied. A large mass did not understand Sanskrit but even then that was
adopted by the scholars who considered Maithili as the *Abhramśa* or the fallen language and, therefore, fit only to embody light literature. No scholarly writing was, therefore, made in Maithili in the past. Great philosophical dissertations or even the *Smṛtis* were neither written nor compiled in Maithili. The Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas took the greatest share in producing the vast bulk of Maithili literature in the past and balanced the language with suitable models. They brought it near to the masses. The tradition of the master prose style of Jyotirīśvara was not followed by the conservative scholars. It was ultimately Vidyāpatī who boldly asserted the sweetness of ‘Desilabayana’ (native language) and established its authority over the all-embracing character of Sanskrit, Maithili had to contend with special difficulties arising from the religious veneration in which a large body of Sanskrit literature was held. To translate Sanskrit canonical literature into the native language was an act of sacrilege in the eyes of conservative Pandits. Maithili literature found room to grow in the gap left by Sanskrit. After the knowledge of Sanskrit had become difficult for common man, the mass pressure from below was responsible for the growth of all provincial languages inspite of the disfavour shown by the orthodox Pandits. The folk culture had a share in the development of Maithili in the early period and the folk element has never been absent from the cultural contents of the language. The sources of livelihood were drying up in the orthodox fold and the caste had often to be sacrificed to economic necessity. After the Muslim conquest, the old royalty and aristocracy, the traditional patrons of conservative faith, had either become extinct or impoverished and they were not in a position to stand in opposition to the rising Muslim power. The impact on language was inevitable as the new masters took to the recognition of the Laukikabhasa. Indigenous cults grew up and that also helped the growth of people’s language which served as the vehicle of the larger section of the populace. The basic unity of the village life was never disturbed before the rise of the Britishers. The lower orders have a natural tendency towards unity and uniformity of their communal life. Such unity arose out of
racial oneness, economic interest and cooimmunal life of the village. Various popular cults had their beginnings in the middle ages and these factors also helped the growth of Maithili. The village gods and goddesses like Salhesa, Bihula, etc., popular ballads like Lorika and a number of cults associated with the local deities and heroes played a very prominent part in integrating the common people at large and also in developing the people’s language. The patricians’ favour to Sanskrit could not stand in the way of the development of the Laukikabhāṣā (peoples’ language).

The Vaiṣṇava religion of Bengal had some effects on the early contacts with Mithilā. The democratic character of the medieval cults and Vaiṣṇavism might have been responsible for a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. The mention of various cults in the Varnanaratanākara of Jyotirīśvara shows that Mithilā was not unaware of them. Though Mithilā is well-known for orthodoxy, it allowed other tenets to have their say. The tradition of Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa literature was already there. Besides the past heritage of Sanskrit, the laukika (or the folk) aspect has never been absent in the literary tradition of Mithilā. The emerging vernacular, Maithilt, acted as the vehicle of popular cults. It grew as one of the earliest vernaculars of India. It should be borne in mind here that in Mithilā, the classical renaissance and refinement of Sanskrit nourished the Maithili language. When Sanskrit came to be confined to subtle scholasticism and lost touch with life and reality, Maithili was adopted as the medium of culture and refinement. Forms and contents of early and medieval Maithili narrative and lyrics presuppose uninterrupted cultivation for centuries. In the early years of the fourteenth century A. D., it had developed not only as a finished poetic diction but also the lyrics. When the social and political setup stood shaken as a result of the Muslim invasion, the main spring of literary exuberance shifted from official and aristocratic patronage to individuals and eminent personalities like Umāpati, Jyotirīśvara, Vidyāpati, Bodhidāsa and others. They personified the new movement in the realm of language and succeeded in turning the ornamental amorous
verse of the old and the middle Indo-Aryan into a poetic while retaining its measured rhythm and pithy picturesqueness.

VI

There has been an unbroken continuity of Maithili language and literature since its inception in the early medieval period. It is one of the oldest languages of India and its influence on the contemporary languages is immense. The regular contact between Mithilā, Nepal, Assam, Bengal and Orissa in the middle ages was responsible for the propagation of this language in different parts and it was natural that there should be a mingling of thought and ideas through the medium of a common vehicle, popularly known as Brajabuli in course of time. The impact of this language was so great that even a poet of eminence of the late lamented Rabindranath Tagore was attracted to compose Bhānusirīnāha Thakurer Padāvali under the pseudonym of Bhānusirināha. Maithili was the main vehicle of the common culture of the whole of eastern India in those days. The Varṇanāratnākara of Jyotirīśvara presents to us the earliest and the longest specimen of the early new Indo-Aryan prose. Maithili has a script and a grammar of its own. Locana’s Rāgataraiṅīni distinguishes Maithili from Madhyadesabhāṣā (the language of Madhyadeśa) and the name 'Madheshi' (Madhyadeśṭya speech) has been used to distinguish itself from the language of Mithilā, a member of Prācyadeśa. A language is mainly determined by its grammar or structure. The special idiomatic expressions and the peculiar formation of words bear peculiar marks of particular provincial origin. Viewed in this light, Maithili, as we shall see presently, is an independent language. Inspite of its affinity to sister languages, which is natural because of its being a member of the Indo-Aryan language group, it stands aloof from all “in following very scrupulously the complex rules regarding the honorific and non-honorific sense as well and about the use of the appropriate personal terminations indicative of person of both
the subject and the object." The peculiarities of Maithili are more pronounced in its vocabulary and has its own individuality in inflexion. Many forms in other cognate languages which are otherwise obscure are easily explained when they are referred to some available forms of old and modern Maithili.

Maithili seems to have emerged out somewhere in the neighbourhood of tenth-eleventh century A. D. and has passed through successive stages of development known as old, middle and modern (Maithili). The form of old Maithili may be traced to the charya songs and to Avahatta compositions which continued up to the days of Vidyapati. There is scope for dialectical variations in those songs and compositions and the local forms and idioms are not few and far between. Borrowing from Sanskrit and other contemporary languages including Arabic and Persian continued. The old Maithili covers the period from 900 to 1350 A. D.; the Middle Maithili from 1350 to 1830 A. D. and the modern Maithili from 1830 onwards. Middle Maithili, a pan-Maithili literary language, was most developed form of literary language. In the middle ages, contact with western and eastern provinces grew and there came into use a large number of Arabic and Persian words. Inspite of its contact with the contemporary languages, Maithili had to stand on its own though it continued to draw largely upon Sanskrit. Modern Maithili no longer plays a subservient role to Sanskrit and this is an indication of the vitality it has acquired in modern times. Modern Maithili has many idioms, turns and twists of expression which have been undoubtedly introduced by the thought pattern of English language. Modern Maithili has two distinct literary styles, viz., Sādhubhāṣā (elegant language) and caḷitabhāṣā (current language).

VII

The affinity of Maithili and Bengali is so very strong that the works in Maithili are still claimed to be in Bengali. Maithili agrees with Assamese, Bengali and Oriya in the use
of pronouns and their scripts are very much allied. The intimate contact between Mithilā and Bengal led to greater intercourse both culturally and linguistically and the distinction between the two languages in the early period was hardly perceptible. Similarly Mithilā and Assam were culturally bound into close ties and that led to the closer linguistic affinities between the two. Maithili excercised considerable influence on the Assamese. Śaṅkaradeva (C. 1449-1586) employed Maithili in his plays. There are some points of similarity between Maithili and Oriya specially in respect of phonology. It agrees with Oriya in stressing long vowels. Oriya does not possess the short vowels of Maithili. Grierson's nomenclature "Bihari" included all the three important languages of Bihar, viz., Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. There is a little difference between Magahi and Maithili. According to Grierson, Magahi indeed might be easily classed as a sub-dialect of Maithili rather than as a separate dialect (Cf.—Linguistic Survey of India—V. Pt. II. P. 4). In both, verbal forms are not at all influenced by any change in number. The difference between Maithili and Bhojpuri is greater though the territorial continuity has led to some minor points of similarity. Maithili connects the language of Bhojpur with other Magadhan speeches. Maithili is different from Hindi in all those features in which Sauraseni Prakrit differs from Magadhi Prakrit. Grierson had pointed that it differs from Hindi and Bengali both in vocabulary and in grammar and is as much a distinct language from either of them as Marathi or Oriya (Maithili Grammar, P. 2). Maithili has never ceased to be cultivated by its speakers since its beginning. In recent years, it has been encroached upon by Bhojpuri and in revenge Maithili has crossed the Ganges and occupied north Patna and a good portion of the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. It is one of the important Aryan languages and its earliest prose, Varṇanāratnākara, challenges comparison with that of Bānā and Subandhu.

We cannot afford to lose its cultural contents and heritage. After the Turkish invasion, when the scholars of eastern India repaired to Tirhut for higher studies, they carried with them
the language of Mithilā whose literary accomplishments presuppose a good background. The political, cultural and linguistic unity of eastern India is indicated by closely agreeing dialects of the earlier period, when, according to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Maithili was the main vehicle. It is evident from the fact that Vidyāpati had a host of imitators. Maithili has developed inspite of contempt and disregard from many quarters and has been enriched by all sections of the people, living not only in Mithilā but even outside its linguistic group. About two crores of people speak and read Maithili in one form or the other. The Maithili speaking area covers twenty thousand square miles.

A language, with such a rich tradition, has been enriched by great poets and authors and the present age has given rise to the creation of a literature full of deep realisation of the problems of life, its disappointments and hopes. The pathos and vigour and the spirit of challenge that run through modern Maithili poetry make it a great art. The decline of feudalism transferred wealth and power from the old aristocracy to the new bourgeoisie and the literature and culture acquired a bourgeois character to suit the needs of new pattern. The principal change brought about by the anglicised middle class is perceptible in modern fiction and poems. The impact of industrialisation has also brought about a new look in the contemporary literature. The shifting of economic power from village to town has had its effect on the literary forms and composition and the rustic character is now the urban ones. Modern Maithili literature is becoming more modern, urban, secular, human and individual. In modern Maithili literature are expressed the agonies and bitterness with which the toiling masses and peasants work their way through the intricacies of society. New forms and techniques have been adopted and all important 'isms', prevalent in the contemporary literatures of the country have found their way in modern Maithili literature. The capacity to produce in even war time literature has been proved beyond doubt during the recent invasions of the county when the maithili poets came out in protest with the armoury of their poems.
The literary activity of Mithilā is as old as the Vedic lores and the philosophical discussions, held in the court of Janaka, form the bedrock of the Upaniṣadic Salient features of Maithili literature thought. The essence of Vedānta was perfected here. Prakrit and Pali also held the field for a considerable period. On account of the rapidly widening gulf between the classical language and the spoken tongue, the less ambitious writers found it convenient to handle the isolated and compact form of the sloka (stanza). The best achievement of the classical Sanskrit poetry is to be found the anthology named “Saduktikarṇāṃśa,” compiled by Maithila Śrīdharadāsa. The cultivation of Sanskrit was never given up in Mithilā. Gradually Sanskrit lost its ascendancy and was replaced by Prakrit-Apabhramśa, which represented the pan-Indian form of the middle Indo-Aryan and at the same time started as a humble rival of Sanskrit. The pithy poignancy of the late Apabhramśa poetry is well illustrated in the Prākrāta-pañgala and its lyrical excellence is at times superb. The following lines deserve consideration—

“My lover is far away beyond the horizon.
The rains are come and my heart is now in a flutter.
The Mangoes are putting forth the tender blossoms.
Yonder the grove of creepers entwining the sick cotton tree is asflame with flowers.

Despite this if you, O my beloved, go far away there should not have been such a thing as love nor a season like spring.”

The earliest signs of the vernacular forms are illustrated in the works of Siddhācāryas. While the Prākrāta-Apabhramśa-Avahaṭṭa-Laukika language was gradually gaining ground, neo-classical Sanskrit literature was taking shape and that is best illustrated in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva whose influence on the later writers of Mithilā and Bengal is immense.

The literary tradition of Mithilā has been very old and the people of Mithilā appear to have been well-versed in
prosody. The joining of metre with melodies (Rāgas and Rāginīs) is found as early as the eleventh—twelfth century A. D. in Nānyadeva’s (C. 1097-1147 A. D.) Sarasvatīdhayālaṅkārahāraj and in Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda. Metre and melodies are totally absent from the Caryaṇapadas. Locana’s song metres are regulated by definite Rāgas and Tālas. The existence of a large number of commentaries on Prākṛtpaṅgala, written through the centuries in Mithiā by various commentators, is indicative of the poetic talents and interest in prosody. K. P. Jayaswal has rightly observed—“Prakrit prosody was a favourite study in Mithilā.......... This is evidenced by the several manuscripts of the Prakṛtpaṅgala and the commentaries thereon. It has exercised the greatest influence on poetry in Mithilā and other northern vernaculars. It deals with Doha, Totaka, Chappaiya, Kundaliya, Malini and other metres. There is a vast variety of vernacular metres which are now not in use.......... The Srutabodha, Chhando- mañjari and Vṛttaratnākara were popular works of prosody... Similarly we find Alāṅkāra and Kāvyasastra works of Maithil authors from the thirteenth-fourteenth century to the sixteenth becoming standard works in Mithilā to the exclusion of the text books from other parts of India. There is thus a special Maithil School of poetics and a clear influence of the vernacular composition on it is evident from the fourteenth century A. D. onwards.” (Catalogue of Mithilā Manuscripts—II. Introduction).

The early and middle Maithili prosody is based on the Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres. In the Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres, mātrā (the metrical moments) is a more important factor whereas in Sanskrit, Varga (or the letter) plays an important part. Locana has discussed the song metres of Mithilā. What needs emphasis here is this that the metre formed an important basis for distinguishing the desi songs. In the song metres, poets are obliged to follow the ragas and the rāginīs to which our attention is drawn by Locana, who has given a list of ninety-six rāgas, then prevalent in Mithilā. Locana’s enunciation of the rules of mātrās are like those mentioned in the Prakrit and Apabhramśa
prosody. The ‘Dhrupa’ is supposed to sum up or introduce the song. It occurs in the beginning and is sung after a Pada. Umāpati, Vidyāpati, Govindadāsa and a host of other poets follow the metres enumerated in Locana’s Rāgataranga. In our times, Chanda Jha revived those metres. Two classes of metres have been adopted by modern Maithili writers, viz.,

(i) Mātrika metres, represented by the Kṛṣṇajanma of Manabodha and (ii) Varṇavṛttaka metres have given rise to free verse, blank verse, etc., as a result of which the poetic craftsmanship of Maithili has been enriched.

All forms of literature are represented in Maithili. In the field of poetry, Maithili is rich in epics (Mahākavyas) of which there are three different classes, viz—

(A) (i) translations or the adaptations of the original, for example, Acyutānanda Datta’s Mahābhārata and Raghuvama; and Gaurishankar Jha’s Meghānavadadhā, based on the adaptation of Michael Madhusudan Datta.

(ii) Independent works following the convention of Sanskrit epics, viz., Badrinath Jha’s Ekāvaliparinaya; Raghunandan Dasa’s Subhadrāharana Tantranath Jha’s Kicakabadha.

(iii) Having the characteristics of epics, e.g., Manabodha’s Kṛṣṇajanma, Chanda Jha’s Rāmāyaṇa, Laldāsa’s Rāmāyaṇa.

(B) Like the Mahākavyas, the Khanḍakavyas are equally popular in Maithili. Here also translations and adaptations are seen besides the original ones. Translations and adaptations of Meghadūta, Ritusamhāra, Bhartṛharinirvedakāvya, Virahini-Vajrāṅgaṇa and various others are found. Some of the notable original products in the field of Khanḍakāvyas are Gaṅgālaḥari and Gāṇesakhaṇḍa by Laldāsa, Gajagrahoddhāra by Gunawantalal Das, Virabālaka by Raghunandana Das, Satibhitī by Riddhinath Jha and Nāradavīvāha by Anupa Mishra.

(C) A peculiar type of Sanskrit Kāva, known Vatāhvāna Kāva, has been very popular in Maithili. It is supposed to induce the wind to blow at particularly hot hours. Both Chanda Jha and Bhana Jha have followed this.

(D) Virudāvalis have been composed by Laldāsa and Riddhinath Jha.
(E) Kobaragita has been composed by one of the master artists named Kashikant Mishra "Madhup."

The Maithili Mahakavyas can safely be compared with the Mahakavyas of any other language. Though Sanskrit poetic styles are followed, in compositions like Manabodha’s Kṛṣṇajñana, Chanda Jha’s or Laldasa’s Rāmāyana, we find that they do not strictly adhere to the rules of a Mahakavya. There are, of course, all the characteristics in their works but not on the pattern of Sanskrit. Khandakavyas are generally long narratives of mythological and legendary heroes and they sometimes include longer poems. Taken together, the Mahakavyas and the Khandakavyas constitute the superior class of poetry while others are treated as inferiors. An important class of Khandakavya in Maithili is Sammara (svayamvara) dealing with the course of events leading to the marriage of religious heroes.

The most important and common type of poetry in Maithili is Tirhuti. It represents the most popular and successful indigenous lyrical expression of Tirhut and is the richest of all classes of Maithili songs. All aspects of love affairs are unfolded therein. They sing of separation as well as of union. The Tirhuti has following classifications—

(i) Bataagmani—it portrays the nāyika (heroine) in abhisāra (that is, when she goes to meet her lover). It is sung out in a peculiar melody of which Vidyāpāi in the most successful writer.

(ii) Goālari—It depicts the sports and youthful pranks of Kṛṣṇa in the company of the Gopis of which Nandipati is the most successful writer.

(iii) Rāsa—It deals with Kṛṣṇa’s sportive lilās with Gopis. The most important writer on Rāsa in Maithili is Sahebramadāsa. The influence of Brajabhāṣā is perceptible in his writings.

(iv) Māna—It represents a sort of dramatic lyric depicting the annoyance of the beloved (strimāna) and the request of the lovers to mend matters and vice-versa (purusmāna). Umapati is the best writer of māna.

Other important forms of Maithili poetry are represented by Samadauni, Lagni, Chaitābara, Malāra, Yoga, Uchiti, Sohara, 27 M. V.
Choumāsā and devotional songs like Nachāri, Maheshvāni, Gosaunikagita and Viṣṇupada.

(i) Samadami—On the occasion of the Navarātri, it is sung to bid adieu to goddess Durgā. It is sung to bid farewell to one’s daughter when she is going to her husband’s house after marriage. All important functions end with the singing of this song, popularly known as Bidai song. Gananatha Jha and Vindhyanath Jha have made important contributions in this field.

(ii) Lagni—It is sung by village womenfolk in the early hours of morning while grinding grains. The classical type of Lagni embodies four to five stanzas. Gananatha Jha has used it as a medium of fine poetry.

(iii) Chaitābara—It represents a class of folk poetry and conveys emotions of love in the month of Chaitra (March–April). It is also known as Chaiti.

(iv) Malāra—It is a seasonal song, sung generally in the dry and rainy seasons, having a distinct rāga.

(v) Yoga—It is sung to bind the bridegroom and the bride, even lover-beloved, by divine incantations.

(vi) Uchiti—It is sung to convey the courtesy of the host to the distinguished visitor. The Yoga and Uchiti are the two peculiar classes of Maithili songs. These two songs have both literary and folk types. The Yoga goes back to the days of Vidyāpati.

Sohara, Barahmāśā and Choumāsā are the familiar types of all vernacular poetry and are found in almost all the languages of Bihar. Sohara represents the birth songs. Barahmāśā represents the state of separation during the course of twelve months; Choumāsā during the course of four months. These two classes have both literary and folk types. In Mithilā, the ordinary people have to eke out their livelihood with great difficulty and as such long separation from the near and dear ones is a common feature. These songs are the products of such separation and various poets, now unknown, composed or contributed to the development of these songs.

Nachāri indicates songs representing direct prayer to Śiva. Maheshvāni is a song about Śiva. Nachāri and Maheshvāni
are often confused and kept in common parlance but the difference between the two is real and marked. Nachārī refers to the ecstatic dance of Śiva whereas Maheshvāni is sung in praise of Śiva and is addressed to Manain (Menaka, mother of Gouri). It represents the life of Śiva and more specially his marriage. Vidyāpati, Lalkavi, Kanhārāmadās, Chanda Jha and others have composed some of the best Nachāris and Maheshvānis. The Gosauṅikagita is sung in praise of Śakti and the people have been composing such songs since the days of Vidyāpati,

The Maithili folk literature is equally important from the literary point of view. The chief characteristics of Maithili folk literature are simplicity, freshness and the charm of its genre. At rare moments of intuitive experience, it is at its best and is able to have direct vision into the life of things. The story of the married life of Śiva, the love episodes of Kṛṣṇa, the story of Bihula, Puranic legends and gods, other romantic love stories of a like nature, riddle poetry, didactic and educative lore form the basis of folk literature in Mithilā. Verses dispensing with the practical wisdom are found in Dukavachanāmṛta. Jyotirīśvara is well known for his erotic composition. Maithili folk literature has long romantic tales in verse or in popular ballads. Lorika, Bihula, Salhesa, Dina-bhadri, Satikumari and many others are some of the finest specimens of Maithili folk literature. A full and critical estimate of the Maithili folklore is yet a desideratum.

It is in the field of lyrics that Maithili has made the most notable contribution in the history of modern Indo-Aryan literature. Most lyrics are meant to be sung. The tradition of lyric, set by the early Charyapadas and elaborated and perfected by Jayadeva and Umāpati, reached its pinnacle of glory in Vidyāpati. The lyrics are suited to mood and emotion with wide and unlimited range. The chief sources of inspiration are the events and experiences of everyday life. Needless to say that Sanskrit poetics and erotic conventions provide eternal background to its colour and imagery. Maithili lyrics are mainly distinguished by their melodies. Bhanīta is
the most common feature of the Maithili lyric and some of the Bhanitas contain the name of the patron whom the poet wishes to oblige or compliment. Dr. Sukumar Sen says—“The insertion of the poet’s name appears to have been practised in the old and medieval periods throughout the length and breadth of upper India. It seems to have been a development of the practice of the earlier Sanskrit poets to insert in the poem or stanza the name of the metre in which it is written.” (History of Brajabuli Literature). Coming into contact with the main trends of English literature and the English lyrical forms, sonnets, odes and literary ballads, Maithili writers began to use them in their own language. Blank verse came to be recognised as one of the forms of poetry and Muktakakāyya has acquired a great popularity and prominence in modern times. Sitaram Jha may be regarded as the pioneer of this school and a host of modern writers have followed him.

The tradition of prose in Maithili is the earliest in the whole of eastern Indian languages and its best example is found in the Varṇanaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. His influence is seen on the writing of the later authors of Nepal and Bengal. It is regrettable that the tradition of finished prose could not be carried on longer. In the medieval period, there are two types of prose—dramatic and documentary. There is a lot of difference between the old and the new Maithili prose. The modern prose is marked by new tendencies of nationalism, democracy, socialism and other problems of modern life. The prose writers of today are able to take a synthetic view of life and their concept of the country’s problems is well-marked and defined. The documentary prose of the middle period, though often verbose and beyond the comprehension of common mass, lacked aesthetic qualities and was not of a very high order. The middle Maithili was dominated mainly by the lyrics and the prose, in modern sense of the term, is really a modern creation.

In the field of drama, Maithili’s contribution in unique. It influenced the dramatic tradition of Assam, Bengal and Nepal. For a considerable period, Sanskrit and prakrit domi-
nated the scene of Maithili drama. In most of the earlier dramas, speeches are in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Maithili or Sanskrit verses interperse the play. Sometimes they are translated into Maithili or the songs are purely in Maithili. These songs sometimes contain the translation of the meaning of the preceding Sanskrit verses. We have such an example in Umapati’s Pārijātaharaṇa. The above characteristics represent the regular Maithili drama. “Irregular” Maithili dramas contain Maithili songs and verses alone in the body of the play and this type is represented by Ratnapani’s Ushāharana. The irregular Maithili dramas of Assam differed much from the regular Maithili drama in its use of prose and it made a definite departure from the division of Rūpakas of the Sanskrit dramaturgy. Modern Maithili drama is having a new path altogether and the influence of English is clearly perceptible here. In Nepal, the Maithili drama had its influence over the form and stage with profuse Maithili songs. The Kirtaniyā drama of Mithilā is a class by itself.

Section—B

LITERATURE

(i) Introduction

Mithilā is the only part of India where Sanskrit learning continued unabated till the last quarter of the nineteenth century and at the same time continued to be the official language of the court. Along with the development of Nāvyanyāya and Dharmaśāstra studies, Sanskrit and Maithili literatures also march forward. A critical study of the history of Sanskrit literature in Mithilā reveals to us that no positive work has yet been done in this respect. Kāvya, Nātaka and other technical literatures in Mithilā still remain untapped and there is a vast scope in this field where interested scholars can dive deep with pleasure and profit. Political conditions did not materially affect Sanskrit literature and literary works conti-
nued to be produced. The 'classical period' in literature was, no doubt, a thing of the past but it must be admitted that the production in almost all the branches was satisfactory. There is lack of originality in the Sanskrit texts of the period. Though the contact with the Muslim was now a reality, it is rather strange that no positive influence of such contact is available to us from the Sanskrit texts. The writers of the period wrote mainly commentaries on the older texts or compiled new texts on different subjects. The patronage extended by the Hindu rulers of Mithilā resulted in the concentration of scholars from different parts of the country and that led to the production of various standard texts in different branches of learning. Even some of the contemporary rulers like Viśvāsadevī, Bhairava Simha, Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, Simha Bhupāla, Maheśa Thākura, Subhankara Thākura and others took part in literary and philosophical compositions and thereby enriched the Sanskrit Kāvya, Nātaka, poetics, dramaturgy, commentaries and even the vernacular languages. The royal literary tradition was set in as early as 1097 A. D., in the historical period, by Nānyadeva, founder of the Karnāṭa dynasty. The bulk of production, during the period under review, came from Mithilā, Bengal, Western and Southern India.

The Karnāṭa and the Oinwāra rulers of Mithilā were great patrons of art and letters and it must be said to their credit that inspite of their long and continuous entanglement with the Muslim rulers, they found time to take interest in literary activities of the time. Kings and Ministers were equally interested. With the destruction of the Vikramaśilā and Nālandā Universities, the centre of scholarship shifted to Mithilā. They brought with them large number of MSS and treasure of scholarship. So far as Mithilā is concerned, we see that her interest in classical literature and philosophy was also lukewarm. There has been no dearth of good books on various subjects. Though the enthusiasm about astronomy, mathematics and āyurveda is not so great, one is stuck by the variety of subjects on which books in Sanskrit were written during the period. The Maithila scholars did not confine
themselves to the political boundary of Mithilā. Some of them travelled to different parts of the country and wrote at instance of princes and rulers. Their works give us an idea of the creative activity. In so far as the study of Sanskrit is concerned, Mithilā served as a golden link between India on the one hand and Nepal and Tibet on the other. Various MSS, discovered from Tibet, are in Maithili character. Mithilā, inspirer of Nadia, was, in no way, inferior to Vārāṇasi. Her contributions in Dharmaśāstra and Nyāya secured for her a place of honour. The period, on the whole, may be characterised as one which was devoted more to explanation, clarification and elaboration than to any original creation of repute except in two branches, already referred to above. It was in the realm of Maithili language and literature that Mithila made her name. The period is marked by the presence of an illuminating personality like Vidyāpati who has been immortalised through his songs.

(ii) Sanskrit Literature—

Mithilā, during our period, was surging with great intellectual fervour. She produced some of the greatest celebrities whose contributions in respective branches of Sanskrit literature have made her immortal for all times. We shall detail below the amount of success achieved by these Sanskrit writers in different branches.

Kāvya

The famous Durgā festival has been described by Vidyāpati in his 1000 verses in the Durgābhaktatarāṅgini. Though a greater figure in Maithili literature, his contribution to classical Sanskrit is also worthy of note. The Durgābhaktitarāṅgini and Saivasaṃpradānya deal with the devotional side of sanskrit literature. As very little was generally written in prose, all general literature went under the name of Kāvya. Gitagaurīśa by Bhāṇudatta, author of Rasatarāṅgini and Rasamañjari, appears to have followed the model of Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda. The father of Bhāṇudatta was also a poet and was possibly the author of Mahāmata, to which reference is made by Rājaśekhara (ST—117). The most important anthology,
compiled by a Maithila is the *Sadukti Karṇāmṛta* by Śrīdhara-dāsa. The *Śrāṅgadharapaddhati* of Śrāṅga-dhara contains collection of poems by Maithila writers. Lakhima Thākurain and Chandrakalā are well known female poets of Mithilā. Grierson has brought some poems of Lakhima Thākurain to light. The following poem, in incorrect metre, depicts the pangs of parting—

बयि यास्यसिनाथ निषिद्धते
याय्य यायि वचनं द्विमावद
अशाने: पतनं न बेदानं
पतनारासमतीत हृततहृदः।

The verses on the pangs of separation are as mentioned below—

मक्का मोक्तस्य न भूषक्ते कुतिक विचलतः कोहिमिद्विविकान्
ताराकालमुप्नेहः पिवति न पयसा विद्वुपः पत्र संस्थः।।
छायानमोहिनानिमक्तिकुदाद्वलविबोधसत्यासस्मतः
काला विद्वेषभूमिशिदनमयि रजनीमन्यते चक्रवर्तः।।

He breaks the crisp lotus tendrils to eat them but does not do so, for he mistakes them for the rays of the moon: though athirst he does not drink the drops of water in the lotus leaves for he thinks them stars; in the shade of lotus flowers dark with the swarms of bees he sees night when there is no night; always dreading separation from his beloved, the *chakravāka* imagines even the day to be the night.

Lakhimā Thākurain was a renowned poetess of Mithilā and numerous stories are current about her learning and wisdom. When her daughter was of age to be sent to her husband, she wrote, as follows, to the young *Pandita* to whom the girl was married—

आक्षण्ता द्वामधुर्भािति पतिनारायणमृदिता निर्जैते।
तुर्वद्वद्वद्व दितिकी महिमबेकरद्वासनिति।
सत्व श्री गुप्पश्रमस्यनमान्नासमभवनं वसमी बनित।
प्राप्तिद्वेषत्वमद्वन्यं परिधैर तुल्योद्ध्रवः।।

“Attacked with the severe onslaught of God of love is she. Distraught like a crab or a fish in a dry place is she. O, thou bull-minded one! the damsels, round formed as a water Jar, with arched eye brows, the destined wife of thou
who art like a lion amongst Kings, and who is not a gross like a shopkeepers’ wife who plies the scales. She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Quickly let the result of married life relieve her.” Even when the young Brähmin came, he abstained from exercising his marital rites and the bride, being disgusted, complained to her mother who, in turn, rebuked the son-in-law.

“Be not afraid that the damsel is too slender. Has a flower stock ever been seen to be broken by the weight of a bee? Therefore, in private, must she be given pangs. A piece of sugarcane, when pressed, gives us gently much sweetness” —

The son-in-law followed her advice and next morning the following conversation took place between mother and daughter.

Daughter—माता: केशिकेंद्र नथामिखाजने (I will not retire again to the bridal room).

Mother—कस्माष्चन्द्रानने (Why not my moon faced one?).

Daughter—जामाता तब निविन्यो निसुज्जश्वादोपिमारी पीड्ने अहारारणां करोति च नाचैरैलोक्षणांव्रीत केनेथे रतिराइशेन रमिता शाहूद्विकाविबिधिता।

“Your son-in-law gives me pang even when bound in my arms. He burns me as it were with live coals and I am torn to pieces with his nails and treeth; of what love demon am I the sport? and why does he play with me like a tiger?” —

Once a Panḍita came to try Lakhima’s learning. She disguised herself as a water girl and went to meet him—

सत्यं ज्योक्षिककंकवथ बाणमुष्यः नाईं त्वदर्थ्यसि परिचित्यायि।

dāshāsya में निविर्दितस्वत्तु तुवस्यथः।

“Tathā, I tell thee, who art smitten by the arrow of love, that I am not so minded towards thee. I could not find my
slave. You are like him, and I was merely trying to find out if you were he or not?"—

Other Similar verses are—

बहुरामीकृतों भूगर्भभूती, गजराज विराजित संदर्भितोः।


On Bikaana (see social history) Lakhmā observes—

चपरें दुरा रंग परिणार्थयत, परिकौतर्जनान्यरिविवर्त्यत:

नादाति सुज्ञामय मन्त्रीविद्वानं, मन्त्रीमय मान्यमयो विवर्तं।

“You may make your spirited horse prance, and with them trample on the town folk. But we all know that your wealth is not got by your exertions but by the sale of your sister’s persons.”

All these and many others give us an idea of the erotic literature. The Pañchashāyaka, of Jyotirīśvara Thākura (Five Arrows of the God of Love) is in five sections and is in verse. It describes the secret processes of love and bears striking similarity to the aupaniṣadaprakaraṇa of Vatsyāyana. Kāmadeva is invoked here. He was well-read in the ancient treatises on the erotics. He gives a detailed description of (i) Piṭhamarga, (ii) Padmini, (iii) Citṛṇi, (iv) Śāṅkhini and (v) Hastini. He, then, gives a description of various sexual poses and forms, the methods of bringing under control various types of heroines and enchanting them. He enumerates various types of male and female and the distinctive features of the women folks of Saurāṣṭra, Kalinga, Vaṅga, Madhyadeśa, Gauḍa, Mālava, Gurjara, Dravida, Madra, Pūndra, Karṇāṭa and Mlecha. He also discurses the qualities of different kinds of heroines and a detailed account of Jyoti-rīśvara’s analysis can be found in a recent publication.

Drugs, Toilets, charms, Philtres and measures for birth control and other things do not escape the notice of this great writer on erotics. His another important work on erotics is Raṅga-

1. IA (1886) XV. 318, 358, 382, etc.

2. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature (German edition) III. 541. I have in my possession a printed work of this book i.e. Pañchashāyaka.

śekhara, quoted extensively in later Sanskrit literature. Even in the VR, there is a good display of his erotic sentiments.

In so far as poetry, in general, is concerned, Mithilā did not lag behind. No other part of India can boast of an unbroken tradition of scholars and poets from the hoary age of the Vedas to the present time. A continuous scheme has been following and we have a glimpse of such excellent poetics feats, achieved by the Maithilas, in the Saduktikarnā- mṛta and other anthologies. This anthology consisted of 2380 stanzas with further introductory āryā verses by the anthologist. 623 stanzas of this anthology are common to the Subhāṣītaratnakosa of Vidyākara. The Vidyākarasuhrakam (edited by Dr. Umeśa Miśra Allhabad—1942) also contains a good account of Sanskrit poets of Mithilā and other parts of India. In the MSS of an anthology Rasikajivana, referred to by S. K. De and others and compiled by a Maithila in the 17th century A. D., named Gadādharabhaṭṭa, we have a good account of contemporary Sanskrit poets. The book, divided into ten Prabandhas, contains 1562 verses out of which 981 are anonymous. 142 authors and works are named but according to Dr. Hardatta Śarmā, some names were missed by Gode. This work contains the collection of some of the important Maithilā poets preceding the author and thereby it is of immense importance for a study of the history of Sanskrit poetry in Mithilā. We learn from this particular work that Śridatta, the earliest Nibandhakāra of Mithilā, was also a poet. The following poem is preserved in that collection—

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4. JASB (N. S.) XI. P. 414 f.n.

5. The MSS is in the Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Poona; Also Cf. S. K. De—Sanskrit Poeties I. P. 291; P. K. Gode’s article in the ABORI—XII. P. 296 ff;—a reprint of the same article in G. D. College Bulletin No. 4; I got necessary extracts from this collection through the courtesy and kindness of the late lamented Dr. P. K. Gode.

The following Eight verses of Śaṅkara guru, preceptor of Damodara, grandfather of Gadādhara-bhaṭṭa, are preserved. It thus appears that the great philosopher, Śaṅkara Miśra, was also a great poet—

Folio 1—

The anthology consists of the collections of the poems of such eminent Maithila poets as Bhānukara, Bāṇa, Bhan, Chandra, Chanḍeśvara, Govindarāja, Govardhana, Harihara, Jayadeva, Murārī, Maithila (?), Madhusudanasarasvati,
Saṅkara, Śrīdatta, Umāpati, Vācaspati, Vidyāpati and Vāyu-miśra. Since these poems are yet unknown, necessary extracts from the MSS are given here for the benefit of scholars.

रसिकजीवनमू of गदाधर मद

Ms. No. 151 of 1866–68 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona 4)

Fol. 5b  
बदेतहारण्य मनवति सर्वप्रेमलघुरी
खणिमारसायमस्तथ धर रजोमनिविगलकि।
बिनिििितुं शातकसविनुण्येकहसुकी-  
सतदुक्षम्यारपिनधीरः मने कमलमुन॥ ४० ॥ सातुकरस्य

Fol. 21a  
रहस्यस्ति विद्वान्नार्ण सतिमित्व मनवती रितपुरविना॥ २०॥ गणस्य

Fol. 134  
अथ कृपणिदिः।
हुिुिििििकृिे: कोशििििणभस्य सहजम्यनस्य।
कृपणस्य च केतवमकारसी भेि:॥ ७३ ॥
सति द्रासाःकेकी शीर्खुरमासद्वस्तुः सुिे।
अद्व मातृिििे रिििे: कृपणे गर्भविचिनि॥ ७४ ॥ मानोः

Fol. 95  
परिपति पििणिनी पििः।
सतिसिनात्रावरं पििणः॥
उपवनतरकोडः बिहिऽगो।
तुििनेपु शनििश्वरंगः॥ १५॥
संििरायक्ष्फ्िाणमारिश्वपातरमिवविभुक्तमण्डली।
सुसाैकाशकाशबिक्षु भािवस्य तदिस्व दिसिोऽुः॥ १६॥
स्त्रीलिप्ते कालानाः: कहुिककरभवे।
भिि निवासपालस ििि्रिि निििानाः॥ १७॥

अथ चक्रवर्त्यस्य।

Fol. 3  
एकेनानुभुतित्वति सतितस्तविष्ठाने।  
मानोविशिकललितानि नागरण स्वार्य॥
अभुःक्रृते दृशिः: बिरहाशिििििि चक्रवाको।
दोष कंक्रोणि रचतिििि रति सन्तसिव प्राप्तमा॥ १८॥ चंद्रस्य  
स्वातः: स्वमर्तिर्भिः नकलरेयस्य चालिनातिः।
परवर्तवाः: सितमृततिपद्यविष्कन्त्वा।
देिबंधुकारसितििको मौिीिवषादेतस्।
सोभीर्वितििे गोििजिराणस्याविलोऽहरः:॥ २०॥
वििीवषाद विषादमस्तं। वरसंगवस्राितिः।
हिला िािसपुणः: नििुस्ति सैताशिलांधः॥
स्वल्का मसस्याज्ञिनि: श्रावेि-साराश्रवः।
देवः: पािु ध्वस्माध्निरिपणिं कुलम् गूढः: शििः॥ २१॥
कुमारसरविवासे मयुरस्यादिरुपुषो
करतवबहुवर्ष्य श्रीगतगतरघीरेकं।
निर्जितव शशिलिंद्रा वा प्रचन्नराय शिंको-
भैरवसर सब विवाह कंतवता कोकुताय।।

Fol. 41

पोटे वन हिंसं पयः कवित्रता वरिष्णुमाणाकोकुराल-श्लापारण्य सिद्धं वध सरसो मधे सिद्धं अमः।।

चित। तुर्को स्वल्पिन गुप्तिः कस्मवर्ति। पाणिविनोतीमुः तु।
कुमारस्यादिरुपुषो कर्तिकन्वदतोऽग्रस्य प्रेयंगार।।
भो भो कर्राद दिवसान्ति किषक्ति सांव-

रसिम्मरी समितिवाहिनु द्रोहिष्यें।

Fol. 42

रूपाय जीविताः खसियाऩ ब्रह्मचायुक-नमः।

कोकुयश्च मितातुष्टेनी नगुः-
स्तुतिने बते हि वक्तवान परीक्षोपैमित।।

Fol. 24b

पर्सवे ब्रह्मचायुकप्रकर कर्राडः समस्तंत-निमिति।
भिनो वैगं वितस्वते ते किल पशोस्ववः स्रबिष्य।।

Fol. 69b

हः हस्य िस्य कुरंगाराशक केतारे कल्पसारे स्वयंसि।

दशवाणस्य शक्ततालोण गातिः। कामःकुएः शयं पृथिविवेष्य।।

Fol. 6-7

विकारु कवित्रति कर्तिकात्मित साधा।
तपाधि रारिकादीश्री बुधिः कार्यान्तिगुप्ताः
पदार्नवेदा मन्त्रणासिद्धिः विवर्तितचं शंकत्वते।।

मुख्याः प्राचीन नववचनवाची बिवजते

कुरायी कक्षुः कर्यामपि न वंचु कुतवती।

Fol. 41-42

न शाश्वकुर्मणिगः किरष्यतु कुतराः नववचनो-

स्थापि श्रीरस्य ज्वलनस्या विवजते।।

Fol. 6-7

सर्वेऽः सुरायाः अविस्तवेष्य सर्वेऽः सर्वेऽः विप्रते।।

अष्टुनपितं रेखां द्रुपुषो वहस्याय तिर्राधितति।।

विस्मित माधवानामां पारंकीवतेन।

सुभुम्नपुरः क्षत्रि वस्तु प्रतिक्षणामालकृपः।।

क्रिमिकीकरण कौटुकस्य व्यस्ततिरित्यसाधारः-

मधवभद्रः तस्मि गणितवेचे नमः।।

Fol. 6-7
CHAPTER V

Fol. 90 समुक्षोऽऽ तन्वा निशितनन्यां तेन सूतितैः स्तनं दर्शयः; रिमलखवृद्धार्णविरः खलिमिति ।
मदरांः केदारः मदनकुपिकारेण जनिता ।
चिराधारावली निमित्तिः न फलं हंसं हप्तं ॥ ॥ नैविकस्य

Fol. 5 इशे पदमण्डानमाविजुमुहुर्मायांः ।
प्राणिपश्चिपु क्रुद्माविनिति. माहार्णः ।
जनमुत समसुतरसी पद्योनुपत्तानां- ॥ ॥
मस्मीदशामपि मनोरथ मंखुतं गंगुतं ॥ ॥ महुद्वृद्ध सरस्वतिनां ।

Fol. 87a बाहरे विरितः समस्तविषयव्यापे निश्चितः परः ।
नासायः नयनं वदेनदपरं वर्षेकिर्ततां मयः ।
मौनं चेदिमिति च शृंखल्य अखलं वणिण्यामाति ते ।
तद्वृत्तः सलिकोत्तरिः किमाति भोः; कित्वा कित्योगिनयसि ॥ ॥ ॥ राजाष्ट्रस्वयं ।

Fol. 60a भूवै गुमे बिनिकृतुम् स्वमधुस्तिदृशे ।
वेनाधायं मधुकररुचिभ्यं भूतुम्मो ।
भन्तुनामां सत्त्वेकरुघ्यातां रतिपितः ।
प्रकोष्ठे सृद्धं च स्नायति गृहात्तरुमे ॥ ॥ ॥ शंकरस्य ।

Fol. 29a निपिनिशिरसमुत्ख्या वधति भवनानं पार्षदशाकः ।
रचिरं हंसं न महते हंसं विचिरहस्त्यस्तरं क्रमपि ॥ ॥ ॥
वदिवेशवम्भूत प्रयोगिकी निवेदनं जगतीपति मलके ।
तदापि नाथ पुरुषाश्रममा पतिताराहुयशे खङ्ग चंद्रामा ॥ ॥ ॥
अनुविन्मनुकृत मार्मरं विघटिति: मतिकृतमाचरेऽकः ।
शोभनगरुजजान कथाधातः । श्रीतिकेन्द्रः श्रिकं श्रुते स्नाते ।
शिरसा धार्मर्माणापी सोम: सोमेन श्रुतुः ।
लश्पिकुण्ठानि पंशे कहः खङ्ग खङ्ग परस्याम ॥ ॥ ॥
वधवमानककरकायु भुवायु भुवायु कहांमिचे: ।
आशास्महेवं पूवीं सूवेश्चायना क्रुद्दावरः ॥ ॥ ॥
नयनमहिः जनान्दनस्य शोभोरुकुत्तर मनोः सदाः नमादिवेशः ।
र्वनसि न पुग्माममेकऽविवर्मि विरामिवन केषुक किमाति ॥ ॥ ॥ वामपाते ।

Fol. 6b अमिनमवन्नीत प्रोत्तमात्मापातेन विचरणिक्य यदमी ।

 सप्तमानस्वर्भः ।

हुदयवनमेवे योगिभववीर्मानीकः ।
नवगमन्नमाल द्यमासं क्षिपरीतः ॥ ॥ ॥ वाचसपते ।

Fol. 114 अपि वर्षां कामिनी ॥ पद्य सारिस रसमयं अक्षरसमयं सुस्वर्चः ॥
किमाति कापि भथकापि बगाका कापि बलका मुद्रे चचे ॥ ॥
काठे पयोवरणा मधुंमनो नैव नासं हल्ल्यं पिन्नकः: भथ: ॥ ॥
अव वर्षां विरहिणी ॥
Mithilā, during the period under review, had acquired a name and status in the literary world. Sanskrit Paṇḍitas would very often travel to the court of Mithilā to seek patronage and recognition. Some of the Maithila Paṇḍitas devoted their talents to the praise of kings who patronised them. Eulogical compositions were not few and far between. A famous logician like Padmanātha Miśra composed Birabhadra Champa in praise of Baghela prince, Vīrabhadra. Raghudeva Miśra wrote Virudāvali. Gaṅgānanda Kavindra composed Bhṛngaduta in praise of King Karna of Bikaner. Harihara’s Suktimuktāvali is an admirable specimen of Mukta poetry. Suktimuktāvali is in twelve chapters—dealing with (i) gods
and goddesses; (ii) children and their upbringing; (iii) words of advice to the young; (iv) staying abroad, (v) winning patron's favour; (vi) manner in which royalty should be treated; (vii) politics; (viii) description of six seasons; (ix) erotics, (x) different types of heroes and heroines; (xi) miscellany and (xii) dealing with grown up man back home. Harihara is credited with having compiled a Subhä-
sitävali. Two dramas (Prabhävati parinaya nätoka and Bhartr-
harinirveda) are also attributed to him. His brother, Nila-
kaňtha, has been described as Kavikaňtha-Vibhusäna. Sukti-
muktävali may be classed as a Subhäsitä literature, having no
unity of structure underlying it. In the present case the verses
are of all the different rasas on different subjects and yet
they are all by one and the same author. As the learned
editor has observed—"on a closer analysis it becomes evident
that there is an inherent unity underlying the whole work
which is not a mere collection of Subhäsitä verses composed
at random without any connection among them, but has a
definite purpose behind the whole plan." 7

Even in the field of Sanskrit prose Mithilä did not lag
behind. On the lines of Panchatantra, the Purušaparikṣä of
Vidyæpati has moral and political tales for the instruction
of children. We have got various editions of this important
work. There are in all forty-four tales of varying contents
couched in elegant Sanskrit. The object of this particular
work, according to the poet, was not only to give moral
instruction but was also "the delectation of those ladies of the
city who display a taste for the mirthful arts of the god of
love." 8 The tale in the PP indicate, in a simple and graceful

work has been planned as a complete whole to serve as a prac-
tical guide to the Brähmaṇa Paṇḍita.
8. Various editions are known to us—(i) H. P. Ray, translated
this work into Bengali (1815 A. D.); (ii) Sir. G. Haughton
(London—1826)—many other editions were published in
Calcutta without date; (iii) Chanda Jha—edited the work
with Mathili translation and notes (Darbhanga—1888 A. D.);
style, what goes to constitute manly qualities. Some stories refer to contemporary historical personages. 9

Prase

The Bhūparikrama is also a prose work describing Balrāma’s journey. It may be noted here that this is one of the earliest specimens of the Gazetteer literature in India. Though didactic in nature, they are noteworthy for the subjects they treat. His Līkhnāvalī acquaints us with the ideas of the age about literary and other miscellaneous compositions. An incomplete work, entitled Sarvadeśayāttānta saṅgraha, attributed to Mahēśa Thākur, is a prose work of the 16th century A. D.

Mithilā produced eminent writers on Dharmaśāstra and philosophy and we have already given a detailed account of them earlier. Chaṇḍeśvara’s Smṛtiratnākara is an exhaustive digest, Kṛtyachintāmaṇī discusses astronomical matters in relation to the performances of various religious ceremonies and Saṅskāras; RR deals with polity and was probably his last work. Vācaspati was another important writer of repute and his VC, along with the Vivādāratnākara of Chaṇḍeśvara, is considered to be the supreme authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā. Harinātha’s Smṛtisāra deals with several topics of Dharmaśāstra. Rudradhara’s Sudhīviveka is an exhaustive treatise on purificatton dealing with all its aspects. Misaru Miśra’s Vivādachandra is a recognised authority on Hindu Law (Supra). In so far as philosophy is concerned, Pārthasārthi Miśra wrote several works on

Gangānath Jha brought out an abridged edition of this work for the use of schools (Allhabad 1911); Grierson edited it from London (1935); their is yet another edition by Nerukara (Bombay 1915); Chandradhara Pāṭhaka’s edition—already referred to and the latest one is by Prof. Ramanatha Jha (Patna—1961). It is based mainly on Chanda Jha’s edition but the Introduction and English translation are of course new. Cf. IA (1873) II. 37 ff., IV. 299; Maitihla Chrestomathy; IA—XIV. 182 ff; PASB (1895).

9. Cf. my article in the JOT—referred to earlier.
CHAPTER V

Bhaṭṭa Mimāṃśa viz.—Nyāyaratnakara, Śāstrādipikā and Tantra-ratna. Books on Nyāya, Mimāṃśa, Yoga, Vedānta, Śāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika and so on were written and most of them are available in MSS. Śaṅkara Miśra, Pakṣadhara, Rucidatta, Rāmadatta, Devadatta, Murari, Govinda Miśra, Vācaspati and others were renowned authors in the field. Śaṅkara Miśra was a great dualist and he has attacked the position of Advaita Vedānta in Bhedaprakāśa and Advaitadhikāra. He also commented upon Śrī Harṣa’s Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa Khādyā and wrote a popular commentary on the Sūtras of Kaṇḍa. Vibhākara’s Dwaitaviveka also deserves notice. Large number of commentaries written on the Tattva-Chintāmaṇi, during the period under review, constitute the fountain source of the huge literature on Nyāya-Nyāya and that it was in this branch that it has been described as a forte of Mithilā. In religious and philosophical literature Mithilā made fairly remarkable contributions. It is not possible to give a complete list of all the versatile writers of the age. Mithila’s contribution was substantial and she served as link between different countries like Nepal and Tibet.

In the field of technical and scientific literature, Mithilā made some notable contributions. The period witnessed the founding of the Saupadma school of Grammar by a Maithila named Padmanābhadatta in Śaka 1297 (= 1374 A. D.). We have this date from his Prshodarādi Vṛtti. The famous work of Padmanābha, Saupadma, is based upon that of Pāṇini. He retains most of the terminology but remodels a greater part of the rules and their arrangements in a methodological form, each Sūtra having a short explanatory note. Besides works on Unādis, Dhātus, Paribhāṣas, metrics, lexicography etc., he himself has written a commentary on his grammar called Supadmapaṇjikā. His influences is now confined to some parts of central Bengal. Only recently, I have discovered a MSS of grammar from Safāpur (Begusarai) entitled Prabhodhachandrikā by Bijjalladeva Chouhan and the work is now published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar
MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

Oriental Research Institute. Aufrecht in his *Catalogue* has mentioned it and I had the opportunity of looking into six MSS of the same from the BORI and one of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work is in poetry and the tendency of introducing religious elements in grammar is evident from this work. There the story of Rāma has been told in this case. A commentary on this particular work by Gopāl has been noticed by me. Dr. Belvelkar also makes a mention of this work. The famous grammarian of Mithilā, Padmanābha, was also a great lexicographer. In his *Bhuriprayoga*, there is a bigger portion of homonyms and a smaller portion of synonyms. Śrīkara Achārya wrote a commentary on the *Amarakosa*. A good commentary on the *Amarkośa* is said to have been written by Chidamani. Parmānanda wrote a very important *Kośa*, entitled *Bhagabhimārṇav Kośa*, Apparāya, at the court of Simha Bhūpāla, also wrote a commentary on *Amarakośa*. Large number of commentaries on Grammar were also written. Giridhar Upādhyāya may be mentioned here as the author of a logico-grammatical treatise called *Vibhaktyārtha-nirṇaya*.

According to Dr. S. K. De the period, under review, was characterised by works showing systematic compilation. The learned author has described this period as a scholastic age. Achyuta wrote a commentary on a well known work of Poetics, viz. *Kavyaprakāśa*. It was further commented upon by Panditarāya. Of the works on *Alāṅkāra* (poetics), *Chanda* (prosody), *Vyākaraṇa* and lexicons, the most numerous are on poetics. Bhānudatta wrote two works on poetics, viz. *Rasatarāṅginī* and *Rasamañjari*. The *Rasatarāṅginī* is divided into eight *taraṅgas* and deals mainly with the various components of the *Rasas*, such as *Bhāva*, *Vibhāva*, *Anubhāva* etc. and also with various *Rasas* and three kinds of *Driśṭis*. The *Rasamañjari* is a smaller treatise dealing with the nature of the heroes and heroines, the *sātvikagunas*, two varieties of *Śīṅgāra*, and ten stages of *Vipralambha* etc. Gopāla wrote a commentary on *Rasamañjari* called *Vikāsa*. 9 Simha Bhūpāla

composed Rasārṇavasudhākara. It is a comprehensive and elaborate work. His court poet, Viṣeṣvara also wrote a book on rhetorics. Gaṅgānanda Kavindra wrote Kavyaḍākini. It deals with doṣas (poetical blemishes) in five chapters. He also wrote Karnabhūṣana, a treatise on Rasa in five chapters dealing with Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Vyabhichāribhāvas, Sthāyi-bhāvas and Rasa. Ramānanda in his Rasataraṅgini 10 deals with poetics in general. Vṛtisūra and Ekāvali, works on metrics, were written by Ramāpati and Gokulanātha. The Rasa theory was largely influenced by the Vaiṣṇava thought of the period. In the field of music, Simha-Bhupāla wrote an exhaustive commentary on the Saṅgitaratnākara of Sāraṅgadeva. Vaṅgamanī wrote a commentary on the Saṅgitachandra of Abhilāsa and we may also include here the Rāgataraṅgini of Lochana.

While Vidyāpati, through his Likhanāvali, paved the way for ordinary literary compositions, Jagannātha Miśra wrote Sabhātaraṅgini. It is a treatise on polite conversation and gives us an idea about the contemporary political language. In sixty-nine folios, the MSS shows some unconventional originality. 11 Padmanābhadatta wrote Chandoratna on metre. Siddhāntasudhā of Parmānanda deals with astronomical calculations. His father Maheśa Thākur wrote Atichāranirṇaya. Hemāngada Thākur composed Grahaṇamāla. This MSS is preserved in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga. Bharata Upādhyāya wrote an astro-mathematical work entitled Rasāla. Bhāveśa wrote a commentary on Lilāvati. Mādhavaśarmā wrote a book entitled Abhutadarpana 12 on omens and portents. Satrughṇa Sarmā wrote Mantrārthadīpikā which explains the Vedic Mantras in connection with the Sandhyā, Śrūddha and so on. On the mantra,

11. Ibid—546. The Maithila writers also made their mark at Srinagar and Katmandu.
Devanātha Thākura wrote Mantra-Kaumudi. Narasiṁha Thākur wrote a commentary on the Anandalahari of Sankarāchārya. Jagadānanda, in his Kaladipaka, explains the principles of Tantra.

The above survey reveals to us some of the important contributions of this period that Mithilā made to the growth of the Sanskrit literature. There is a wonderful galaxy of celebrated commentators in all branches and some of them were the founders of new school in their respective branches of learning. In the field of Belles Lettres, there is nothing of note though various Prabhandhas were produced during the age. The outstanding productions of Vācaspati Miśra and the monumental contributions of Padmanābhadatta in the field of grammar and the contributions of the Navya-Naiyāyikas made Mithilā one of the shining stars in the firmament of Indian sky. In the field Sanskrit drama, Mithilā’s

13. For a detailed study—Cf. S. K. De—History of Sanskrit Literature; Krishnamchariar—History of Classical Sanskrit Literature; ABORI—XII; XVIII; XVI; P. V. Kōne—History of the Dharmāstāras (all volumes); and Sanskrit Poetics; P. K. Gode—Studies in Literary History and other published volumes; A. B Keith—History of Sanskrit Literature; HCIP—Vols V and VI; ST—gives a long list of Sanskrit writers of Mithilā; TM, P. 375 ff; K. P. Jayaswal—Catalogue of Mithilā MSS (all published volumes); H. P. Śastri—Nepal Darbar Catalogue—gives the following information—Vol. (i) Preface—VI. There dilapidated MSS of the Bhāṣārttī Vyākaraṇa (by Purusottamadeva) gives brief comments on Pāṇinī’s rules excluding Vedic rules. It seems that at one time it had an extensive circulation in Mithilā. (ii) P. VII—Kṣatranvistara by Vardhamāna—is a grammar. (iii) P. XIII—Vividhavidyāvishāraschatura—on the propitiation of angry divinities and bringing about prosperity. (iv) P. XXI—Vivahapaddhati by Rāmadatta—pertains to the white Tājurveda. (v) P. XXI—Chaturthi vidhi—Incomplete MSS of 35 leaves.
contribution was no less important and we shall revert to it soon.

From the days of Kālidāsa, there began a tendency of ascribing sexual attributes to divine beings. Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhavam (VIII), and the benedictory stanzas of Ratnavali and Priyadarśikā may be cited as examples in this connection. In the middle ages, the Śrīmadbhāgavat becomes the starting point of the theology of the neo-Vaiṣṇava sects and supplies the basic inspiration to the new devotional poetry and the possibilities of the greatest erotic-religious sentiments are found with the Kṛṣṇa-gopi legend. Jayadeva represented the important aspect of devotional literature and was the inspire of mediæval India. Jayadeva's exact source is not well known. The legend of Rādhā is comparatively old and we may trace it back to the Gathasaptasati of Hāla and Dhanvāloka of Anandavardhana. There were however other obscene currents of erotic devotionalism from which Jayadeva and Vidyāpati derived their inspiration. Kṛṣṇadatta, son of Bhavesa of Mithilā, in his Śasilekha commentary, makes an attempt to interpret Gitagovinda as applying simultaneously to the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva. Jayadeva and Vidyāpati were appropriated by Chaitanya who transformed them into a regular Chaitanyaite Vaiṣṇavism. The tradition of Vaiṣṇavite leaning was not absent in Mithilā and we find a large number of Vaiṣṇava verses in the Šaduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa. The collection of devotional lyrics is an evidence of the fact that this part of literature was not neglected in Mithilā. It was round the early romantic life of Kṛṣṇa, as it is described not in the epic but in the Purūṇas, that the Bhakti movement chiefly centred.

The stagnation in the political life brought in its train unnecessary insistence on the Smṛti rule but even in this respect there was a difference of opinion among the Smūrtas and Vaiṣṇavas.

The Smārtas acted on the belief that the Smṛtis emulated from the Vedas whereas the Vaiṣṇavas followed Nāṭaka or Drama\textsuperscript{15} the same rules on the ground that they were commandants of god. Dr. Dāsgupta has observed—"With the change of the condition and circumstances, material wants and means of production and external influences of diverse kinds, man must change and with the change of man the social institutions, duties and obligations must also change. The attempt to bind with iron chains all movements of society......had an extremely depressive effect as regards freedom of mind and it enslaved the temper of mind and habituated it to respect the old traditions at the expense of common sense and wisdom......a complete patternisation of the conduct of all sections......from which all novelty was gone.........the current of social life became stagnant and unfit for free literary productions."\textsuperscript{16} The effect of this aspect is seen particularly in the realm of drama, composed during this period. The dramatists drew largely from the older Kāvyas and Purānic myths and had practically little or nothing original to add in view of the circumscribed social setup.

Sanskrit drama is one of the chief aspects of the Sanskrit literature.\textsuperscript{17} The introduction of Prākṛta in Sanskrit drama marked the beginning of the introduction of spoken languages in the literary dramas. Bharata, in his Nāṭyaśāstra (XVIII. 43), pointed out that in a play composition should be based on the local dialects. Dhanaṇḍa suggested that in all the productions, dress, action and speech should be taken directly from the society and should be properly observed. The Sanskrit dramatists had a sense of perfect decorum and decency and the process tended to beatitude and happiness.


\textsuperscript{16} Dāsgupta—op. cit. PP. xxiv–xxv.

\textsuperscript{17} Cf. Pandit Baldeva Miśra's article in the Ramacharitrama Abhinandan Grantha regarding Mithila's contribution to Sanskrit literature.
They aimed at some realisation. It was through drama that the Sanskrit literature was democratised to a great extent. In a majority of cases, drama represented people’s culture. Nanyadeva was one of the greatest writers on dramaturgy. He emphasised that spectators’ state of mind must be considered.  

The tradition of Nāṭako is very old. Murāri Miśra, claimed to be a Maithila, wrote his famous Anargharāghava (C. 9–10th. cent. A. D.). The best commentary on this work is by Rucipati. Murari’s aim was to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience created by the earlier writers. The Sutrādhaṇḍa’s description at the beginning probably refers to the Mahāvīra charitam and the Mālatimādhava of Bhaavabhuti. Chatrakara, a Maithila, is also said to have commented upon the Anargharāghava. The Prabodhachandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, though a drama, is unique in the sense that it follows a style of treatise of different systems of Indian philosophy. It is a comment upon the Vedānta aphorism and represents Upa- niṣadic Vedānta. It is one of the best satires in Sanskrit literature. Kṛṣṇa Miśra is said to have flourished in the 11th Century A. D. The Abhinavabhūrati of Abhinavagupta represents the erudition of scholarship and covers the wholesome ground connected with the drama. It discusses in details the architecture of the theatre, dress and other equipments of the actors, religious ceremonials, music, dance, movements, gestures, mode of delivery, the various classes of drama and poetry and their emotions and sentiments. He laid the foundation of the science of dramaturgy in Mithilā.

During our period Jyotirīṣvara Thākur was one of the most prolific-writers and his encyclopaedic knowledge is evident from the VR. He stands as the first known dramatist in Mithilā. He is a famous for his Prahasana, named Dhūrtasamāgamanāṭaka. The Prahasana is usually a comic re-

19. For details—Cf. my article referred to above.
22. Edited by C. Cappaller and analysed by Wilson—Thatre—II, 408. It was first published in Lithograph, now not available.
presentation from popular life of the lower class and it displays no moralising tendency. It is believed that this drama was staged at the victory festivals in the court of Harasimha-deva. The play is a farce. The play opens with one Sanyāsti called Viśvanagara, who was a fraudulent knave. He had a disciple called Snātaka. These two approach a wealthy miser called Mṛtangara Thākur who refuses to give them any food on some false pretext. They rebuke him and they refer to the house of a pious lady called Suratapriya. Viśvanagara had fallen in love with her. She, too, is great fraud. The Snātaka has fallen in love with Anaṅgasena, a courtesan. Viśvanagara also goes with the Snātaka and having found her, both of them fall out. The courtesan commends one Assajati Miśra as arbitrator. In the second act, Assajati Miśra is the hero. He is also a fraud. His Vidyāsaka friend is known as Bandhuvanchaka. Assajati Miśra decreed that until it could be decided to whom the damsel belonged, she should remain under the protection of himself as umpire. A barber appears on the scene to get payment and the lady refers him to Assajati Miśra. The barber ties the hands and feet of Assajati and leaving him unconscious goes away. Then comes his friend Vidyāsaka to release him. The pupil had every reason to complain as he had seen the damsel and had confided his love to his master. The Judge impounded the damsel for himself. The drama, the first authoritative nāṭaka in Sanskrit in Mithilā, fulfils almost every condition prescribed in Sanskrit literary criticism. The laughter aroused is of a very low order.

The Puriḍātaḥarana of Umapati is yet another important

It is now available in both Sanskrit and Maithili version. The earlier edition was probably meant for private circulation.


drama in Sanskrit written by Umāpati. The dramatic tradition continued and the Parijataharaṇa is an example of the interest taken by the people in the Sanskrit drama of the time. The story of the nāṭaka, in brief is as follows—Nārada presents a pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa which he gave to Rukmīṇī. Satyabhāmā was enraged and Kṛṣṇa sent to Indra for some more flowers, which he refused to give. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhāmā was propitiated. The plot is finished and the characters are well-developed. Arjuna has a distinct role to play. The story is based on the Harivaṃśa (124–135); Viṣṇupurāṇa (V, 30, 31) and the Bhāgvatapurāṇa (X. 69). Umāpati seems to have been influenced by Jayadeva.

Maṇika, son of Rājya-Vardhana, an expert in dramurgy, was a renowned dramatist of Mithilā. His Bhairavānandanaṭaka is a secular drama. Bhairava is the hero while Madanāvatī is the heroine. Madanavati, a celestial dancer, is cursed by a Rṣi to become a Mānuṣi. Vidyāpati was the author of two important dramas, viz. Maṇi-mañjarī and Gorakṣavijaya. For centuries, "Sanskrit drama continued to be produced in very substantial numbers and so strong was the force of tradition that the first attempt to introduce vernacular into the drama by Vidyāpati Thākur took the form of producing works in which the characters use Sanskrit and Prākrit and the songs only are in Maithili." With due respect to the learned author, it must be said that the vernacular was first introduced by Jyotirīśvara and Umāpati and Vidyāpati was not the pioneer in this respect. Vidyāpati was well-versed in dramatic art and that is evident from his Padāvali. He was a successful dramatist. The publication of Gorakṣavijaya

25. My article—P. 41 ff.
26. Cf. JASB (N. S.) XVIII, 253 ff; XX, 73 ff; Nepal Cat. XXXVII. My article—PP. 43–44.
27. S. N. Thākur—op. cit. 48–49. Pandit Viṣṇulal Jhā is said to have discovered a MSS of this nāṭaka.
28. Keith—op. cit. 243. It may be noted here that Keith has no information vernacular songs introduced by Jyotirīśvara and Umāpati—Cf., my article referred to above.
enables us to arrive at this conclusion. In this drama, Sanskrit and Prakrit speeches are given along with Maithili songs. The subject matter of the play is traditional story how Matsyendranathā was brought back to the path of Yoga by his disciple Gorakṣanathā. Though it does not fulfil the Sanskrit definition of a nāṭaka, it is called a nāṭaka and its importance is greater in so far as the selection of details are concerned. The benedictory verses are the same as in Jyotiśvara. The Nāṭaka was staged before Sivasimha, patron of the poet.  

Jayadeva Miśra's Prasannarāgaha in seven acts is an important contribution. In the opening scene, the dramatist offers a kind of an apology by making the actor ask the Manager as to why all poets write only about Rāmachandra. All the traditional plots of Rāma legend unroll before us, brightened up, here and there, by the feverish poetic effusions of the dramatists. Jayadeva seems to have imitated Murari (PR—IV. 5). In the PR, we have got the conception of the primeval Puruṣa in the form of a boy. The whole of act IV is more of the nature of an interlude than an act in the play. The PR is the natural exponent of the higher form of the dramatic art of the post classical period. Keith says—"It is a typical play of the later drama. The spectacle of the river goddess grouped round the ocean affords admirabl scope for an effective tableau," but it is wholly out of harmony with dramatic action. The author of the PR also wrote a book named Chandraloka and had the surname Piyāsavārṣa. Two verses of the PR are quoted in the Sāraṅgarāddharpaddhati. Besides being a dramatist, he was also a Naiyyīyika.

Bāṇakavi was a very famous and a very important Paṇḍita

31. बन्धुलोकमुखर्य वित्तृति पीयूष र्य: कृति। Cf. Chandraloka (Bombay 1914) and Prasannarāgaha (Calcutta—1872).
of Mithilā. He is the author of *Pārvatiparīṇayavanātaka*. Keith nurtures doubt about the authenticity of this dramatist. According to Keith, his real name was Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. The author of *Śrīgūrābhūṣaṇa*, Bāṇa, was different from Bāṇakavi. The *Pārvatiparīṇaya* deals with the rituals of marriage ceremonies prevalent in Mithilā. The drama is in five acts and is based upon the *Śivapurāṇa*. In *Nandi* there are two verses and the *Śūtradhāra* comes after that and then comes Nārada. Then Himavāna enters with Menā and others and that closes the first act. The second act begins with *Viṣakambhaka* and then with the conversation of Vasantikā and Rambhā. Dramatically speaking, this is not proper. Here it should have been Prāveśakaḥ. Devanandi, Bṛhaspati, Devadūta, Kāmaḥ and Vasanta also appear. In act III, both Bṛhaspati and Mahendra enter, followed by Nārada, Rambhā and Vaitālika. Nandi, Jayā-Vijayā, Śaṁkara and Parvati appear in act IV. In act V, Kanchuki, Himavāna, Śilādhāra, Kauśikī, Nārada, Śaṁkara, Śaṁraṅgi, Brahmā, Bṛhaspati, Pārvati, Jayā-Vijayā, Kulaparvatāḥ and others appear. On the whole, the drama is good and upto the mark though it lacks in the qualities found in the dramas of the classical Period. It is a dreary dramatization of the theme of Kālidāsa’s *Kumāra-śaṁbhavam* and deals mainly with the nuptials of Śiva and Pārvati. His other play *Kanakalekha* describes the marriage of the daughter of Vīravarmana and Vīṣavarmana, both Vidyādharas, born as human beings on account of a curse.

Saṁkara Miśra stands as a prominent luminary in the firmament of Mithilā’s sky of dramatic literature in the 15th century A. D. He is the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇavinodanātaka* and *Manobhavaparābhavanātaka*. In his younger days, he also wrote a comedy on the marriage of *Śiva-pārvati*, entitled *Gauridigambaraprahasana*, a sanskrit farce. This was pro-

33. The text was edited in 1917 by R. Schmidt (Leipzig).
34. Keith—op. cit. P. 221.
36. Jayaswal—Mithilā Cat.—II. 56, No. 53a.
bably staged at the instance of his father. Since his dramas are not published, it is not possible to evaluate them.

Harihara Upādhyāya was one of the important writers of Mithilā. His famous drama is Bhartṛhariṇivedaṁ. In this drama, there is a glorification of the yoga philosophy. It teaches that the Summun-bonum is the discrimination and separation of soul from matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego. It has Śānta for its sentiment, the leading man is the famous ascetic, Gorakhanātha, the founder of the Saiva sect and the Kaṇapaṭaka Yogi. Both Sanskrit and Prākrit have been used. The present work is a drama representing Śāntarasa. It is a very small drama. It represents Bhartṛhari as desolated by his wife’s death through false rumour of his own death. Being consoled by the yogic teachings of Gorakhanātha, he attains in difference so that after his wife is recalled to life he has no attraction either for his child or for her. The work is partly a didactic glorification of Hāṭhayoga system of Gorakhanātha as a means of purification. Like Prabhodachandrodaya, it is an allegorical drama. His another drama is Prabhāvati-pariṇaya. It is a successful drama in seven acts. Prabhāvati develops soft corner for Pradyumna and the latter also feels for the former. It is the image of Prabhāvati that impresses Pradyumna. Then there is a description of the Pūrvarūga and the wandering of Pradyumna in disguise. The description of natural sceneries is superb. It represents a love story though the style is usual. Gaṅgananda Kavindra wrote Mandūramaṇjari.

Thus it appears that the dramas continued to be written during our period and the dramatic literature dominated the

38. It is a published work (Bombay—1936); Cf. JAOS—XXV. 197-230. Cf. Aufrecht—Vol. I. 762; The Bombay edition
conditions—अऽ हिरिहरोपाध्यायो मिथिलादेशें क्षरा समुप्ननि ध्वनि न
निशीश्रे दत्तायोत्सर्वस्य महिःसंरिख्यंदनामसी नाटकस्यायकः।।।
Cf. Krishnamacharīr—op. cit. P. 317; Keith—op. cit. P. 248;
Also Mitra—Notices—VII. P. 159. No. 2395; Jayaswal—op. cit.
II. P. 88.
field of Sanskrit learning in Mithilā. The dramas were not only written but also staged. There are various other authors whose works have not yet come to light. Mrūrī was more an elegant poet than a dramatist, and his influence on the Prasannarāghava is immense. While Jyotirīśvara's drama is a farce, Umāpati Upādhyāya's Pārijotaharaṇa, though of a semi-dramatic form, is of a greater operatic and melodramatic tenor. The old glory of the classic age was not to be found now but every dramatic composition was certainly a milestone in the history of Sanskrit literature in Mithilā. Drama was written for the entertainment of people of all tastes. Sanskrit dramatists of different ages have viewed this problem in their own way. To Kālidāsa, it was an entertain-

ment (Mālav—1. 4) while Bhavabhuti stood for sense and dignity in the drama (Malitimādhava 1. 6). Dhananjaya took dramatic representations as the pure expressions of joy (Daśarupaka 1. 6.). According to the Abhinavagupta, a dominant feeling or emotion becomes a sentiment when it is transformed into an object of enjoyment. 39 Abhinavagupta exercised a considerable influence over the writers and stage directors of Mithilā during the periods following him.

A tentative list of Sanskrit writers is given below—

(1) Abhinava Vācaspati—15th century A. D.

(2) Bāṇakavi—15th century A. D.

(3) Batēśvāra Jhā—15th century A. D. He is said to have written a commentary on Mudrārākṣas.

(4) Bhāṇudatta (or Miśra)—15th century A. D. His verses are quoted in the Śrāṅgadharapaddhati and he frequently quotes from Bharata and Śrīgaratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa.

(5) Bibhākara—author of Dvāttaviveka 15th–16th century A. D.

(6) Bhavānātha Miśra—letter known as Ayūchi—15th century—when a ruler of Mithilā is said to have called him to his house, he said it was not necessary for him to go to the king and all that he required were a few Bel fruits of which there was an abundance in his house. The following

tradition about him is recorded A Sanyāsi who saw him teaching his pupils spoke thus—केक कर्णाली विचार चातुरी कालुरार वर्षा विमानमे। चातुरारा भक्ति रंग मानसम् on this Bhavanātha Miśra replied—चातुरारस्ते मया करोतिकः।

(7) Chaṇḍeśvara—14th century A. D.—covers the whole ground of administration through his writings.

(8) Chatrakara Śukla—15th century—wrote a commentary on the Anarāgarāghava.

(9) Damodara Miśra—14th–15th cent. A. D.—Author of Vaiśībhūṣaṇa (No. 53 of the Kāvyāmalā series—Bombay 1903)—हिति मैथिल दोषवेश कुलोद्योत दमोदर मिश्र विचित्रस्व भागिनेव यथार्थम्—On P. 13—in śloka 82, he refers to Kṛtisimha.


(14) Gaṇeśvara Thākur—14th cent. A. D.—author of Sugatisopāna.

(15) Gaṅgānand—16th cent. A. D.—In his Karṇabhūṣaṇa, he traces the development of the several rasas through all the stages (Krisnamchariar—op. cit.—P. 167). He is also the author of a Dūtakāvya entitled Bhṛṅgadūta.

(16) Gaṅgeśa—12th–13th cent. A. D.

(17) Govardhanāchārya—12th–13th cent. A. D.—is said to have composed Ārya-Saptāśati (700) stanzas in Ārya metre—He was associated with the court of Laksmaṇasena.

(18) Govinda Thākur—16th cent. A. D.—is the author of Kavyaprādipa (a commentary on the Kavyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa). It is an important treatise on poetics. He refers to Viśvanātha (author of Sāhityadarpana) as modern. For details. Cf. his Kavyaprakāśa (Bombay—1901). He also wrote Pujāpradīpa and he mentions Bhavānanda Rāya as his patron.
(19) Graheśvara Miśra—13th-14th cent. A. D.—He is quoted by Candraśvara in his *Vivādaratnākara* and Vardhamāna in his *Doṇḍaviveka*. He was the author of *Vyāhārataraṅga*.

(20) Harapati—son of Rucipati—15th-16th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Mantrapradipa*.

(21) Hariharopādhyāya—the dramatist.

(22) Harinātha Upādhyāya—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Smṛtiśāra*. His works are quoted by Raghunandana and Kamalākara.

(23) Indrapati Thākura—15th cent. A. D.—is the author of *Mimāṃsā-rasa-palvala* written for the ignorant people of Mithilā.


(25) Jayadeva Miśra—(alias Pakṣadhara)—15th cent. A. D.—many persons of this name are known.

—Jayadeva Pakṣadhara—a Naiyāyi—About him the popular saying runs as follows—

"禧劒巴瓦百远百: 汝百巴軒百巨百百百百百百 cient places

प्रवर: प्रतिप्रशस्ति भूते न च क्षणि"

A palm leaf MSS of the *Viśnupurāṇa* transcribed by Pakṣadhara Miśra is dated *LS. 345 (= 1464 A. D.). This settles the identity and the date of Pakṣadhara Miśra. Peterson supposed that he was an inhabitant of Vidarbha (*Subhasitavali* P. 37). Krishnamachariar also held the same view (*op. cit.* 645). S. C. Vidyabhushana called him a resident of Mithilā (*History of Indian Logic* P. 455). The opening verse of *Āloka* reads—

अन्वित नवदेवम हुरिमधुसुब्बुधः

तत्त्वसिन्नात्मा गरिमाहेमाळी कौं इत्ययते II

His teacher was Hari Miśra.

The concluding verse of *Chandrāloka* reads—

महादेव सत्त्र प्रभुदस्माविषेक नामः, प्रभुमात्र सविनिवनिहित मनुरेव सितारी "

( His parents were Mahādeva Miśra and Sumitra ). He was a disciple of Yajñapati Upādhyāya (*Mithilāṇka* P. 53). He belonged to *Sūṇḍilya gotra* and his real name was Jayadeva—

29 M. V.
According to Vidyābhusana, he was called Pakṣadhara on account of his having gained victory in a debate which he conducted for a fortnight. This fact is supported by his disciple and nephew, Vāsudeva, who wrote a commentary on his Āloka entitled Chintāmānītīkā. Vāsudeva further tells us that Pakṣadhara was also called Piyūṣavarsa. Thus it appears that this Pakṣadhara alias Jayadeva was the author of Āloka, Chandrāloka and the Prasannarāgāhava. He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati and the following sayings are attributed to him—

Vidyāpati—प्राणुण्युववस्तृषोऽसूक्ष्मस्नातिप्रक्षिप्तः
Pakṣadhara—नदिष्टः स्वरुपितः पुस्तः सूक्ष्मेन दृष्टिः प्रज्ञातेः॥

(Cf. JBORS—XXIV. PP. 164–172).

(26) Jyotirīśvara Thākur—14th. cent. A. D.

(27) Kālidāsa—There have been many persons of this name in Mithilā—Srūtabodha, a short piece in 43 stanzas, is attributed to him (Cf. Kālidāsa by Harichand Śāstri—Paris 1917—pp. 1–2).

(28) Keśava Miśra—16th. cent. A. D.—author of Dvaitaparīśētha and Tarakabhāṣa. He is said to be the minister of Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra and Lākṣmīnāthā Kāmśanārāyaṇa.

(29) Lākṣmipati Upādhyāya—15th. cent. A. D.—is the author Śrūddharatnam.


(33) Maṇḍana-Miśra—associated with Mahiṣī (Saharsa).

(34) Murari Miśra—author of Sudhinibandha—15th cent. A. D.

(35) Murari Miśra—15th–16th cent. A. D.—author of Śrūddhakalpa, Parvanīrṇaya etc.—and was serving under Mahārāja Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa of Moraṅga (Nepāla).

(36) Narahari—son of Abhinava Vācaspati—wrote Swarodaya.

(38) Padmanābhadatta—founder of Saupadma school of Grammar—14th cent. A. D.


(41) Puruṣottāmadeva—13th–14th century A. D.—is the author of the lexicon—Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Bhāṣāṛṣṭिः, Muktichintāmaṇि and others.

(42) Raghudeva Jha—14th cent. A. D.—well known for his Panji-prabandha.

(43) Rāmadatta Thākur—14th cent. A. D.—author of Vivahapaddhāti.

(44) Ratnapāṇि—15th century—author of Kavyādarpaṇa.

(45) Ravi Thākur—15th cent. A. D.—author of Madhumaṭi, a commentary on Kavyaprakāśa.


(49) Saṅkara Miśra—15th–16th—author of Smṛti Sudhākara.

(50) Saṅkara Miśra—Do—Philosopher.


(52) Śrīdatta—13th–14th cent. A. D.—Smṛti writer.

(53) Śrīdatta Miśra—15th century—Do—

(54) Sucharita Miśra—16th cent. A. D.—wrote Kāśikā on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila.


(56) Umāpati—14th cent. A. D.—author of Pārijātaharanā.

(57) Vācaspati Miśra (old)—9th cent. A. D.—Śaṅkara and Vācaspati are considered to be equal. About him various facts and fictions are current (Cf. JBORS—1919-P. 176).
(59) Vardhamāna—13th cent. A. D.—a writer on Nyāya.
(60) Vāsudeva Miśra—15th cent. A. D.—wrote a commentary of Tattvachintāmani of Gaṅgeśa.
(61) Vidyāpati—the well known poet of Mithilā—was also a renowned Sanskrit writer.

The above list fairly gives an account of the Sanskrit literature of Mithilā. No branch of study in this language was left untouched and some of the Maithila scholars, like Vaṅgamani and Vaṁśamani, went to Nepal and wrote works on music and lyrics respectively. The land of Nyāya and Smṛti, Mithilā influenced almost all the neighbouring states and the presence of a galaxy of Sanskrit scholars attracted students from all over the country. At a time when Sanskrit was in ascendancy, it was in Mithilā, that the Vernacular literature also attained maturity as will be evident from the following description. Both Sanskrit and Maithili grew side by side without any antipathy to each other and even when Sanskrit dramas were written by the Maithila Scholars, Maithili songs were inserted in response to the popular demand.

Section—C

MAITHILI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Maithili is a rich and one of the oldest languages of India. There has been a good deal of controversy over the independent status of Maithili as a language for the last hundred years or so but the matter, now, sets at rest in view of the researches made in the subject. Right from Origin and Antiquity of Maithili the early Vedic period down to the modern times, there has been a constant struggle of thoughts between western and eastern parts of the country and the contributions of the Prāchya have been immense to the growth of Indian Culture. Bihar in general and Mithilā in particular made notable contributions towards the development of political thought, religion,
philosophy and language. The Vṛāyas, 40 usually associated with Magadha, had a prakritic form of speech. There is also a reference to the distinct character of speech, prevalent in the Prāchya, in the Satpatha Brāhmaṇa. 41 The distinct existence of two types of speeches in the Vedic period is an evidence of the fact that the language of the Prāchya was different from the Aryans and difference continued in the centuries to follow. With the rise of the Jainism, Ājivikaism and Buddhism in Bihar, the people's language, i.e. Prākrit and Pāli, got greater impetus. These reformers had to take their message to the people and so they left the language of the initiated (i.e. Sanskrit) and took up people's language as their medium. The rise of Prākrit and Pāli ultimately helped the growth of the later vernacular literature. The Lalitavistara 42 contains a good account of all these things and we see that the classical poets and dramatists are forced to introduce peoples' dialects in their writings. Language does not grow in a day or so. Language is the main vehicle of communication among peoples and the type of Maithili, that we see in the age of Jyotirliśvara, is a finished one and must have required centuries for being so. 43

40. For the Vṛāyas—see my book—The Vṛāyas in Ancient India.

41. Vedic Index—Vol. II. P. 343; 280; Cf. SB—III. 2, 1, 23–24.

42. See my article "पाक् विधानिकालीन मैथिली" in Maithili Bhāṣā O Sahitya (Calcutta—1961) and also my article in the appendix of the Vaidehi Vīśeṣāṅka of 1961 (Darbhanga).

The degeneration of Buddhism into the esoteric cult of Yoga and Sādhana further led to the growth of a class of literature in Bihar which is claimed equally by Hindi, Oriya, Assami, Bengali and Maithili. The Buddhist Sahajiyā cult was essentially an esoteric yogic cult. These theological speculations gave rise to Tantricism which, in its turn, came to handle Panchamakārūṣas in dubious manner. Since the discovery of the Charyāpadas by Mm. Haraprasad Śaṭstri in Nepal in 1907, scholars have, given vent to their thoughts in different manners. These songs were written by different Siddhāchāryas on the practices of the Buddhist Sahajiyās. These songs have been claimed by the scholars of Bengali as the first specimen of Bengali literature, but later on all the languages of the eastern group claimed them as their own. In his introduction to J. K. Miśra’s History of Maithili Literature (Vol. I), Dr. S. K. Chatterji writes—"The language of the Charyāpadas is a point in question. The fact that the Charyāpadas have been claimed for Old Assamese, Old Oriya, Old Maithili (and old Magahi) as much as for old Bengali, only demonstrates the close kinship of these languages to one another; they have even been claimed for "old Hindi," taking 'Hindi' in a loose and popular sense. Dr. Jayakant Miśra, like Dr. Subhadra Jha, thinks the Charyās are in old Maithili. I still stick to my view, put forward in my origin and Development of the Bengali Language (1926—P. 110 ff.), that the Charyās were composed in old Bengali—of course at a time when the divergence between Maithili and Bengali and Oriya and Assamese were not very prominent" (P. X.).

CHAPITR V

Dr. S. B. Dasgupta, following Dr. Chatterji, says—“Inspite of sporadic infusions of a few Maithili and Oriya forms, the essential nature of these songs cannot but be admitted to be Bengali.” It is rather more reasonable to suggest that in those days, there was no such marked difference between different languages in north India and there was uniformity in the language, written and spoken, from Gujrat to Assam. The Prakrit Chandrika supplies a list of 15 languages, Prakrit-Sarvasva a list of 11 languages and the Kuvalayamala a list of 15 languages. All these were Prakrit and semi-prakrit languages, then current in India.

These Charyapada poets had a definite philosophical outlook. They are sarcastic in nature and throw sufficient light on the contemporary life and thought. They represent a special school of religious thought with distinctive features of its own. The Sahajiya school protested against the formalities of life and religion. Sarahapada revolted against the orthodox system of the four fold divisions of caste and the system of Dakshina. The whole of the Charyapadas deserve a special study from the sociological point of view and hence need not detain us here. The language of the Charyapadas indicated the emergence of a new eastern variety of Indo-Aryan languages from the local variety of Apabhraṃsa. As stated earlier, the spoken language of the east went on altering forms. Between 500 B. C. and 500 A. D., the different Prakrit languages were based on Middle Indo-Aryan dialects. The eastern variety of the language can be gleaned through the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugadhha edicts of Asoka and also in the Ramgarh Hill cave Inscriptions. While the earliest form of middle Indo-Aryan is to be found in the edicts of

45. Obscure Religious Cults—P. 4 ff.; Cf. JDL—XXVIII.
46. Cf. R. Sankritayana—Hindi Kavyadhara (Allahabad—1945), P. 6 ff. —बसंत: उस वेत वर्ष भारत की सारी मातायें एक दूसरे के बहुत नवंदीक थी। —Dr. Das Gupta says—“……they belong to no particular province of India but may be regarded as representative of the earliest stage of the Indo-Aryan vernacular religious poetry… (P. 5).
Aśoka, its later form is represented by the local Prākrit languages, e.g., Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, Sauraseni, Mahārāṣṭri, Paisāchi, Gāndhāri and so on. Jyotirṣvara in his VR (P. 44) mentions Sanskrit, Prākrit, Avahaṭṭa, Paisāchi, Sauraseni and Māgadhi—as the six important languages and seven other languages like Sakāri, Abhirī, Chaṇḍālī, Savali, Drāvili, Autakali and Vijayita. It was in the Prākrit-Apaḥramiṣa that the Buddhist Siddhas of Nālanda and Vikramādīśa composed their songs. The Apaḥramiṣa-Avahaṭṭa had certainly local variations. The Dohas of the Siddhācharyas represent a considerable portion of medieaval vernacular literatures of western, northern and Eastern India. The language of the Charya songs may be classed as a common eastern vernacular of all peoples of the east and as such Maithili has equal claim over them. The language of the Charyāpadas have innumerable Maithili terms and may be called as the oldest specimen of Maithili. These songs represented an amalgam of Tantricism and Saivism. The VR has mentioned all these Siddhāchāryas and this is an evidence of the fact that they were held in high esteem by the Maithili writers.

If we study the writings of these Siddhas in the background of Prākritpāṇḍīma, we arrive at the conclusion that they composed in a language which was understood by a majority of the population. The Prākritpāṇḍīma, itself, is an evidence of the fact that the literary output in eastern India had never been dormant. The PPM, besides being a source of contemporary history of Mithilā, is an important source for the study of Maithili language as well. Dr. J. K. Miśra has not taken into consideration the importance of this particular

47. PPM, an important source for the study of the political history of Mithilā—see my paper in the Journal of VVRJ (Hoshiarpur)—and my Maithili article referred to above.

—We should note with satisfaction that the most of the Siddhāchāryas belonged to the Monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Nālandā and hence they might have been the forerunners of the languages of Bihar, Maithili, Angika and Magahi. An authentic history of Vikramaśilā, as and when published, is bound to throw light on the problem.
work and it has been casually referred to by Dr. Subhadra Jha. *Apabhramśa-Avahatā* was developed largely by the Jainas and Buddhists of the East. It may be borne in mind here that actual evidence of the secular use of the language comes mainly from the East. The *PPm* is the greatest example of this fact. Though the date and place of composition of the *PPm* are not exactly known, from a study of the language of the texts and the personalities referred to there, it can be suggested with some amount of certainty that it was composed and compiled somewhere in the east (between Benares and Mithilā) between 12th and 15th century A.D. I have examined more than four hundred typical Maithili words in the *PPm* and the lyrics, and all these also speak of its being treated as one of the earliest works of Maithili. The *PPm* apparently is a comprehensive work on the *Prakṛta-Apabhramśa-Avahatā* prosody and contains a large number of verses on different topics by different poets, most of them anonymous. Some of them are popular lyric poetry. Caṇḍeśvara and Haribrahma are also mentioned therein. Haribrahma was a protege of Caṇḍeśvara. According to Dr. Subhadra Jha, the examples of metres and verses in the *PPm* may be said so have been composed in proto-Maithili. There is nothing in them that may prevent their being called Maithili of an early period. The language of the Charyūś, Sarvānanda, *PPm*, Kirtilata and Kirtipatākā represents Maithili of the oldest period in as much as it preserves some of the *Apabhramśa* characteristics.48 Some of the verses of the *PPm* give us an account of the life of the people. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has suggested that *Prakṛta* prosody was a favourite study in Mithilā and some important commentaries on the *PPm* were written as late as the 18th century A.D. 49 There was a special Mithilā school of poetics on which the evidence


Also V. Shrivastava—“*Apabhramśa Sahitya*.”

49. *Cat. of Mithila MSS*—II. Introduction.
of vernacular composition is evident. It is evident from the PPM that early Maithili poetry was largely influenced by the Prakṛt-Apabhramśa metre.  

The language of the Charyāpadas have been subjected to various interpretation by all eminent writers of Mithilā, Bengal and the Hindi world. Narendra Nātha Dāsa (Mithilā Mitra—1930–31) and Śivanandana Thākura (op. cit. P. 208 ff.) have suggested that the Siddhas' language is proto-Maithili. Even the great Russian writer, Wassiljew, on Tibetan Buddhism has suggested that they utilised the vernacular language for preaching their thought. Since they were the residents of Bihar, it is natural to conclude that they pressed into service such language as was prevalent then in this part of the country. The language of the Charyāpadas bear close resemblance to the PPM, Kiritātā, Kirthipatakā and the oldest MSS Padāvali of Vidyāpati. Chaṭila and Dheṇḍhapā are the two names, not available in Rāhul's list, known to us from the VR. Specimen of these padas have been quoted in the History of Maithili literature (Vol. I–P. 117 ff.) and very few of them in the BTA (P. 353). The fact that Maithili was already a developed language, by then, is well—attested by certain other sources. K. L. Barua says—"The

50. Journal of the Bombay University—II, Pt. III, P. 32; Bharat Kaumudi—1065 H.

51. For details Cf. CR—1917–392 ff; IHQ—II, 91 ff; III, 677; Vaiṭiya Sahitya Paripat Patrika (1327) PP. 145–52; JBORS—XIV. 340 ff; B. K. Kākati—Formation of Assamese Language; Barua—Early History of Kāmrupa—P. 318; B. C. Law Volume II. 197 ff. Gangāpuratattvāvahā; Indian Linguists—VIII. 35–37; 163–68; Sahidulla—Les Chants Mystiques de Kassett Sarah (Paris—1928); Rahul—Dhākāga (Patna). Arthur Grundwel in History of the 84 Siddhas says—"Bhadanta Śāṅkṛṣṭāyana has recovered complete personal history and has concluded that they flourished and wrote in Magadha." Also Cf. बीरेन्द्र ओवासरम्—कौटिपातक—विषेष और पाठ संशोधन (प्रतिवर्तन)—1969

52. Supra—for VR's list; Cf. Puratattvavaniadhāvali—PP. 146–204.

Kāmrupa dialect was originally a variety of eastern Maithili and it was no doubt the spoken Aryan language throughout the kingdom which then included the whole of the Assam Valley and the whole of North Bengal with the addition of the Purnea, district of Bihar......the language of the Buddhist Dohās...... should be a mixed Maithili Kāmrupī language...... the Dohās were composed 54 in a language which could be easily understood throughout eastern India.” The evidence of the early existence of Maithili is further proved by two other important sources—(i) the use of Mithilākṣara in the Deoghar temple inscription of the wife of Ādityasena; an inscribed seal discovered from Begusarai in Maithili and the script of the Khojapur Durgā image inscription (the latter two are dated in the L. S. 67 and 147 respectively); the Andhrārāhri Inscription, the Śrinagar Inscription, Bhête Bhagvānpur Inscription, Āśi stone Inscription, Tilkeśvara Temple Inscription, Kandāhā Image Inscription (dated in the L. S.) and Bhagirathpur Insc. 55 A coin of Bhairavasiniha in Maithili character has been edited by me and subsequently by Dr. D. C. Sircar (JNSI—XX; EI—XXXIII ). The Maithili script, thus, seems to have been in use since the latter half of the 7th–8th century A. D. and it is to this script that the Bengali scholars conveniently call the Gaudīya or Proto—Bengali Script; (ii) the great philosopher, Vācaspati, author of Bhāmati, uses a Maithili word “Hadī” 56 to explain the meaning of an uncommon word. Right from Vācaspati down to our own age, the Maithila scholars have taken recourse to this practice and that goes to show the antiquity of Maithili as a language. Vācaspati flourished in the 9th century A. D. Sarvānanda (C. 11th century A. D.) has used more than four hundred Maithili words in commentary on the Amarakoṣa. 57 All these go to show that Maithili had developed as a language long before the eastern languages, in their present form, had come to stay.

The language went on progressing and was never barren. A critical and textual study of the available texts would enable us to arrive at some definite conclusion. The non-existence of a huge mass of folk literature is accounted for by the predominance of the Brāhmanical ascendancy in the social life of the country. The social life was full of rituals and religious festivals and the *mantras* were the sole monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas. We find a clear reference to all these things in the writings of *Siddhas*. Naturally, therefore, the people had to depend more and more on the sacerdotal authority for all types of ritualistic activity. Secondly, the folk language was always derided upon by the so-called scholiasts of the age. Whatever has been stated by Dr. J. K. Miśra (op. cit. P. 109) in support of his argument can very well be said about the contemporary Maithila outlook. He says—“There might have been greater response in the lower classes to their (siddhas’) teachings...... making it necessary for the Brāhmanical leaders...... to make so great an effort to re-establish Brāhmanical thought.” But it must be admitted here that the *religious bias of the lower caste, coupled with the economic factors, determined the course of development of the vernacular literature from its very inception*. The *Siddhas* were composing their *padas* in Bihar at a time when its connection with the outside world was living. The historical and romantic poetry in the *Apabhraṁsa-Avahattā* and in the folk-lore is an instance of this fact. The writings of *Dāka* and *Ghūga* (Cf. *Maithila Dāka* Darbhanga-1944) are believed to have belonged to the earlier period of Maithili. They are the earliest agricultural directories in Maithili. Similarly the folk-lore connected with the legend of *Lorika* is said to be one of the oldest specimens of Maithili. The folk-poetry of Bihar in general and Mithilā in particular are replete with *Lorika* (ballads collected by Grierson and others, my own collections have different reading) songs and dances. Jyotiṅśvara in his *VR* makes a mention of the *Lorika* dance and the story has been fully

57. *Abori—XXI*. P. 106 ff; Cf. *Indian Linguistics—VIII*. 126

*Journals Asiatiques* (1926) PP. 81–100.
narrated, with slight variations, in the Chandâbâna of Mulla Daud (Cf. Askari's article in the Current Studies—Patna 1954-55). Whether the literary compositions, ascribed to all these, are of a single individual cannot be stated. There is no doubt that their language has changed from generation to generation and the present form cannot be taken as the replica of the older ones (Cf. Kulaśreṣṭha—Premâkhyâna Kavya—for Mulla Daud).* The following chart will give us an idea of the evolution of Maithili.

![Family Tree Diagram]

Based on the classification suggested Taraporewâla. Also Cf. LSI-V (II) P. 1—Maithili is a direct descendant of Mâgadhi.

* Cf. P. L. Gupta—Chandâyana; only recently Dr. Brajkhishore Varma has written a series of articles on the Lorika (entitled 'Shrikshana') ballad and has interpreted the whole thing on a Tantric basis. Cf. Mithila-Mîhr—1969-70. It is being published in a book form from Calcutta.
Prof. Shaktidhar Jha has suggested that Maithili has descended from Ardhamāgadhī (Vide—J.B.R.S.—XLIII PP. 61–62).

Maithili or Tirahutiya is the language of Mithilā or Tirbhukti. The earliest reference to this language is found in Amaduzzi’s preface to Beligatti’s Alphabetum Brahmpānicum (published in 1771 A.D.).

(ii) The name ‘Maithili’ and its script

This contains a list of Indian languages amongst which there is one “Tourutiana” i.e. Tirthutiya. Colebrooke published his famous essay on Sanskrit and Prākṛta languages in 1801 A.D. and he was the first to describe distinctly Maithili as a dialect. He points out its affinity with Bengāli and discusses the written character used by the Brāhmaṇas. He says—“as the dialect of Mithilā has no extensive use, and does not appear to have been at any time cultivated by elegant poets, it is unnecessary to notice it any further in this place.” Aime-Martin, describing the languages of India, says—“Le Marthila (sic) se retrouve dans Neypal.” Mr. Fellon gave a few specimens of Maithili in 1875. Sir George Campbell also published some specimens of Maithili but they were classed as some of the many dialects of Hindi spoken in Bihar. Differences of opinion regarding the languages of Bihar continued to be there among the scholars. Some of the scholars then held that all over Bihar the language spoken was a form of corrupt Hindi. It was Colebrooke who had pointed out earlier that it was more allied to Bengali than to Hindi. It was Campbell who gave specimens of the language of west Tīrhut, East Tīrhut and west Purnea etc. Even Grierson, in his second edition of the Maithili Grammar, calls Maithili as one of the three dialects of Bihar. Hoernle recognised Maithili as

59. Lettre d’édifiantes et curieuses (Pan’s 1840) Vol. II. P. 295.
60. IA (1875) IV P. 340.
61. Campbell—Specimens of Languages of India (Calculta—1874)—P. 60 ff.
a dialect distinct from Hindi. Kellogg also treated the colloquial dialects of Maithila.

Maithili was formally known in the formative years as Avahaṭṭa and Mithilā Apabhraṃśa. As distinguished from the classical Sanskrit and Prākṛts, the Apabhraṃśa in Mithilā usually came to be associated with the ‘Deśila Bayanā’, as we learn from Vidyāpati. K. P. Jayswal in the Catalogue (of his) Mithilā MSS (Vol. II—Introduction—PP. 2 and 9) has drawn our attention to this fact, which is further confirmed by Śripati’s commentary on the PPM. which reads—

प्राकृताद्वितै शास्त्रम् प्रतीतिता
देशमाणो तथा केनिदप्रक्रिया बिदुष्टेनः।
संस्कृते प्राकृते वाप्रपनयुपुन्तपेतः
अपादशु स विदेशो मात्रा चतवै लोकित्वे॥

Vidyāpati has himself given us the importance of Avahaṭṭa in the history of languages. According to the poet, Sanskrit language is not appreciated by many and the secret of various sentiments cannot be expressed in the Prakrit languages while the language of the people ( deśila bayanā ) is sweet for all. The Avahaṭṭa, mixed with Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa, used by Vidyāpati is the old form of Maithili. The archaic features of the Avahaṭṭa writings of the poet ( Kiritilata and Kirtipatākā ) have much in common with the charyapadas and the PPM. Lochana in his RT has rightly called Maithili language a Mithilā apabhrāṃśabhāṣa. Dr. Subhadra Jha has justifiably shown that inspite of its affinity with Hindi and Bengali, it stands aloof from all in so far as its grammar is concerned. The regular contact between Bengal and Mithilā for centuries enabled the Bengalis to acquire proficiency in this language. Maithili, to a great extent, influenced Bengali. The predominance of Maithilās at the court of Kāmrupa helped the extension of the influence of

63. A. F. R. Hoernle— A grammar of the Eastern Hindi Compared with other Gaudian Languages ( London 1880).


65. Kiritilata ( Saxena )—P. 6; Lochana—RT—p. 37,
Maithili. Grierson observes—"modern Assamese comes from Bihar and not through Bengal proper." 66 The name Maithili is derived from its land of birth Mithilā and Tirhutiyā is derived from Tirhut (corrupt form of Tirabhukti). These two terms are identical today and the language spoken in the whole of North Bihar is now known commonly as Maithili. In recent years, there has been a revival of spirit in its favour.

We have already referred to the use of Maithili script in a number of inscriptions. The word 'Tirhutiya' is indicative of the fact that Tirabhukti had its own script since its formation. Acharya Parmānanda Śāstri has dwelt, at length, on the origin of the Maithili script through the ages and only recently Rajeswara Jha has also dealt with the subject in the journal of the Maithili Sahitya Saṅsthāna (Patna-1969-70). His brilliant analysis of the origin and development of this script is, in the present state of our knowledge, though delectable is yet a welcome addition to the existing stock of knowledge on the subject. The earliest datable reference about Tirabhukti is found in the 4th century A. D. Basārḥ seals, though the name Mithilā is older still. It is unwise to call Mithilākṣara a copy of the Bengali script. The Buddhist work Lalitavistara mentions Vaidehi script and this goes to show that the script had its own peculiarity as a result of which it came to be known as such. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the "Maithili alphabet is derived from

66. LSI-I. 1. P, 156; IA (1896-March); S, K. Chatterjee-ODBL-79. B. K. Barua-op. cit.-318. For further studies—Shivadan Singh Chauhan-Pragatiṇda; Rahul-Bhārat ki Sampāṣen (Chapter on Language); LSI-VI. P, 43; Mithilākṣara; Allhabad University Magazine-1944; G. A. Grierson—(1) Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of the Bihari Language—Part I, Introductory (Calcutta-1883); Pt. IV—Maithili-Bhojpuri; (1884) Part V—South Maithili dialect; Part VI—South Maithili Dialect; VII. South Maithili Bengali dialect etc.; Subhadra Jha—Formation of the Maithili Language; J. K. Miśra—HML-Vol. I; Rāmchandra Śukla—Hindi Sahitya kā Itihāsa; R, K, Varma—Hindi Sahitya kā Itihāsa; Hazari Prasad Dvivedi-Ādikāla.
the eastern alphabet...... a variety of the Gupta script which is a sort of cursive development through the intermediate Kusāna writing, of the primitive and monumental Brāhmi, the mother of all the national Indian alphabets...... to Bengali Pandits these characters were known as Tirute” 67........

In Magadha the same alphabet have been found...... Both the inscriptions and MSS give us an idea about the use of this script in a particular period. Right from the beginning of the Gupta period, the inscriptions are available down to the 16th century A. D. and they give us an idea of the development of the Maithili script—The following materials may be studied with interest and profit.68—

( i ) Large number of Inscribed seals and Terracotta plaques discovered at Vaisāli.

(ii) An inscription Jivitagupta discovered from Katra of the 5th-6th century A. D. since published.

(iii) Inscriptions discovered from Champāran (Nos. II—III—published by Sri S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S.).

(iv) Inscriptional Tablet at the Deoghar temple ascribed to the wife of Adityasena.

(v) Bilingual Terracotta plaque (in Gupta and Maithili character, in my possession and edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar—dated in L. S. 67).

(vi) Pāla inscriptions discovered from Imadpur, Naulāgarh and Bangaon.

(vii) Andhrātārhi Inscription of Śridharadāsa.

(viii) Inscriptions at Andhrātharhi, Bheet Bhagwānpur, and Śrīnagar.

(ix) Āsi inscription.

(x) Khōjpur Durga Image Inscription.

(xi) Panchobha Copper plate inscription.

(xii) Tilkeśwar Temple Inscription.

(xiii) Kandahā Inscription.

(xiv) Bhagirathpur Inscription.


68. Texts of these inscriptions can be seen in my Inscriptions of Bihar.

30 M. V.
( xv ) Ladaho Visnu image Inscription ( unpublished—Information supplied to me by Dr. B. K. Varma ).
(xvi) Rajoura ( Begusarai ) Vāraha image Inscription ( Unpublished ).
(xvii) Two ( Sic ) gold Coins of Śiva Simha—One copper coin discovered from the same region.
(xviii) Two coins of Bhairavasimha.
(xix) The so-called Simaraongarh Inscription of Nānyadeva.
(xx) Copy of Vardhamana’s contemporary MSS.
(xxi) Copy of the Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata dated L. S. 327.
(xxii) Copy of the Vidyāpati’s handwritten Bhāgvatapurāṇa.
(xxiii) Copy of the Viṣṇupurāṇa written by Pakṣadhara Miṣra.
(xxiv) Copies of the Dhurtasamāgama, VR, Kirti-patākā Gorakṣavijaya etc.
(xxv) Recently an inscription in Maithili character of the time of Akbar has been discovered on a temple in the Godda Subdivision ( Santhal Parganā ) and the fascimile is in the possession of the K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna.
(xxvi) Various MSS noticed in Tibet by Rahulji are in the Maithili script. ( Cf. JBOVS—XXIII P. 31 ).
(xxvii) Thousands of MSS in Nepal, Tibet and in the collection of the various Libraries of the world are in the Maithili character.

A study of these documents enables us to know the rise and development of the Maithili script through the ages. After the fall of the Gupta empire, it seems some sort of common script was evolved in the Prāchya or the eastern region and that script seems to have held the ground for centuries. True it is that all the scripts descended from the Brāhmi but, then, the fact remains that every region had its own peculiarity. The Maithili script seems to have been widely cultivated by a large section of the people and the inscriptions of eastern India bear testimony to this fact. The MSS and the inscriptions, when studied together, give us the clue. The Tibetan traveller, Dharmaswāmī, who visited Bihar in the first half of the 13th century A. D., before leaving
Tirhut, studied the alphabets which included the Vartula or the Vaivarta script of India. Dr. Altekar says—"Most probably the contemporary script of Bihar, the proto-Bengali-cum-proto Maithili script, was known by this appellation...... the letters of this script, as preserved in Tibetan Sanskrit MSS do look roundish." (op. cit. III. IV). The biographer of Dharmaswåmi writes—"At the age of seven, he mastered the Indian script, the Tibetan script and the Vivarta script, the method of translating and the drawing of Mañåalas (op. cit. P. 50). The elder Dharmaswåmi said to him—"......After mastering the Vivarta script, you should learn the Abhidharma" (op. cit. 51). Thus it is evident that in the 13th century A.D., there was a distinct script known as Vivarta (of roundish character) as distinguished from the Indian script and it was necessary to learn this script before proceeding to India. It appears that this was the form of the Maithili character in the 13th century A.D. and MSS were written in this character. Indirectly its association with Tantricism is also hinted at. The Maithili script continued to be written till the last quarter of the 19th century A.D. and is even now used on all auspicious occasions. Dharmaswåmi has shown association of Vararuchi (op. cit. P. 83) with Magadha. If that identification is correct, a MSS, entitled Patrakaumudi, ascribed to Vararuchi (said to be a Maithila), suggests that Åñji Siddhirastu (first word of Maithili) indicates the tusk of the deity Gañësa. Padmanabha Bhattacharya observes—".......the Sign does not represent any particular letter or syllable but is the sign of Kuñåalini, the serpent shaped divinity that pervades every letter and regulates its pronunciation. She is in fact the creative energy and "Åñji" is the symbol of Tantric divinity Kuñåalini,"69 Trikoña, Biññu, chakra Chatuskõña etc. of the Mithilåksåra signify its association with the Tantric cult. The MSS of the Boudh Gån O Dohå, Aśtasåhasrika Prañåpåramita and other MSS preserved in Nepal and Tibet

69. Journal of the Kåmåruå Anusandåhana Samiti, 1. 3.; Mithilåkå—article of Jivanåth Rai on Maithiliål; Volumes of MODA; Mithila Måhåra of July 29, 1944; Sudåkåra Dwivedi— Ganita Kn Itihåsa—P. 29.
bear testimony to this fact. The script, as it is today, has undergone changes through the centuries.

After giving a short account of the origin and antiquity of Maithili and its script, we now proceed to examine the extant literature in Maithili, a study of which is not only interesting but profitable. Fortunately we are concerned with the period which is usually known as the Age of Vidyāpati and from literary point of view it is the golden age of the Maithili literature. After the fall of the Apabhraṃśa, Maithili held the ground over the whole of eastern India for centuries as during our period Vidyāpati dominated the scene. The lyrical tone, set by Jayadeva, was made sweeter still by Chaṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati. The impact of Vidyāpati was so great that eminent Sanskritists and Nibandhakāras of the age used Maithili words in their Sanskrit works. We have seen old Vācaspati using Maithili word, Caṇḍēśwara, Rucipati, Jagaddhara, Vācaspati II and even Vidyāpati himself used Maithili words in extenso in their respectively Sanskrit writings. We shall revert to a discussion of these points later on when we begin to discuss these authors. 70 The charyā songs71 constituted the link between Sanskrit Udbhāta poetry and the Apabhraṃśa cum vernacular poetry. Though they are in simple chaupai metres, we can connect them with song metres as developed by Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Lochana. The literary use of Maithili would appear to have started in the same period as Bengali. 72 Prior to the advent of the vernacular languages, Apabhraṃśa-Avahatā was a literary language from Gujerat to Bengal with minor local variations and that was its laukika or popular form. The full fledged literary from of this language can be gleaned through the PPm, compiled some where in eastern India and commented

71. R. C. Majumdar—(edited) MB-I. 384 ff.
72. HCIP—VI. 515,
upon in Mithilā. Some of its lyrics can be hardly distin-
guished from Maithili. Avahaṭṭa was being cultivated in
Mithilā for a pretty long time and the tradition of historical
poetry had not gone out of fashion. One of the earliest and
best compositions in Avahaṭṭa is the Kirtilatā. The earliest
specimen of rimed prose in pure Maithili is the VR. It pre-
sents to us the earliest and the longest specimen of the early
new Indo-Aryan prose. In the 14th century A.D. Maithili
had a finished poetic diction based on Avahaṭṭa tradition with
a good mixture of the native dialect. The fact that the VR
is written in vernacular speech, with Tadbhav or Prakrit forms,
renders its importance all the greater as affording us a sure
evidence of having become a part of daily life of the people
even when they did not know Sanskrit. The songs of Umapati’s
Pārijāṭaharaṇa are the unique achievements of the new Indo-
Aryan language and may be taken as the finished product
of a long literary tradition. It goes to the credit of Maithili
diction to retain the measured rhythm of the mordant metre
and the pithy picturesqueness of the old and middle Indo-Aryan
ornamental and amorous verse and turn it into a poetic
language. The tradition of rimed and stuccato prose had
already been set by Jyotiriswara to be used as hand book by
story tellers.....Brajabuli' had as its basis the tradition of the
Avahaṭṭa poetry and diction of Umapati and Vidyāpati.
The Maithili songs of the Pārijāṭaharaṇa may be cited as exam-
pies of the earliest Maithili lyrics. The earliest Maithili prose
was written by Jyotiriswars in his VR. The VR is a storehouse
of information.\footnote{73}

According to Mm. H. P. Sāstri, no Bengali or Maithil MSS
of the early 14th century has so far been discovered.\footnote{74} We
have already used it in our study of the socio-economic and
-cultural history of the period (Supra) and we shall now

\footnote{73} P. K. Gode—Studies in Indian Literary History—Vol. I. PP,
282-85; Vol. II. PP. 148-151;
Cf. Kane’s introduction to Sāhityadarpana.

\footnote{74} VR. P. X.
simply examine the literary merit of this work. The VR represents the earliest prose literature of eastern India and that also a finished one. It gives the poetic convention. The period was one of the golden days of Sanskrit studies in Mithilā but the vernacular of the land was not neglected by the scholars of the land. These scholars were yet guided by the rules of Sanskrit poetics though the masses had their own ballads like Lortka and Salheśa. The aim of the book was to give a description of everything and in doing so he was governed by the rules of rhetoric. There are seven Kallolas and the title of the eight Kallola is missing. The style is marvellous. Though many terms are obsolete, they are indications of the oldest Maithili prose, sometimes unaffected by Sanskrit or Hindi. Being a compendium of the life and culture of mediaeval Mithilā, the book would seem to stand worthily beside the Mānasollāsa, Aini-Akbari, etc. The fact that the work is written in a vernacular speech renders its importance all the greater. 75

The VR is one of the comparatively small numbers of authentic work in a modern Indo-Aryan language going back to the first quarter of the 14th century A. D. Its position is equally important with the Charyās, Śrikṛṣṇakirtana, Jñaneśwari and the earlier old western Rājasthani, the Brajabhākā and Awadhi works. 76 It is of supreme importance for the study of Maithili philology and is archaic enough for modern Maithili. 77 The VR is an evident proof of the fact that the language progressed in form and elasticity and was capable of expressing five shades of thought. The author, possessed of undoubted poetic talents; displays his literary acumen. Few quotations from the book would give us an idea about the richness of the language in the early years of the 14th century A. D.—

75. *Ibid.* XXXVI.
76. *Ibid.* XXXVII.
CHAPTER V

P. 5  पूर्णमा क चान्द्र अस्तुत पूर्ण अश्रस्न सुन्द । वेति पद्मचतुः अमर विविश क अश्रस्न आयत्वि। काजर क कळकिल अश्रस्न सुन्दृह। गवदों कुहिया नमोदाया क शाखाका पूर्ण अश्रस्न पोष्या। पपवाक पपलब अश्रस्न अधर। कल्लविराय क का अश्रस्न नाकान। सतूयुत मोहि नारायण अश्रस्न दायसं। वेतक सात अश्रस्न बौह। परिजाताक पपलब अश्रस्न गमय। . . . . . .

P. 6  एवं अपूर्व विविश कामिनं निमित्तघरिया क सुपक शोभा रैविपदेऽं जलप्रवेद करुः। अथंकी शोभा देवि हरिया वणमेकः। केशक शोभा देवि हरिया चयरी पाणेय करुः। देवि क शोभा देवि तलाया इत्य बौद्धिक करुः। अधर क शोभा देवि प्रवास दिब्यारात रेखार्यः। कारक शोभा देवि बौद्ध ध्यानस्थितं मेक। . . . . सतूयुत क शोभा देवि चाकसाक उष्णः रेखार्यः। अंधुयुत क शोभा देवि करुःति विपरीत गति करुः।

P. 16 (बपयांति) —काजर क सीति तेजेमि सितिहरि अश्रस्न रात्रि। पद्मावां का बेंगे काजर क मोक कुमार अश्रस्न सेवे। सितिहरि मातसार अन्नकार देयः। (अन्नकार्मणि) —पारारात अश्रस्न दुः प्रेवेशः। को क चरित्र अश्रस्नखः। कानिर्द्व त क कालंक अश्रस्न मातसारः। काजर क पवशात्त अश्रस्न सितिहरि आतृक। के नगर अश्रस्न मयानाः।

P. 17  बंधूस्वः —निशा क नायका क शस्वलय अश्रस्न आकाशः। दीर्घकर क कमण्डल अश्रस्नः। चंद्रकान्त क प्रमाण अश्रस्नः। तारका क सार्वभौम अश्रस्नः। सुहार समुद्र क कालंक अश्रस्नः। कुमुदवन क प्राण अश्रस्नः। पद्माचारक क तिलक अश्रस्नः।

P. 26  वेश्या—चर्चादाकारे। कनक प्रकार मणिहरि। चूरः अनेक य भावांसे मणिहरि भीमाकारीः। निर्माणहरि मित्राः निर्माणहरि निमित्राः। कामुकादिः ये कोकसे सुभुः।

P. 27  किश्चिं लब्धः। कपट तारः। चन्द्रायं नेमः। कौमार्यं चन्द्रायं नेमः। सम्मुखः स्वामिस्तूः। . . . . योग्यत आदेव अभावन्त प्राप्ति स्ववर्धन। सम्मुखः स्वामिस्तूः। पुष्पमोदित केशपाष अध्रस्न सम्मोगेदेवताः प्रायः। . . . .

(Cf. Vidyāpati’s description)

P. 33 (प्रावधानक वर्णः) —अन्तरः प्रावः। — अनन्तर कार्यं बांटिता क्षिपण अहंस्नार्थम्। किदापाल नाग संगे अहंसन सिहः। श्रामक फरेद्व अहंसन आयत्वः। क्षिपणसः कर्मसः। दुवमुखः अहंसन कालः। . . . . सम्यक समय क आकाश अनपाल मणिहरि सुधामनिन्द्री के गतागत समयः। . . . . संसरित क चान्द्र अहंसन निमित्ति क्षायाः। एक हाय तंकाः। . . . . काल—रात्रि के बिष्ट्रा अत्वसिः। . . . .

P. 38 (वपवन वर्णः) —कौमिन्द्र क कहलाः। अन्तर क आंक्षं। महायानितक क वेग। सहकार मनोरी पुष्प संभार। बुधन कृत्तमृत्तः। वरस्तं क उद्वर्जः। नायक्क च तक्षणाः। नायिकाः क अभिहरि। . . . .

P. 39 (सरोवर) —शरि क वादः अहंसनः। निमित्त बिद्ययामा अहंसन अपात्मबिन्नति। वद्ययामा सिद्धान्त अहंसन प्रस्तावः। योग्याः को चित्र अहंसन सौभः। हरिरचंद्र क त्रयां अहंसन अपाचः . . . . . .
The VR shows a number of naturalised Persian words and these from their nature could be adopted and popularised in the Maithili speech only after a long contact. Some of the naturalised Persian words are:

- दूधक (dook—P. 1)
- पपाल्जा (papaalja—P. 2—onion)
- सकरा (sakara—Costy Stuff—P. 14)
- तौर (tuar—arrow—P. 31)
- ताजी (taji—Arab horse—P. 31)
- भोज, सरमोज (Boot top boot—P. 32)
- नीक (Well—good—P. 24)
- हजार (thousand—P. 26)
- चेढी (sugar—P. 69)

बोल्डा (Folio 29b; ) नाथोंति (guard ?—29b, 30b, etc.) पापिक (Folio 44 a) etc. are some of the naturalised Persian words. It may, however, be noted here that in several senses in which words of Perso-Arabic origin are not found to be used in Hindustani or Bengali, they are found in Maithili—for example—

- अदर (Persian adar)—Insignificant fellow—
- अदर्सूँ (adursun)—disorderly affairs—wavering on two side. Nothing is settled on account of the doer's thinking of Allah at one time and of Narayana at another.
- रामलोक (raamlok)—Carrying similar sense i.e. wavering an two sides.

Arabic कबूल (Consenting or Concession) is कबूल in Maithili (Promised Offering to God). The Muslims
of Mithilā use मनता, an Aryan word, in the same sense as कपुर is being exclusively used by the Hindus.

Some of the typical words used in the VR are:

—होरिकनाची—associated with the Loric Ballad of Mithila (Folio-10b)

—कुट (16 a)—used in Dohākoṣa; also in the PPm (405. 2)
—शोभा (18 a)—(hair tied in a knot)
—साध्वान (22 a)—clever
—मनी (25 a)—men
—पंर (296)—foot
—अहलु (33 a)—अलुहना—(Cf, Vidyāpati—मो दिव भलल मान)
—मेष वुत्सर (35 b)—a kind of cloth—
—सिल्बेस (35 b)—a kind of cloth—वाष of Mithilā mentions a rice of this variety—

—आमैक—Servant (38a, 43a, 44b)
—देवलार—Gambling house—(38b)
—मारिगनार—abuse (39b)

The VR thus includes the description of almost all things worth describing in human life. He has described everything good and bad—the description of moon and other scenic beauties illustrates his aesthetic sense and richness of the language. But he does not stop here and goes on to describe the gruesome cemetry, blazing funeral pyres, skulls, Dākinis, Bhairavas, Mahākāla, Oceans, Mountains and what not. Alliterations and Rhetorics reached the high water mark in his writings and he supplied the future poets with set materials. He has described the Vidyāvanta, Bhūta, dāncer (both male and female). He says that an official bard (Bhūta), a sort of ambassador, should be proficient in all the eighteen lexicons, viz.—वरण, विश, व्यालि, अमरनामिक्क, भजय, पवर, शाधत, शदत, अस्तिनिर, मदिनीकर, हरालो and others. Jyotirśwara was read and respected till quite late as is attested by Rasakadamba-kalollini of Bhagawat Das, who in this commentary of the Gitagovinda, mentions Panchṣāyaka of Jyotirśwara and Rasārnava Sudhā of Simha Bhupāla. 78 Manikara copied the VR in 1507 A.D. It also


Cf. PAIOC—XII. P. 472 ff.; Dr. Gurmita has done a commendable work on the VR.
throws sufficient light on the contemporary life and condition of the people of Mithilā. He was a versatile genius and wrote a number of other works and bore the title of 'Kaviśekharā-chārya' which he rightly deserved. The VR has been rightly called the "Ocean of Descriptions." The future discovery of a second MSS of this work would set many disputed points at rest. An annotated edition of this valuable work is yet a desideratum.

The VR reminds us of Mānasollāsa and Ainī-Akbarī. It is one of the most important and authentic works of the Indo-Aryan language, and from the linguistic and literary point of view, its importance is yet to be assessed. Its language is more archaic than anything than we find in the current poems of Vidyāpāti, which itself is archaic enough for modern Maithili. The VR supplied the early narrative poets their technical outfit. It includes description of almost everything worth describing in human life. He is in love with all aspects of humanity. The literary acumen of the author is manifest at many places. If the sense of beauty is seen in his description of the moon, his sense of terrible can be seen in his description of darkness. His poetic vision may be gleaned through his comparisons of simile to the rippling waves on the ocean of milk moved by southern breeze.

To Jyotirīśwara and Umāpati goes the credit of introducing the Dramatic art in Mithilā. Jyotirīśwara was first to write drama in Maithili. Fortunately for us, the dramas have been discovered and published by the All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad. The Dhūrta Samāgama Nāṭaka is the oldest drama in the Maithili language and that also by the same author. Dr. J. K. Miśra, while editing this work has rightly observed—"The importance......lies in the specimens of the earliest extant Maithili poetry......there is very little scope of revealing any poetic qualities in the songs of this drama but the mastery of the language, the chaste diction and elegant handling of metre are evidence of the gifted talents of the author." (op. cit. Introduction—P. 6). Like the VR, this
is the oldest vernacular work in northern India. The necessary details about the nātaka have been given earlier and hence need not be repeated here. Since there is doubt about the authenticity of Pārljātaḥaraṇa being placed in the 14th century A.D., I shall simply, quote here some Maithili songs from Jyotirśwara, Umāpati and Vidyāpati to show their linguistic affinity.

Maithili Songs from Dhūrta Samāgama

राग सारंगी—

अभिलत है (५७) ममवसी
परवना भवध साधि निवासी॥ (धुः)
कुशकम्ब्रु पूढा सोबह
कालनवाह गरा वदराख।
चाँदन बेन्द्रा भाग ओलखात।
पालविक ठकविक वेलुनश साठ॥
भारव भारुर धरम मोख॥
सुखल सभेच सभेच सोख॥
सुनिज खुरुत सिनुआ रोख॥
हसद तिरि गोहसर मानित॥ (प. ३)

छोटिर राग—

चक चक्क चकभमा विश(क)ज तजी
सिनामाहु बोलस विवासी राजो॥
गाश पवचक बवि गेहोक आ।
तरहभो न छाडदस अपतु कि म्या॥
मुङिक कवनिकन सनौड़र चान
के विषुसिम हसि केलसिपरान॥
पालक पवशेप पाकक बार
सिक-सिक कत करब भनविकार॥
कविशेपर भोजि क पहु गाव
राप इरलिहु लाप रसामाल॥ (प. ७)

नाटरामे—

चक सरोज छुन्दर नवने
मामनुक्मय शाहि बदने॥ (धुः)
राजमराल विविध गमने
रति पति सबः इत वह शमने॥
विष्किमत का मुह बुज बुंगाळे
काम करहमय रस कुतुढ़े॥
कामनविन मुद्रश पयोरे
सजयत मुद्रिन मन मनोहरे।।
विः नगराधिप मन मिते
कविशेषर जीतिक मणिते।। (P. 12)

एकाली रागे—

तोहर तोहि के सनातन भव
तोहि तोहि नारी।।
हुसरिहु हुसरा हुग बच्चैसरिह
परस्पर इस्तिमव विहारी।। (भूव.)
परहिच परहि हुसैल हुसैल
हुसरि तोहि तोहि आने।।
हारसा महत्त सनातके दुहुरे
तनिहु असाध्य थाने।।
कविशेषर आतिक एदु गाबे
राप्र राहसिह दुहु माबे।। (P. 23)

Maithili Songs from Pārijātharana of Umāpati—

नटरागे गीतम्—

सुरस्तरण उपवनकरमण्डप बगिरचक धर्महिम अचला।
अपनाडु आननदान-बजनमल पुनरुन गोरोरे महानि भक्ता।।
परमेश्वरा परमेश्वरा त्रय त्रय समरस पेतर।। (भूव.)
चामकाना नयनानाक वामल मानक सुरब सुंदरवरा।।
अभिम सार इर अविचक होमल हस्तसकुलपुर अधुनरण।।
गाभवचार आमवी मोजन, सेज भोजबोज बाब सब।।
दीप सरत रव फति मन गान, देवि देवि दुहुम मिहाला।।
भाव महति माहित मतति गान, देवु सदा नय अमवर।।
डुहु दुमपति सबक नृपति पति, हिंदुपति प्रतिगाथङ्गुला।।

(Grierson's edition—PP. 28-29)

नटरागेश गीतम्—

कि कहुव मायाक तनिक विसेते।।
अपना तनि धिन पाक्स केले।।
अप्पुक आनन भारतस हेरि।।
चाक करम कोप कत बेरि।।
भरमपु निशंक घर पर आनी।।
परस तरस सरसी रहु आनी।।
सिकुर निकर निव नयन निहारी।।
बबर बाठ जानि बिहम हारी।।
Umapati, the author of *Pārijātabhāraṇa*, has given us twenty one lyrical songs which stand unique as the finished product of chaste Maithili diction. He set to music some of his songs,
full of imageries and natural picturesqueness. The archaic features of Umapati have similarities and affinities with Vidyāpati. His lyrics are sweet and superb.

Side by side with Jyotirīśvara and Umapati, there flourished a host of writers and poets in the Maithila court of whom Saṁkaradatta was one. He was a devout Vaiśṇava, a renowned scholar and a poet. He belonged to a Karuṇa Kayastha family whose ancestry is yet to be discovered. Some of his stray songs are found here and there from which it can be deduced that he was a Vaiśṇava by faith and composed songs in honour of Kṛṣṇa whom he addresses as Mādhava. Though little known, he finds a place in the galaxy of those renowned authors who contributed to the development of early Maithili writings.

Maithili Songs from Gorakṣavijaya of Vidyāpati —

Mādhava Rāg —

कुच शास न कुछम वास।
युद्धम मदन तिमिर शास।
खजन खोचन कमल मुखे।
धुख देखि मने परम सुखे॥ (भु.ब)।
केल नरपति रे॥
केल नरपति जुबति सहो।
काल आक्षिप्त कालु सिखार।
कालु विखिलापन मलने भार।
कालु दुःशास बिलोचि सिनेह।
पुलकै मुकुल माणिहत देह।
बुधकै कामिनी एकल कन्ता।
कूड़पति आएक सुयन तन्त।
रुचि से नागर रस सिखार।

= कौतुके गाव कवि कण्ठार॥ (Miśra edition—PP. 12-13)

× × × × × × ×

कोठाब राग —

चामर विनय चौदिति नारि
चरण पसारि तो चारि।
हस्त्त भोजन बड़ परिवार।
राज तेहाग करे के पार॥
CHAPTER V

केभ्रो अनुरागिनी केभ्रो अनुराग।
श्रुतिर तेभो निते निते जाग॥
मनूष विश्वसति अनुभव जानिनी।
सारार छावि कहा वस पानि॥ (PP. 18–19)

These specimens have been given just to show that they belong to a definite tradition of literary compositions in Maithili and Umāpati can not be kept at later date than Vidyāpati: The lyrical tone in Umāpati is as finished as in Vidyāpati and the typical Maithili words are common to all of them. A concordance of the Maithili words in all these three literary giants of Mithilā would prove to be of great help to the Maithila philologists. The dramatic qualities of all these writers have already been discussed earlier (Supra—Vide Sanskrit drama ) and the Prakrit forms used in these dramas can be scientifically explained with the help of the PPM. The Maithili Apabhramśa had its own peculiarity and the develeopment of Maithili came in its wake. The Prākrit-Paṅgalam represents the earliest specimen of the remains of proto-Maithili and avahaṭṭa, used by Vidyāpati. It is the floating mass of popular poetry and song current among the people of eastern India and one of them, at least, is said to represent Maithili. 79 According to S. K. Chatterji Avahaṭṭa is the younger form of Sauraseni Apabhramśa and according to P. C. Bāgchi that of Māgadhi Apabhramśa. Avahaṭṭa has its independent existence and Drs. Umeśa Miśra, B. R. Saxena and Śri Sivanandana Thākura call it Maithili Apabhramśa since it contains some of the earliest forms of Maithili. The Maithili Apabhramśa has its nearest forms preserved in the Charyāpadas. The Kirtitā of Vidyāpati is in Maithili Apabhramśa. Both in the Kirtitā and the Kirtipatāka, the literary flavour of Vidyāpati in Apabhramśa is evident. Even those who connect Vidyāpati's Avahaṭṭa with the western Sauraseni Apabhramśa admit that his Apabhramśa works are distinguished from the Apabhramśa proper by a considerable intermixture of early Mathili and Brajabuli forms.

Even his *Padāvali* possesses an exclusively large number of *Prākrit* vocables even without any phonetic modifications. 80

The language of *Kirtilata* and *Kritipataka* is called *Desilabayaṇa* by Vidyāpati himself. This is an old form of *Maithili*, mixed with *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṃśa*. It has many archaic features in common with the *Dohākoṣa*. Vidyāyati composed his works in this language as it was sweet for the people who could not understand the finer sentiments of the Sanskrit and Prākrit poetries. *Avahattra*, in his days, had acquired the status of people’s language and Vidyāpati was equally proficient in this language too. As he had written in Sanskrit, so did he in *Avahattra* and Maithili. The Maithili of these two works is fairly mixed and artificial literary medium and as *Avahattra*, then, had a wider range, he preferred to write in this language. This is a further proof of the fact that the poet had a good linguistic background. I am giving below a few extracts from the *Dhūrtasamagamanataka*, *Goraksavijayanataka*, *Kirtilata* and the *Kritipataka* to show the unity of the contemporary languages and to prove their validity a few specimens of the *PPm* are also given here.

*Dhūrtasamagam*—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahābhāṣya</th>
<th>Ṛkṣīṣyā</th>
<th>Aśvins</th>
<th>Mahābhāṣya</th>
<th>Kriyās</th>
<th>Mahābhāṣya</th>
<th>Kriyās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>P. 8</td>
<td>P. 9</td>
<td>P. 10</td>
<td>P. 11</td>
<td>P. 12</td>
<td>P. 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80. *JASB* (Letters)—XXII. PP. 20, 21 (*Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa* is taken as the Source of Maithili); P. 34.
CHAPTER V

Kiritilata—Quotations are well known—

—गमीर गुप्तरैवान्ते कोलोक कोलाहल कान मरस्ते, मयादा चारण महृदिव उठे—

× × ×

बेदयानिन्न करो पयोधर जटिक इद्रय चूर्ण तद्विष्णु पारक चूरि बाहि आवते विकटे रोखो होहो खने एक शरी कित्त हिन्नहते पावपि—

(Saxena edition—PP. 28–30)

× × ×

कःक्षः कितिम कप्प तारश्च। पनि चिमिषी धरे भुमान, कोभे भिकिषै, तीमागे व्यामने होहो होहो होहो—

(P. 34)

× × ×—अल्प तिलंका पत्रावली लण्डाहते, विण्णाम्मे पिन्तन्ते, भमारिव भमारिव केक्ष पाश बचन्ते—

(Ibid)

(Cf. VR.'s description of Prostitutes)

—गिरि तरकमणि पद्धत नागमण कथिता,

तरणि रष गगनप पद स्तुति भरे झंपिना।

तबंकेश हान कूट भेरी भरे पुक्तिकाः

प्रकृत खण सदृ हुय गार खुफिकाः (Ibtd. P. 41)

× × ×

सम्बार निरवक किरितुस तनु भमार भैल पुराण।

जवन समावधि निक्ककाण तौ उमाशु सङ्कातान।

(Ibtd. P. 44)

Kirtipataka—

—दारिष्क स्मरो परिखण्णि स्मरित (Misra’s edition—P. 7)

—तिरुद्वित मष्मादा विक्षि रहिवृ (P. 7)

× × ×

—अहाश्वायक वेस्स कलाप तहः

गाव मंकिकभरी तेमार बाही।

अति चुबने भाव नीमानि

आज्ञन चन्द्र शुभारस रनो भाकि।

आपनु मात्र सिंहि सुसोमधि

अस्तोचन कम्वज भागु तद्ही।

नवनील सरोकाह पव बही।

कुज सम्बल मणिमत्र रीढ तद्ही। (P. 13)

× × ×

31 M. V.
भन विजय, राममूलराम सिवसिंह भारी कह,
कोटि सहस्त्र छाड केदार जनि विकसित पुराण तसदीहि।
(प. 15) 80(a)
शति विमन दुराय जागरण परिभाष ज्ञात खाद सिदेन सचेत।
(प. 15)

Gorakṣavijaya—कहे अहो महाराणो तेषुः = पदी नै
तिदु वण भौवेदि —
(प. 13)

Prākṛtapāṅglaṃ—
उच्छासों वविभक्तः किलिक देवावधि
उच्छासों जह भिन्न साधू भवित खजावधि
उच्छासों उचाते भद्र भद्र किलिक देविकाः
(प. 46—B. I. edition—Maithili forms are in Black Type)

उवरह अंकेके खेलिक खजावधि
(प. 48)

पुष्पकुल अंके मिटावधि सेल
(प. 55)
अंके उदार बोध पुर्व गिससंके
मतामेश अंक संधारि बुखार
बुखार घण दुह चारि— (P. 80)

मतासंके बोध कह रंगी छलक पवारि।
तथा दुखादिक अङ्क भरु पडू मद्दि पंति बिचारी।
आह अंक परिष्ठ कहु सवभंप्रि पंती महारि।
पुख्ल लुध तरि अंक वर बोधी पंति बिचारि।

कष्ठर मकर जागृत गोद जे आगे मण भागिन हो।
जो बुखार सोह वे बुखार मककर आखिराि दिकाह। (P. 96)

बंजेसरबर किती जवाब अपेनिवेश। (P. 107)
वह, सरभर दरही परसमणि, पाहि बोरेस समाण।
ओ बखशिक अर कहठिनतिल, ओ पङ्खु ओ पासण। (P. 139)

विरणाधिक कङ्गा विहिर चेता, गणाधिक अवक फुर्ता। (P. 169)

बरमति बंजेसर किती तुम, तथा देशह दिरिमेर मण। (P. 184)

अढ़ा कह पंगड़ कहुँ चलण हरिहर अंभ— (P. 197)
अढ़ि चलह मढ़ि चलह गिरि खलए हर खलह।
ससि गुढ़ अभिम बमह युखलबिबि बढ़प।
पुषु घसहु पुषु खलहु पुषु खलहु पुषु बुढ़।
पुषु ममह बिलिम बिलिप परिसमह बिदुप। (P. 266)

पाहिँ, कुमिक मङु ममह बङु रषणि पङु।
किरण कढ़ु अम तह वसति।
मलामि िर कुहर घरि पवण बह।
सहुव कह घुषु बहि गिलक कामिल। (P. 270)

बिरि जक ममह घण गमण िसक कपवण मणहरण।
कङ्ग िविरि जङु िविरि कुहिराि िविरि।
पहर िबिरि िहळा िविरि गिळनग िचेह। (P. 273)

……………आवे केंका कहु कनिया— (P. 391)
Besides being mentioned in Candaesvara, a Khañjana bird is always mentioned in Mithilā only when a comparison has to be made with the eyes. Vidyāpati’s poems are full of such examples. The PPm also mentions Khañjana.

Mithilā in the Age of Vidyāpati

It has not been possible for me to resist temptation of quoting extensively from the PPm, which I consider to be one of the main sources of Maithili language. The readers may refer to my articles and to pages 10, 12, 42, 44, 59, 89, 147, 167, 217, 233, 249, 283, 289, 296, 300–301, 306, 322–23, 334, 453, 455, 470, 523, 528, 537, 541, 547, 554, 563, 586 for the use of Maithili forms in PPm. Comparative study of the Avahatīta literature of Mithilā and the PPm would go to confirm that the poems of the PPm were composed in the vicinity of the area where Avahatīta and Maithili Apabhramśa were predominant. Want of space deters me from going into the details of the question but it would be profitable for any linguist to take up a comparative study with an open mind. It may be noted that the Maithili-Avahatīta was a link between
the vernacular language and the Māgadhi Prākrit. Vidyāpati, in his Kirtilata, has used several metres as found in the PPm and some of his metres also belonged to the obsolete Prākrit and Apabhramśa forms. The prose passages of Vidyāpati in the Avahattā language (Kirtilata and Kirtipatakā) are indicative of the fact that our poet was a finished prose writer as well. Vidyāpati’s poems were largely influenced by the rules of Sanskrit poetics. 81

Mithilā is proud of her master singer, Vidyāpati, who sang in a melodious tone for about half a century. His name rests on the sweet lyrics he wrote and it is Vidyāpati as a poet here that his genius found its forte. There have been numerous editions of his works. It was Grierson who first brought the nightangle of Mithilā to the forefront, prior to which he was counted as one of the important Vaiśāvaya poets of Bengal. All editions of Vaiśāvaya Bhajanavaliś and Padavaliś of Bengal have collections from Vidyāpati and it was through the Bengali source that Coomaraswamy and Aruna Sena published the Padavali Baṅgīya in English language containing translation of Vidyāpati’s poems. As early as 1873–1875, Beames included some poems of Vidyāpati in his Early Vaiśāvaya poets of Bengal. 82 Among the two important Vaiśāvaya contemporaries of Vidyāpati were Ratnapāni, 83 the author of Krishna-carana Candrika, to whom a copy of Vidyāpati’s Dūnāvākyāvali was presented by somebody in L. S. 341 and Viṃșupūrī, 84 author of Bhakti-ratnāvali. Vidyāpati is believed to have been a disciple of Hari Mīśra. His literary genius began flowering very early and one of the earliest poems, ascribed to him, is in praise of Bhogīśvara.

81. H. P. Sāstrī—Kirtilata; S. N. Thnkur—op. cit. 110 ff.; Narendranāth Das—op. cit. PP. 15–60; This is the best work on the poetry of Vidyāpati in so far as his comparative estimate is concerned; Aurobindo—Songs of Vidyāpati (Pondichery–1956).
82. IA (1873)–II. PP. 1, 37; 187 ff; (1875) IV. PP. 299 ff.
83. JASB (N. S.)—XI. 422.
84. PAIOC—XII.
In our resume on Vidyāpati's faith, we have given a brief outline of the Rādhakṛṣṇa episode in his Padāvali (supra) and as such we need not repeat them here. Almost all branches of Maithili poetry, viz. Tirhuti, Baṭagamani, Māna, Goālari, Bārahānmśa, etc. are found in the collections of Vidyāpati. The genuineness of his poems is yet a matter of controversy. About eighty-six poems of the Tarauni MSS (published in S. N. Thakur's collection) are believed to be genuine. A detailed discussion on this aspect is to be found in the introductory chapter of the MM edition. Since he was one of the earliest vernacular poets, his songs had a very wide circulation all over northern India and he influenced the literary compositions of Orissā, Assam, Bengal and other provinces. His songs were committed to memory by those who sang them and the tradition still persists in Mithilā. It was through the oral means that the practice continued from generation to generation and Grierson, in his efforts to collect them, caught hold of such singers from different corners of Mithilā. It was a difficult task indeed to collate all these and then to publish. Under these circumstances, modifications were natural. In my casual enquiry in villages, I have found females singing songs with all modern Maithili tone but adding the bhānita to Vidyāpati. They say these songs are by Vidyāpati. Some publishers of Mithilā are also responsible for such songs. The Padakalpataaru, the Padāvali of Nagendranath Gupta, collections of Grierson, and others show the divergence of language, phonetics and sometimes even the songs themselves. Whoever has edited the text, he has twisted the pronunciation in his own way. The RT and the Nepal MSS are so corrupt that no proper collations could be made. For the present, Thakura's Viṣudha-Vidyāpati Padāvali should be taken as the only faithful edition in so far as the linguistic aspect of the question is concerned. 84(a)

84.(a)—The edition, published by the Bihar Rāstrabhāṣā Parishad, is far from satisfactory. Uptil now no satisfactory edition has come out and it will take time to prepare an authentic edition of Vidyāpati's poems from different sources.
Vidyāpati's lyrics deal with the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—beginning from the dawn of youth to re-union. All aspects have been nicely dealt with. Though they are not in form of a connected Kāvyā, the dramatic element in lyrical form is there and in that sense we can call him a lyrical dramatist. He had a theme upon which he weaved out a garland of songs in praise of the Kṛṣṇalīlā. There is no lack of inspired experience and his indebtedness to his Pūrvacūryyas is evident. He was well-versed in poetics and as a poet of love and beauty, he created visions of the 'beautiful.' He has succeeded in portraying the all-sided emotions of his hero and heroine. Whatever be the occasion, he goes on multiplying metaphor to his lovely expressions while describing the various poses, concealed and revealed emotions. Rādhākṛṣṇa's sports in the grooves attracted his attention. Rasalīlā is a patent story of the Kṛṣṇa legend. In a dark night, Kṛṣṇa thinks how Gopīs will come after crossing the Yamunā and it is here that Vidyāpati asserts that the Gopīs are wiser than Kānha and they know the way out. Love here takes the form of adventure. Rādhā's longing for Kṛṣṇa has been picturesquely painted and there are some of the finest lyrics depicting her restlessness. In the presentation of Radhakṛṣṇa theme, he sets a new line and he has twisted the story according to his own convenience. The story begins with Rādhā's coming to age (Vayahsandhi) or the dawn of youth. Rādhā is younger than Kṛṣṇa (according to Vidyāpati). Rādhā is a special creation of beauty, a dream seen in the flesh. A sweet smile such as befits a model damsel is displayed in the soft curve of her coral lips. The messenger talks to Rādhā about Kṛṣṇa and vice-versa. Both of them see each other and thus starts the pūrvarāga (the first attraction). Stage is then set ready for Abhisāra and the first meeting takes place. The poet creates a wilderness of lavish metaphors, overloaded with classical and conventional figures. In the graceful curves of a bow, her eyebrows are bent and her forehead beams with the lustre of the moon. Her eyes remind of the Khañjana bird, nose of the tīla flower and the lips have the hue of coral. The
tenderness of the meeting is indescribable. Then begins Mūna (the pique) and again they meet. Rādhā describes Kṛṣṇa—
"He is a flower to be placed upon head; he is the collyrium that makes her eyes beautiful; he is a precious necklace clinging about the neck; she can not conceive life without him—he is to her what water is to the fish, or wings to a bird, the very breath of her being and the only object of her life." The story on the whole is ekāṅgi (gushing love) of the one party and Vidyāpati has taken only such episodes which he thought necessary for his poetry, departing from the original wherever desirable. It is said that when Kṛṣṇa went to Mathurā, the messenger took Rādhā's message to him and this part is his own invention. In the Bhāgavata story, the reference is made to the Gopīs and not to Rādhā in particular. He has referred to Uddhava, which is another departure from the original.

In his use of utprekṣā, he is as unsurpassed as Kālidāsa has been in the use of Upamā. Here are a few typical examples:—

—पीत पवयोर दुबरिगता।
मेघ उपजन कमकालय।

× × ×

मर्जूं भया पूछूँ अनु।
मदन जोङङ्ङङ्ङ काजल बनु॥

× × ×

कानककलया खवामहन खाल इरिनही नाहि मधामा।
नवन नलिन दूधो भजन रजन मौक्ष विभंग विहास।

चक्षुंत चकौर न्त्र विष वाण्ड देवत्र बाजर पाना।
गिरिवर गहन पयोर परसिग भिंग गज कोरी क्रहाई।

काम कमु भरी कनक दंगुपरिर तारन हरसरि धारा॥

× × ×

गुह वित्तम भरे चकर न पारप मौक्ष खोनिमिनिभाई।
माणी बाणम ननित्र भरी राखवत विबंबकलयता बहाराई॥

× × ×

वेमो विमक विराज तनु रस कुमाविभि धार॥

dयाम मुंग तेलिकड़ किचौ शाम परहार॥

cबुकृष्ट शुगार गुण भलित पयोर भार।

काक्कालक रसे पुरि रङ्ग संचित मदन मण्डार॥

× × ×
CHAPTER V

 Instances of various types of utpreksās can be multiplied from the padāvāli but the want of space deters us from going into exhaustive details. We have examples of Vastu-utprekṣā; Kriyā-utprekṣā; Jatī-utprekṣā and many other and our poet is a finished artist in that art. It is difficult to find out any match. Vidyāpati is superb in many aspects of the poetical feats of his age.

 Vidyāpati always prefers the concrete to the abstract. His style is picturesque and he has a wonderful capacity of easy expression. His poetic talents were almost instinctive with him. As a born poet, his style is simple, natural, lucid, racy with a flow which makes it vivid with life. He chose Maithili to bind together all the different sections of the people living in the land of Mithilā and succeeded in making it the most important language of the period. Love and devotion formed the basis of his songs and through his philosophy of love, he appealed to all irrespective of caste, creed, class, sex and religion. His songs touched hearts of all sections of people and he was a great humanist. The idyllic romance of Rādhākrṣṇa represents the vital phases of human experience and the fusion of natural phenomenom with the greatest of lovers. Like the age of Aeschylus in Greece and Shakespeare in England, the age of Vidyāpati marked the final blooming of renaissance in Mithilā. There is nothing left to be desired in Vidyāpati. The narrative is refreshingly simple and natural without any external decoration or artificial adornment. The picture of conflict between propriety and enjoyment, passionate and pathetic sentiments, sensuous and receptive moods, remorse and longing, is ably
depicted in a charming language and in a sophisticated manner. He describes nature in the background of human emotions. *He is great because he struck a human note that was altogether new to vernacular literature.* To him sex was not a taboo but a hard truth and there was nothing unnatural in singing about this fundamental urge of life. Human love is being valued for its own sake as something to be offered to another human being. Leaving aside the allegorical setting, these poems can be read and enjoyed as pure love poems.

He had around him the vision of natural sceneries of Mithilā and he does not fail to take inspirations for his poetry. ‘Rādha’ is a village girl and her beloved is a cowherd ‘Kṛṣṇa’ and their description at different places and in different poses are always refreshing and sometimes marked by the directness of appeal to our sense of beauty. Even when they are highly sophisticated, they never cease to be natural. He is as natural in describing the angry mood as in the sensuous and receptive moods. Natural description of conflict between the lover and the beloved of secret meetings, of the pranks and of reconciliation, make the poet a superb painter of human mind and emotions. *It appears as if his poems have the way for high-class paintings of human emotions,* One can have a glimpse at the *Samēbhoga* and *Vipralambhā*, at the *Viraha* and *Milana* where poet’s expression is natural. They represent the highest peaks of his lyrical achievements. His description of nature is equally superb. It is in the background of human emotions, that he describes the beauty of nature—be it a description of the evening, morning, spring on the rainy season—

( i ) रात्रि काव्यर बम भीम मुख्यम
     ( description of Night—rainy season )

( ii ) मानिशि अरुण पुरुष दिसा वाहिनि समागी निम्ना
     ( early morning )

( iii ) गगन नाभक छठ से आवेकत भेव

( iv ) मास मास सिरि पंचमी गजरिकी—( spring )

( v ) काव्यर सावित्रि रात्रि, धन मरे बरिसए बकाबर पाँटि
     बरिस पथोंर चारे, दौर पथ गगन कठठन आभिसार
     × × ×
     बिजुरी दुरुस्त जय, तो मूल कर जो पुढ़ि धर जाहि
     Rainy season.
According to Dr. Subhadra Jha (op. cit. P. 22) Śivasimha had several wives and he would like love poems and as such Vidyāpati's natural genius for erotic composition found an excellent outlet. He, further, observes—"Finding himself rather without a patron (i.e. after Śiva Simha), he looked towards the almighty for help and guidance. Now Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa became divine beings and the poet began to sing in their praise, craving their protection" (Ibid—P. 23). These points have been discussed earlier (Vidyāpati's faith) and I do not think it worthwhile to pursue the argument beyond what has been written above by me. Though some of his songs are erotic, some are exclusively secular. These secular songs are poetically excellent. The bilateral cravings in his poems do not detract them from being symbolic in character. Jayadeva and Vidyāpati are on the same lines. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa admire each other. Even when Vidyāpati composed songs to please his masters, they have the devotional element in them. We can not deny the fact, in the present state of our knowledge, that Vidyāpati recognised Rādhakṛṣṇa as divine beings. Govindadāsa has praised Vidyāpati for his songs on Rādhakṛṣṇa. According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, Vidyāpati's songs are connected with secular love. 85 Even when his songs are erotic, they are secular and devotional. The devotional poems seek the blessing of Mādhava, and in the Nepal MSS, we have numerous references to Mādhava and in such poems, the names of patrons are not there. The remarkable spontaneity, unique simplicity and directness of expression in his songs are indicative of the fact that the poet wrote everything in a most vivid manner born out of personal intuition and experience. He is a master of similes and metaphor and has been rightly called a poet of emotions and ideas. As Lila Rai has suggested—"The vocabulary and language of Vidyāpati's poetry is comparatively pure but as might be expected, archaic and frequently obscure and most difficult." 86 He was the greatest poet of eastern India and a master craftsman who has succeeded in giving his most poignant and

85. History of Brajabali Literature—P. 12.
86. Bengali Literature.
deepest feelings in simple language. Besides being artistic, his songs are musical and tuned to different rāgas. Harmonisation and perfection marked his poetic excellence.

As a poet of love, he succeeded like a successful gardener in presenting a beautiful garland of songs, the priceless heritage of which has never been forgotten. It is poignant and deep feelings of separation are unique. Rādhā's love attainments at a particular moment reaches perfection to a degree unheard of so much so that the poet pictures Viparitaraṭi in the coming of a pralaya or deluge. In the brilliancy of his metaphors and similes, in the choice of expressions and in the higher flights of his poetic fancy, he overshadows all vernacular poets. He had the unique distinction of inspiring poets of neighbouring provinces and the language of his songs became the vehicle of poetic expression. He was instrumental in making Maithili the literary language throughout the whole of north-eastern India. He made us realise that poetry was an integral part of life and not a mere adornment of it. His intrinsic greatness is yet to be assessed in a proper perspective. His lyrics have become a part of a whole people for more than five centuries now in a way in which no other poet has permeated the lives of the people. He drew forth such soul-entrancing strains from his mother tongue that acquired for it not only an acknowledged literary status but also made it a rival to the classical language. Many of his poems seem to be a mere string of similes. His songs at once cultivate the ear. It is as a poet that he has been remembered through the centuries.

Most of his images have a freshness and individuality about them. In their profusion and boldness, his images are unique since they are drawn from the whole contemporary life, mythology, literature, business, law, court, nature, etc. No image was too low or too sublime if it came pat to his purpose while some of the images are quite fanciful. Though apparently unconnected, his songs are consistent in theme like the various parts of T. S. Eliot's "Waste Land." His metaphors and similes are guided by the conventions of
Sanskrit. Instances of non-conventional similes can be seen in the songs of marriage of Vasanta, in the comparison of conjugal union to worshipping, in comparing a woman’s breast to Śiva; in the comparison of necklace with the currents of river Gaṅgā and so on. The use of sexual image in a devotional poem is the height of boldness. The geometrical image in a love poem is indicative of his mastery over the literary art—

“Now and again as side long look,  
Along her lashes its shy curve took.”

Though not a poetic drama in the sense of Jayadeva’s Gītāgovinda, Vidyāpati has certain dramatic elements in the Padāvali. His lyrics seem to arise from specific situations and they are the impassioned utterances of specific characters characterised by abruptness and flexibility of tone. The Padāvali illuminates the great romance but avoids all sense of gathering drama. His gift of extraordinary sensibility and his power to express it in musical and artistic language make him supreme as a poet. He has given the woman her due. He has explored the entire gamut of feelings that a woman in love can have. He is almost feminine while describing a woman. Rādhā is described from woman’s point of view with matchless tenderness.

His lyrics are a blend of eroticism and devotion and there are reasons for being so. Being hard put to reconcile on the one hand the demand of his patrons for the courtly and erotic poetry, and on the other hand the demand of the society for poetry which may save Hinduism, he wrote primarily love and secular poems where the quality of ecstatic praise, of intense and personal devotion is wanting. To that extent his songs were dealing with secular love. It was in such contexts that he regarded two breasts as incarnation of Śiva. It must also be admitted that he gave his lyrics a devotional character by having Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the protagonists of love duels. In his description of pūrvarūga, Saṁbhogamilana, Abhisāra and Māna, he is more of a poet than a prophet. He ransacks the whole classical store to find
out an apt simile and is never weary of applying as much of these as is within his knowledge, like the sound scholar of rhetoric that he is.

Rādhā is described as a luminous wand created by lightning like a golden tendril. The rich clusters of her black hair are like the clouds of the bees but are soft and tender like the ‘Saībāla’ (moss). Certain deep feelings expressed in connection with Rādhākrṣṇas tale can not be the result of a mere feeling for poetry but of actual experience in life. In the realm of poetry he was an original genius and as a poet of love he was unrivalled. He lived a full life and therefore he has idealised the fulness of life. His nearest equivalent in English literature is Spencer who also wrote mellifluous poetry. He took recourse to archaism but Vidyāpati’s language, because of raciness and crispness, has passed into common speech. The English love poets have invariably confined themselves to the feelings of the male parteners in love but our poet has given the woman her due. His matchless handling of the tenderness of a woman sets female almost on a parity with the males. He loved and admired female temperament but did not blind himself to the masculine traits. Living long before Shakespeare, Vidyāpati showed so deep an understanding of love. Like Donne, Vidyāpati in his late religious verse expressed the same ardent rapture which had earlier found expression in his poetry of love. We cannot but marvel at the sweetness of his imagination which ranged from normal human love to love which transcends the individual plane and melts into impersonal ecstacies on the universal plane.

Few specimens of his poems would give us an idea of the poet—

From Aurobindo's Songs of Vidyāpati—

No. 11—कि कह्व है सर्व्ह कानुक रूपः
          को पतिवायव सपन स्वाहपः
          अभिनव जलदर जुन्दर देहः
          पोतसन परा सौदास्ती सेहः
          शाम समार कुटकाहि देशः
          किचे शाहिमंडल शिल्लंबं संवेशः
CHAPTER V

शातको केतको कुङ्कुम खुङकाते।
पुरुषर् मनोनित तेजस्त तसाते॥
विषाणित कह फँ कि बोलख भार।
शुभर्य करत विहि मद्रन माण्डर॥

No. 16—कहरी मध्य चामर गिरी कंधेरे
मुखैं मये चाँद आकाशे।
हरिणी मध्य मये स्वर पय कोकिल
गति मये गज वनवासे॥
हुंदरि काँडे मोहे सम्माणिन जासि
तु आ बदे वह सब दूरहि पलावक
उठे पुन काहे बेरासि॥
कुङ्कुम मध्य कमल-कोरक जहे सुदिरु
घट परबेशे हुँताशे॥

dाहिनव शीघ्रि गगने वात कह
शंशु गरुड कह भासे॥
भुमिमे काणक सुणाल पंक्तरु
कर भय किलत खय कृपे।
विषाणित कह कत कत प्यौसन
कढ़ि मद्रन परितापे॥

No. 38—मधु ब्रहु मधुकर पाति।
मधुर कुङ्कुम मधुमाति॥
मधुर वृन्दावन माता।
मधुर मधुर रसराज॥
मधुर वृत्ति गण संग।
मधुर मधुर रस रंग॥
मधुर यंग स्वाल।
मधुर मधुर कर्तार॥
मधुर मदन गति मंग। मधुर निन्न नट रंग॥
मधुर मधुर रसगान। मधुर विषाणित मान॥

S. Jha Songs of Vidyāpati—

No. 7—कंठक माता कुङ्कुम परगास।
भार विकस नचं पाववे पास॥
× × ×

No. 13—कोकिल कुङ्कुर कहरे काजल बाहर बाजे।
मातार मधु मधुकर गुजर से सुनि कुङ्कुर गाव॥
मपे मधान परान दिगतर लागू किए न छाज॥
विरहिनी जन मरन कारन बेकातं मध विषुराज॥

Also No. 86 for four common lines.
शुद्ध लिंग देवी रूपें रूपों
हुर वर कामशिरि ह मछुआरि रूपों दिन मद्दत दीर्घ होते।
कलक चाहे कलेवर सौमय सेवा न पाते।
चान्द्रन चन्द्र कुंडन खन्नू तन्त्र ताथे ताः मोहिममाह।
सिरिसि कुटुम सेज बोधीश्वेत तदु न बाये नौग्द।
आधु सच्चि चौर न समरत सुमरत देव सोविन्द।

No. 42—यवन क सौर चरण तत्क मेष।
शाकुण कमल अभोकक भेक।
भार भाव निमित नहीं बोध।
किसके सिसिरे छायि हुइ भोध।
सिसिरि नीरे भोक नहीं बोध।
हुई अनुराग सिमित सव कीष।

No. 54—पवनदन हर मसमे बधादा तीनि नयन एक बरए अनका।

Śiva
dुख बोकह भवानि जगत भिषारि भिलक हम सामी।
विस्तर धूमण दिप परिश्रामा विनु विश्वेष्टर नाम गवान।
भवन विश्वपति चुनू भवानि हर नहीं निपन जगत (कैर) सामी।

No. 106—आऊसे अक्षान बोचन तीर, अमिने मालक चन्द्र कबीर—
No. 124—चरित चातुर बिहे वेसासु कौर मौर अंतुने।

Śiva
dुन कल तवेदर बन्धन तेष दसा सव भने।
Also Cf. पहर गोसाने बाए उभु बेठु उपेषि।

No. 252, × × × 254, 255 आचे के करब सोर पर धूमबं गेक दिम नहीं आचे—
No. 130—लेक काेर रसवारे छुटक ठाकर बेला मोर।

Relates to Rāma

बनिया करलिुँ लाम नहिं पबोिे अर्पिनिकट मेल थोक।
रामचन बनिया बेज बाह लाम अतेक।
× × ×
जो अस बनिया लाम तस पावर धूम मरिह गमार।
विवादपति कहु खन्नू महाजन, राम भगति अछि लाम।

No. 131—जयमर कामर रति परिहासित, सेत सारक करबमा।
सारक चन्द्र दालीन कर मणित, सारक गाँ चन्द्रगामा।
मायव तोरे बोिे आनकि राही।
सारक माल पास सबे आनकि, दुहार चतवाह ताही।
श्मु बरणि बेरि आन मेराविति, इरितु ठुतुिनि मेष।
अरुण के जोिे तिमिर विदिवार, चान्द मलिन भए गेषा।
CHAPTER V

No. 158—अहुण छोचन धूमि धुमाभोक जनि राजौप्रे पवन पाश्चोछ।।
धाशुक चिद्युर आनन्हा बापुक जनि तम ठाने चान्द चापुक।।
× × × ×
No. 159—उमरक चिद्युर माअकर रग, जनि अमुना जलगाय तरक।।
× × × ×
पिढा सुख सुधुख चूम हेज बोज, चान्द अभोमुख पिवार त्योज—
× × × ×
No. 162—चरण नृपर उपर सारी नृपर नेश्च करे निवारी।।
× × × ×
समुद्र कुमुद रससरी अवहो उगन कुमुद सती।।
× × × ×
No. 164—काजेरे कालु वरग खिक कान विष मलवय पुनो मलवय पाह।।
चान्द पवन पिक मदन तरास सर मदगढ वन छढ़ु मिसास।।
No. 177—सामर कोम जतना कानिन, हारा दुसरिः भारा—
No. 199—जलद वरिस जलबार, सर गनो पखेय प्रबार—
No. 218—काजेरे राजकि महे जनि राति—
No. 224—कारतढोन दोन्दुर माज भिन्नभिन मिजु भिन्नभिन भरविन्।।
भिन्नसिन नवन गहे जलबार, खड़ने गिख निखलि मोहिमहार।।
No. 237—आएक वसत सकल बनरवक कुमुदमान सान्द।
फूलल माजक भूल भरमा पिवारेत मकरं।।
No. 239—रथसिन काजेर वम, भीम मुख्यम, कुकिस पक्षु दुरवर।
गरजरत बन, रोसे वरिस वन, संसार पति भिमसार।।
सुजनि बनन गोंडह कोर लाज।।
No. 261—घठ देखने जात गठ्ठ वसम, जगा कुद्दु दुसरहसंग।।
(Cf. No. 257)
( Cf. No. 257)

While his poems relating to Vaisnavism have been given in connection with the description of his faith (Supra), here I have given just a few specimens of his poetry. His quoted lines are not given here since they are well known. The lyric grew with the development of music in Mithilā. In the age of Vidyāpati, the glory was due to the final blooming of the renaissance of music and dancing introduced by Nāṇya-

87. Cf. My—Maithili Sāhitya Niḥandhāvali; and my article—"Gītāntāya Vidyāpati"; The cultivation of Anahatā was regarded as one of the 64 arts by Jyotirīswara—VR. 559.
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deva and his successors. Vidyāpati successfully enriched the Maithili language. He represented the culmination of all the new tendencies of the age. His popularity can be gleaned through the fact he is equally claimed by two sister languages—Hindi and Bengali—which, according to Grierson, *is unparalleled in the history of literature.* From whatever angle we intend to judge him, he appears to us as the real representative of age in all its aspects. Some of his poems refer to minor quarrels between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, while some refer to various Śrīgūras and Viraha—

( i ) कुब्ज भवन सबरे निकसिंहरे. रोकल गिरगारी 
एकध नगर वस माभव रे, जनुकर बमारी॥ ( Khagendranath Mitra—No. 126 ).

The poignant lines—

( ii ) के पतिया खर जापत रे, मीर वियतम पास ।
हिन्न नाहि सहर असिर दुख रे, मेघ साग्रोन मास॥ ( *Ibid*—No. 300 )

Māna—

(iii) मानति ! अँब उंचि नाहि मान ।
× × ×

रमणी रमणि अटक विछिस विछिस करि करेह महुर मघुङ्गार ।
अपन अपन पहु सबह जैमानोह, मृकुल तृभ जजमान॥

( *Ibid*—No. 408 )

Some of his devotional poems are superb—

( i ) माभव, कत तौर करव बड़ाई ( *Ibid*—P. 281 )—to Kṛṣṇa
(ii) जय जय शंकर जय निषुपारारी ( *Ibid*—P. 309 )—to Śiva
(iii) बड़ सुख सार पामोह त्रुष तीर ( *Ibid*—P. 329 )—to Gaṅgā
d (iv) जय जय गैरव अभुर मवालनी ( *Ibid*—P. 1 )—to Śakti

As a representative of his age, he wrote songs for all occasions. His *Maheśavānīs* and *Nachāris* are very popular, no doubt. In excellent humour, he sings of the different forms of Mahādeva, Gaurī’s mother is known as Manain and he addresses *Maheśavānīs* to her and thereby professes to describe the life of Śiva as that of a common household of Mithilā. *Abundance of images from the court life is also there. Wealth, poverty, miser, businessmen, oilmen and all

88. *Maithili Chrstomathy*—( Introduction to Vidyāpati’s poems ) P. 34.
89. N. N. Das—*op. cit.* P. 29; *MM*—Introduction.
other communities have found place in his poems. Even some of the Muslim rulers are there in his description. Inspite of his sophisticated language, based on familiar conventions and stock phrases, he does not neglect the social needs of the people in general. His proverbs reflect many aspects of the every day life. Several poems for the common folk for almost all occasions in Mithilä were composed by the poet. While on the one hand through his Nachāris, he reflects the life of an ordinary but poor peasant, on the other he does not hesitate to castigate the evils of child-marriage (quoted earlier).

Nachāri—कक्षान द्रव दुख मोर, हे मोहानाथ।
दुखावे बनम मेष दुखावे मामालोक।
दुख सपनेदु नाहि मेष, हे मोहानाथ।

In so far as his similies, epithets, metaphors and imagery are concerned, he was guided by the conventions of Sanskrit, no doubt, but he did not forget to draw inspiration from the natural sceneries of Mithilā around him. Birds like Chakora, bee, lotus, lion, gold, antelope, pomegranate, nectar, Rāhu, moon, trunk of plantain tree, elephant and Śrīphalā, Bilva, Bimba, Prāvāla, etc. are very common in his poems. Parrot and cat are also there (Cf. S. Jha—Nos. 36; 3, 37, 46, 126, 164-65, 258, 46, 70, 97, 7, 76, 87, 100, 43, 98, 121, 99, 185, 201; 204, 209, 224; 39, 40, etc.—for a description of Cuckoo, fragrance of mango, Mālati flower, Chakora, Khaṇḍana, spring etc.). His realistic imagination is wonderful. He succeeds in giving originality to the metaphors and similes (Cf.—Khagendra Nath Mitra—No. 29). His beauty lay in expressing poignant feelings in simple language (Cf. Ibid—PP. 326, 329, 267, 235). His lyrics fall in line with that of Kālidāsa, Jayadeva and Rabindranātha. Rabindranātha acquired a powerful command over Maithili through Vidyāpati

90. Collected by Dr. Umesh Misra—in his Mahākāvī Vidyāpati PP. 156-177.

91. Cf. N. N. Das—op. cit. e.g. Gosauni, Uchiti, Minsi, Samadāna, Chumaon, Parsekha etc. Also Cf. Mithilā Geeta Saṅgraha—3 parts.
and he was so impressed that he wrote a number of lyrics under the pen name of Bhānu Siṃha Thākur. It was Vidyāpati who developed and perfected Mithilā school of Music. Pannikar says—“After all, Vidyāpati, Kabira, Mrābhai, Tulṣidāsa and Nānaka, have become the poets not merely of Maithili, Hindi or Punjabi but of India.”

Impact of Vidyāpati on other poets and provinces—

In Mithilā, on the lines of Vidyāpati, a new school of Music was founded and Lochana bears testimony to this fact. Sivasiṃha appointed Jayanta to tune the songs of Vidyāpati and tradition of Vidyāpati. Music, like the modern Rabindrasaṅgita, continued to be cultivated by a host of musicians in Mithilā. Govindadāsa refers to Vidyāpati as his Guru. In Mithilā, there was a host of imitators of Vidyāpati. Imagery, technique and prosody of Vidyāpati were either taken or followed by a number of writers in the succeeding years. Maithili language came to the forefront and it was due to the influence of Vidyāpati that it influenced all the neighbouring states.

Bengal claimed Vidyāpati as her own for a number of years. Maithili had attained the status of a literary language through his poems as he was the earliest singer of eastern India. What Jayadeva began, Vidyāpati perfected and his Rādhākrṣṇa songs were carried to Bengal by students who came over to Mithilā to study Nyāya. The sweetness and excellence of his songs, in a language which was akin to Bengali, were responsible for his popularity in Bengal. Vidyāpati seems to have inspired both Caṇḍīdāsa and Caitanya. There are many lines in the Kṛṣṇaṭīrtana which show affinity with Vidyāpati. Basanta Ray of Jessore wrote under the name of Vidyāpati.

92. N. N. Das—op. cit. P. 278.
94. R. C. Datta—Bengali Literature—P. 15.
95. Maithili Chrestomathy—P. 34; Cf. Sukumar Sen—History of Brajabuli Literature, P. 68 ff.
and a new type of language known as Brajabuli came into existence. These songs have been grouped into four classes—(i) in pure Maithili, (ii) pure Bengali, (iii) Maithili-Bengali mixed and (iv) in Bengali with mixed Brajabhāṣā. The greatest imitator of Vidyāpati in Bengal in modern times was Rabindranātha whose Bhānasimha Thakurera Padavali contains Radha-kṛṣṇa episode in Maithili.

Cf.—आधो आधो सरसन बृज
हेरव सतिः श्री गोविन्द
धनाम की पद्मरिंढ
मातुसिंह वानद छे।

Vidyāpati’s influence on Assamese literature came through the Brajabuli songs and Śaṅkaradeva, the greatest Vaiṣṇava reformer of Assam was inspired by the songs of Vidyāpati. It should be noted here that the Assam Brajabuli is different from Bengal and in Assam these songs are divided into two groups—Baragita (celestial songs) and Ankiagitas (song associated with Ankiia dramas). Like the Maithili songs of Vidyāpati, they have the Rāgas, Dhrupadas, Bhanītās, etc. Maithili influence on these songs are greater.

Though the contact between Orissa and Mithilā had been long and intimate, the influence of the Maithili language reached here through Bengal. Rāmānanda Rai of Orissa wrote in Brajabuli (Cf. Sukumar Sen—op. cit. P. 28). He is said to have met Caitanyakadeva. The Oriya Brajabuli has mixed Maithili, Brajabhāṣā, Bengali and Oriya forms. Some poems of Rāmānanda Rai have been included in Sukumar Sen’s book and recently Professor Priyaranjan Sen has published a collection of the Brajabuli poems of Rāmānanda.

96. PAIOC—XII. Part I (Summaries) P. 130.
97. Brajabuli Literature—P. 373.
98. Barua—Assamese Literature.
Also Cf.—Radhakrishna Choudhary and Surendra Sastri “The Prabodhachandrika of Baijaladeva” in the ABORI—XLIV—PP. 75–76.
Vidyāpati’s influence on Nepal was greater still. Maithila scholars frequented the court of Nepal and Maithili was one of the recognised languages of Nepāla. Vidyāpati’s music was very popular there. Several Malla kings of Nepal wrote on the pattern of Vidyāpati. Recent Nepali writers on the history of Nepal do not accept the authority of the Karṇāṭas over Nepal and the writings of D. R. Regmi are proofs of that type of thinking. There was a loose link between Mithila and Nepal, both politically and culturally. The Malla inscriptions and the MSS (spread over a wide area) support our contention that the Karṇāṭas had political links with Nepal. 99(a) In one of the MSS of Rāmāyanaṇātakam, we have “Nepāla Kāyal Rajye Harīsīṁhadeva” Shri P. K. Singh ‘Moun’ has made frantic efforts to collect and publish some of the songs of Vidyāpati as found in the Nepal Terai and Morang area and a similar attempt in the field of folk literature has been done and is being done by Dr. Brajkishore Varma. Vidyāpati influenced the writers and poets of Nepal. Maithili literature received royal patronage in Nepal and we have a number of MSS on Maithili songs in the different libraries of Nepal, the most important being ‘Kamsanārāyana padavali’; Vidyāpatīgītām, Gitapahacāsikā, Bhāṣāgītasarangraha, etc.

Sri Durgāsaṁkara Sinha in his Bhajapuri Lokegeeta has published some songs which are ascribed to Vidyāpati. His song No. 4 (PP. 255–56) contains the Bhanita—

Mannir ṇīvāpaṭī ṛṣma (मुनि) मवनारि।

Bhajapuri

Pārīcā ṇāre ḍre ṛṣma मिलिहे सुरारि।

Grierson observed—“Songs of Vidyāpati are not known in the Bhajapuri area.” Grierson might not have

99.(a)—Cf. (i) R. K. Chaudhary—‘Bihar and Nepal’ in G. D. College Bulletin No. 4. (ii) S. V. Thavali—Nepāla Upatīyakā Ko Madhyakātina Itihāsa (iii) Balachandra Sharma—Nepāla Ko Aithihasika Ruparekhā (iv) Prafulla Kumar Singh Moun—(i) मोरंग में प्रास मैथिली काव्य पद (मिमि—२ दिसम्बर १९६५); (ii) मोरंग पदावलीक फळिक पद (मिमि—७ जुलाई १९६८) (iii) विषयपत (मिमि—२८ दिसम्बर १९६६) Dr. Shailendra Mohan Jha has recently discovered four poems of Baidyanathā and has published the songs of Chatur Chaturbhujā and Siddhi Narasīṁhamalla.
been able to collect them but the Bhojpuri writer himself admits that the influence of Vidyāpati on Bhojpuri was immense. The often quoted line "पिया मीर शाक क हम तरंगो" (ascribed to Vidyāpati) is also found in Śrī Singh's collection (P. 492). He holds that Vidyāpati is a very popular poet in Bhojapuri and is held in higher esteem than Śūra, Tulasi and Kabira. The whole series of Vidyāpati songs in Bhojapuri is styled as 'Vidyāpatarāgas.' Śrī Singh has collected a large number of Vidyāpati songs (PP. 260, 325–330, 331, 332; PP. 44–45) etc. Barahamāsā songs are mostly Maithili songs. He believes that Vidyāpati must have visited the area. Song No. 7 of his collection is definitely a Maithili song and has been corrupted by the passage of time. Since Vidyāpati was the greatest poet of eastern India of his time, it is natural to suggest that his poems became immensely popular on the west of Mithilā in the Bhojapuri area. His genius crossed the geographical limit and spread far and wide. Singh states that Dharanīḍāsa also wrote in Maithili and Dr. Subhadra Jha has gone to the extent of ascribing Maithili to Kabiradāsā. A gloss over the collections of Singh and R. N. Tripaṭhi shows that Vidyāpati had acquired a good name and fame in the Bhojpur area. In course of journey to Jaunapur, Vidyāpati must have come into contact with the languages of western people and as such his association with Bhojpur can not be rejected outright. 'Vidyāpatarāga' is an ample illustration of the fact that he was known to the people of Bhojapura area. Hence to say that "there was no notice taken of him in the Madhyadeśa" does not appeal much to a critical mind. 100

Available literature on Vidyāpati—

(i) Beame's Article in the IA (1873, 1875)
(ii) Akṣaya Chandra Sarkar—Kāvyā Saṅgraha (1878–79)
(iii) S. C. Mitra—Vidyāpati Padāvali (1878–79)
(iv) G. A. Grierson—Maithila Chrestomathy (1880–82)
(v) Brajanandan Sahaya—Maithila Kokila Vidyāpati (1908).

100. HML—I. 182.; We have already referred to the mention of Vidyāpati, Nachari by a writer of western India.
N. N. Gupta—Vidyāpati Padāvali (Allhabad—
(1910-11).

Rambriksha Benipuri—Vidyāpati.

Dr. Janardan Miśra—Vidyāpati.

Dr. Babu Ram Saxena—Kīrtitātā (also by Umesh Miśra).

Shyam Sundar Das—Hindi Bhāsa O Sāhitya.

Ramchandra Śukla—Hindi Sāhitya kā Itiḥāsā.

Ramakumār Varma—Hindi Sāhitya kā Ālocanātmaka Itiḥāsā.

S. N. Thākur—Mahākavi Vidyāpati.

Narendra Nath Dass—Vidyāpati Kāvyaloka.

Kīrtipatikā—edited by Umeśa Miśra; (also by Dr. Virendra Śrivastava)


J. K. Miśra—History of Maithili Literature.

U. Miśra—Vidyāpati Thākur.

K. N. Mitra and B. B. Majumdar—Vidyāpati.

My books and articles—already referred to in the body of this book and in the footnotes.

Among the editions—

(a) Tarauni Palm leaf MSS (used by Gupta)—said to be fairly authentic.

(b) Nepal MSS—on the basis of which Dr. S. Jha published his edition.

(c) Rambhadrapur MSS—used by S. N. Thakur.

(d) Rāj Library MSS—Cf. Sahidullah—विद्यापति

JBORS—XXVIII. Pt. IV. पदरासोर संस्करण—in Sā-

JBRS—XXXIV. Pts. I & II hitya LIX PP. 13–34.

JGRI—II—Pt. 4. PP. 403–416.

Lochana—RT.

All histories of Bengali literature.

Still very valuable for it contains most of the valuable things otherwise difficult to collect.

—Many new books and articles on Vidyāpati and Maithili literature are coming out daily in different languages and the study of Vidyāpati is yet an open question. A comprehensive and exhaustive bibliography on Vidyāpati is yet a desideratum.
CHAPTER V

(xxiii) Latest publication of the Poems by Vidyāpati has come out recently from Patna (Bihār Rastrabhāṣā Parishad).

(xxiii) Shiva Prasad Singh’s Kirtilata.

(xxiv) Vidyāpati Vāṅgamaya. (published from Calcutta)

(xxv) Likhanavali by Indrakant Jha.

Estimate—

The above short survey gives us an insight into the genius of Vidyāpati who subdued every poetic element into a harmony of artistic perfection. He gave the colour and form to Maithili language. His extraordinary ability to express everything in musical and artistic tone made him one of the finest poets of all times and as a master of simile and metaphors, he is second only to Kalidāsa. His wide vision is evident from his songs. His riddles and occasional songs are equally important. Even when writing Sanskrit or Ava-hattā, he did not forget his sweet mother tongue. Whatever may be his faith or sect, the fact remains that he was a great poet and Mithilā is proud of Vidyāpati. It is in the background of emotions that he succeeds in depicting nature in relation to diverse moods generated by different seasons. So far as his lyrics are concerned, he is yet unsurpassed and in this respect, Mithilā, Bengal, Assam and Orissa are indebted to him. It has been rightly held—“Seven cities might have contended for the honour of the birth place of Homer but with the exception of the poet, Vidyāpati, I can recall no other name of a poet claimed as their own by two peoples speaking two different languages”—(quoted in Harinandan Thākur ‘Saroja’—Mahākavi Vidyāpati—P. 55).

From the point of view of literary achievements, the age of Vidyāpati is, by far, the most important. Apart from the contributions that Vidyāpati personally made towards the development of Maithili language and literature, there were other important writers and poets in Mithilā whose contributions were no less important. The trouble, in these cases, is as usual. Their collections are either unknown or have not yet
been discovered. Whatever information we get is sketchy and sometimes doubtful. I propose to give a brief sketch of these writers in the following lines.

(i) Amṛtakara—

He was not only a contemporary of Vidyāpati but his fast friend. He was the minister of Sivasisimha and was a direct descendant of Śrīdharadasa, the renowned author of Saduktikarṇāmṛta. In some of his poems he is called अभिमुखकर and in some अभिमकर. Like Vidyāpati, he was also a lyricist. So far as the two names are concerned, the Panji records give us the same two names both in the Balain and Biarasain families. Our own ancestor’s list gives us the name of Amṛtakara. Since they were contemporaries, I believe that these two names have been confused with the one and the same man. Both the families were associated with the kingdom of Mithilā since its inception in 1097 and both the families had acquired important status in the court. The known poems, ascribed to Amṛtakara or Amiyakara, are very few. Vidyāpati pays glowing tributes to Amiakara in the following lines 102—

नीति निसुष गुणान्ध अंक मे अविशय आगर।
कोष काल्य भयकरण अधिक अधिकारक सागर।
सबकर कर सम्मान सबहु सै नेह बड़विन।
विगदान अतिदुःख सबहुकों विपति छोड़विन।
कार्यस्थ माँह सुरसिद्ध भट चन्द्र तुषारिव शाशिवर।
किविकटहार कठ चबर अभिय वस्तुत अभिमकर।

In the Visuddha Vidyāpati Padāvali of S. N. Thakur, we have the following lines of Amṛtakara—

102. N. N. Das—op. cit. Introduction. Chanda Jha also gives an account of this man—Appendix to his edition of the PP. For the views of Dr. B. B. Majumdar Cf. JBORS—XXVII. P. 410; Vidyāpati (Introduction). I have only recently acquired six volumes of Palm-leaf Panjis of the Karanā-Kāyasthas of Mithilā and results of investigation would clear some of the mists surrounding the notable Karanā-Kāyastha families. Till the Panjis are extensively and intensively studied, confusion is bound to persist and we have to wait for a correct appraisal. In this work of mine, I am being helped by a dedicated worker named Śrī Benode Bihari Varma to whom goes the credit of discovering these six volumes of palm-leaf Panjis.
CHAPTER V

No. 68—सूनि मनमय सरसाते समयत पठावह अभोवह आते।
बचहुँ नहीं निरवाहें जनि कोमों तथा फलाम सताहे।
इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति।

No. 82—आनन विवेक सरोवरे देशि कैसन हो भान।
नागर कोन्हन वरे ममि माणि कर मयुजार।
तोर नयन भलि नोलुरे हेरते नर हे होमक।
केसर कुमार कपाल तकरे अभर खापकर मनद।
जे न बुझाव वह से मभाठे, जे बुझ तालली मनद।
हर अगर जसुआविशे, कहाँ दुई परिसार।
कुछुंग चकोर बजाभोरे, मनने महलि आन पास।
सुकल्लि अंगूठ करे माओहरे पुहा नव पियामान।
मुमिलि देवि समयत पुरस काना।

MM—P. 607 & S. Jha—Appendix Nos. 9-10—

Lochana RT—PP. 84-85

वेदिति कमारि दृढ़ वर नागर पानि पोहरे आपि।
कनक समु जनु पूजि पुजारें चन्द्र सौरों ह्यापि।
संह दे मालि कैरि निलासे।
मालालि रामलि तितायलि बहो।
पुनि प्रति रक्ष कारे।
वदन मैरापै चा० मुलमण्डल कामे मिलिज अपि चन्द्र।
Thus it appears that Vidyāpati mention Amiakara and the above two poems are by Amiakara. To me it seems that Amṛṭakara and Amiakara were two different persons though they seem to have flourished in the same age and were the contemporaries of Vidyāpati. For the present we can not accept Dr. Miśra’s contention that Amṛṭakara, Amiakara or Amiakara are one and the same person. Unless further evidence is forth coming, it is desirable to leave the matter. A critical study of the Kāyastha Panji may give us some clue regarding the identification of these two names. They possibly belonged to the Balain and Biarasain Mūla and were contem- porary. The similarity, though the difference is also apparent, of names is responsible for such hasty conclusions by the author.

Vidyāpati has complimented Amiakara as a person, well versed in politics and poetics, of philanthropic disposition. He was a source of perpetual relief to the poor and the needy. He is described as a moon among the Kāyasthas and a re- pository of nectar. His greatness as a poet, musician, gram- manian and lexicographer is attested to by Vidyāpati. It is wrong to call him an imitator of Vidyāpati who pays him tribute in such high sounding words. Vidyāpati was proud of his company at the Oinwāra court. Amṛṭakara wrote from the time of Śivasimha to that of Bhairavasimhadeva. His poems are available only in quotations. Amṛṭakara and Amiakara were two different persons.

(ii) Chandrakalā—

Lochan in his RT (54) quotes a poem by Chandrakalā, daughter-in-law of Vidyāpati. The poem has been cited as an illustration of Prākritā Rāgini—few lines are given below—

\[\text{श्यामा स्वरंगिते अति समय गीत हृद्योगिते} \]
\[\text{बासलदान समान मुद्दरे भार वैभि बिश्रवये} \]
\[\text{सिक्षि मुद्दरे ममह्यवम, अवर द्वा मयुगान मियम्} \]

103. *HML*—I. 198 f.n.
In the extant poem, Chandrakala illustrates pritikari-rāgini. In those days bilingualism was a common feature in literary compositions in Mithilā. The identification of Chandrakala has been questioned by Kanchinath Jha’ ‘Kiran’ who has in recent years discovered a number of unknown poems of Vidyāpati and his contemporaries. Vedanāth Jha has also corrected and published some of the unpublished songs of Vidyāpati and his contemporaries.

(iii) Harapati—He was the son of Vidyāpati. Dr. U. Misra in his Vidyāpati Thakur. (3rd edition, 1960) has quoted the following lines from Harapati, who is also said to have been a scholar of Jyotiṣa (PP. 57-60).

Only recently some of his poems, hitherto unknown, have been bought to light by Śrī Vedanātha Jha of Nāhar (Darbhanga). Like his father Harapati was a poet of love and beauty.

Two more poems have been quoted there.

(iv) Bhānu Kavi—We do not know much about this man except that he was a contemporary of Chandrasimha (C. 15th century A. D.). He is also identified with Bhanukara Kavi of Sanskrit anthologies. His Maithili poem is known to us from the Nepal collection.

104. Ibid—199. He has in his possession another text of this poem.
105. Krishnamachariar—op. cit. 774; S. K. Dey—Poetries-I. 241; Cf. also Kānc—‘Poetries.’
106. S. Jha—op. cit. appendix.
Gajasimha 107—He was a contemporary of Vidyāpati and flourished in the 15th century. His poems are also preserved in Lochana (RT—58–59, 68 and 72).

RT—P. 58—विसर्जनारे तैसन सिमेड़ा पितः मोरे।
की परदेश भरं रहिल पिया पर वस।
बाबाबे ओरे अनुमित निमित आँचल।
की निरदेश पुरुष जाति केर विरद।
पिष्च सखी ओरे मलिकर नित बुझावित।
की हम ओरे जीवलाव पिसा मोर जीवां।
युनमय ओरे थीर कुमर सिनिर गजरिदः।
की रस जाने युनमय कवि गजरिदः माने।

P. 68—मनकर गरल गरासिव पाप आतम वर्ष रे।
जीवन काम मरन सन मरन सोहांनेरे।
गजरिदः दुःख छाडित सुमातिर्विरही जन रे।
नुप पुश्योतम सतिह रहू तेंह दरायें मिदुरे।

P. 72—दुगल शैलकोष्ठ विसर्जन देखिल एक कयलक दुःख जोति रे।
फूलल मुनिरु पुलिसिंदुरे कुडांक पौर्ति बैंसिडः गम्बमोति रे।
आज देखिल जले के पर्वतावर्त अपर्रव विन मिरमान रे।
विपरित कयलक कदकि तरे शोभित वनपुस्थक के रूप रे।
गजरिदः मन एव पुरुष गुपांत शैसित मजः रसरकत रे।
दुगल सकल गरस नूप पुश्योतम अत्यासित देश केरकत रे।

We have no definite information about him. In the Tarauni Palm Leaf MSS (No. 418), we have one Hūsinideipati Gajasimhadeva. Whether he was the same as Gajasimha,

107. [Patna University Journal—No. 2. PP. 15–17.]
the poet, we can not definitely say in the present state of our knowledge. Since Prince Puruṣottama was the son of Bhai- ravasimha, Gajasimha can be placed in the 15th century.

(vi) Rudradhara—The famous Nibandhakāra of Mithilā was also a poet of the Maithili language and one of his poems are preserved in the Nepal MSS—

(vii) Bihari Miśra—Nothing definite is known about him except that he mentions Agamadāna.

(viii) Dośavadhāna—Contemporary of Vidyāpati. His poems are collected in Lochana (RT-P. 86).

(ix) Viṣṇupuri 108—He is one of the foremost Vaśnav singers of Mithilā. He flourished in the 15th century and before being a Sanyāsi, his original name was Ramāpati. One of his songs is collected in the Nepal MSS—

Viṣṇupuri is one of the most important composers of Maithili songs of mediaval period after Vidyapati. The favourite theme was the love of Rādhākrṣṇa. He represented the scholastic side. His original name was Ramapati. His works were immediately translated into Bengali and he was taken to be a Bengali for a pretty long time. Some of his extant poems bear Viṣṇupuri as his bhanita.

Other known poets, about whose authenticity we know very little, included (x) Yasodhara Nava Kaviśekhara (RT-67), (xi) Kaviśekhara \textsuperscript{109}; (xii) Rāja Pandita \textsuperscript{110}; (xiii) Chatura Chaturbhujā; whose extant poems hame been recently published by Shailendra Mohan Jha; (xiv) Madhusudana (RT-102) and (xv) Jivanātha (RT-112); (xvi) Lakṣmināraṇya (RT-65); (xvii) Gopinātha; (xviii) Viranāraṇya; (xix) Dhireśwara (S. Jha—appendix-No. 15); (xx) Bhismakavi (RT—PP. 43, 58) and (xxi) Gaṅgādhara (RT-70). Some of these poets were associated with court of the king of Moraṅga, where Maithili was the official language. \textsuperscript{111} The most important writer in the series was the last king of the Oinwāra dynasty (xxii) Lakṣminātha Kaṁśanāraṇya. He is believed to have been one of the most popular poets of Mithilā. \textsuperscript{112} One of the various collections, discovered so far, refers to Kaṁśanāraṇya Padāvali which refers to him as Lakṣmināthanaresa. The ruler seems to have been a poet himself. He had the Viruda Kaṁśanāraṇya. Some of his poems are available in the Nepāl MSS—

\textsuperscript{109} JBORS—XXVIII. 422.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid—P. 408, f.n.
\textsuperscript{111} Cf. Subhakaraṇānaśaya by Murari Miśra gives a genealogy of the Moranga Kings of Nepal—Vide, Jayaswal—Cat. of Mithila MSS. I. PP. 450–51; Niz—Lakṣmināraṇya, Rūpanāraṇya, Viranāraṇya, Naranāraṇya, Jagarāraṇya, Trivikramanāraṇya. Maithili appears to have been patronised by the rulers of Morang (Nepal). Murari’s work is also published from Benaras.
\textsuperscript{112} JGJRI—II. 403.
CHAPTER V

1—माथ्वनों वेति दुरः हुर सेवा।

din vas घरवव कर दुरःहर्दन हमे तपावव बाहिरे। भुवं।
कः फुस्मम वेति गहुन रहने हठ जन वर्ज़ात मुरार।
तुभ बहुदव चहे के पारत हमे बौमल ततु नार।
आश्वति इतवैनों करवः माथ्वव तयो ( न ) आश्वत मोरी।
कः वर्ज़ि बहरी वपःगे न आश्वत यहेकी फ़ल पयःवः होह।
परिवर्ति आश्वत चिंचन वपःगेह आश्वत अनुवदि देवा।
कः मोरी नारूण मन युत दुरःहर्दन कलियुग निते मोरी सेवा।

2—परर पल्लि विनवाहो नास्तारे अति अनुविषत पल्लि।

जनु विघोरवः नेवारे जीवन जीवन रोल। भुवं।
पल्लि गुण निधि तोरे गुण रसिष्या जीवे करह बह सार।
पुललः उतर न आपवः अवसन कःगे मोर। मनु।
कि तुष मन लागरारे किंचे कःतक पचवान।
कः कति श्रृंग तोरा रे दिको इवद नष्ठ तोह।
कः नारायण भाविहा रे मिरम मा नष्ठ मोह।

3—कः रनि समेंग बढावो नष्ठ अविनिषत जागी।

मल कः कपट भक्तो हमोहविष्णु हम अबवा वप हागी। भुवं।
मोरे बोके बोलव शुभुव महरी परिहरि मने काज।
सही अधि जीवन धन तुस यही विसर नाह।
शेलिसु धनक कःतक सम जीवन गेतिदेह ब्रह्म।
पिया विसरन तह सबे लः कःत विरभर नेव मन।
कः नारायण नृत्य लोरम देयि रमान।

4—परिजन करवः वेर्ही युत देव रोअध भर निहार।

कोमन कः पुर परिहरि माघुर कःको दिन आश्वत हुरार।
कः कर कम दह के सुमहावोत कःकन इवद पिय तोर।
पिया विसरः नेव अवसन भेल देः कःत कम समव संतार।
कः कःक मंट मन आयु कः आश्वत पातस पप।
कः नृत्य मन पैलर वर कर मन पूरत सबे तुष आस।

5 ( RT-P. 97 )—

साए साए पिवाये कह बिहात।
हाभो वसत रितु भोगि गमावयु पर एक मःक नष्ठ रोह।
पनानवगि रस परसे काळविस हुसाह निनश पिनादे।

33 M. V.
Lakṣminātha Kaṁśanārāyaṇa was the last of the Oinwāras and was one of the greatest patrons of Maithili literature after Śivasiṁha. Himself a poet of repute, he patronised poets and scholars. The Bhagirathpur inscription contains an eulogy of the last great king of the Oinwaras. In one of his poems, Kaṁśanārāyaṇa sings of Nasratashah of Bengal. Under Kaṁśanārāyaṇa, there was a brilliant revival of the lyrical tradition. The age was as glorious as that of Vidyāpati since a good number of lyrical poets found shelter under his hospitable roof.

Govinda occupied the same place in his court as did Vidyāpati in the court of Śivasiṁha. From a study of the Kāyastha Panjī, it appears that Govinda was a Kāyastha. Like Vidyāpati, Govindaḍāsa was associated with the court of Bhairavasiṁha, Rāmabhadra and Lakṣminātha Kaṁśanārāyaṇa. He was a brilliant poet whose imageries are marvellous and metaphors remarkable. He is the master of racy language, lucid style and sweet songs. He was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and his command over the language was unique. His expressions in superb
lyrical language are lucid. Maithili literature till the time of Govindadāsa continued to be dominated by the spirit of Vidyāpati.

(i) गोविन्ददास इतिहास जनवराश हरिनारायण देवा
(ii) राजा नरसिंह रूपनारायण गोविन्ददास अनुमान।
(iii) गोविन्ददास मन रसिक रसावन, रसवित भूमित रूपनारायण
(iv) दास गोविन्द मन रूपनारायण सोरमदेवि समाज।

He also visited the court Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore. His name and fame spread from Bengal to the land of Braja. He was also taken to be a Bengali his the beginning but it was N. N. Gupta who first described him as a Maithila. 112(a)

7 (RT—101—102)—

अग्नि कंगार गारि मृग मदरस कदमनु खेपन देह।
चक्षु तिमिर भिथि भिथिकै अक्ष नेषि काचक सनि मसि रेह।
हे मात्र देहात हरिक धन चान वल्ल जान महितलेन मेषि कालह।
घर पुराजन हेरी पठिरि कलवेरि सस्तिम फरमसह।
तु अयुग मन कहिनि निधिम सहिन्दरि हेज पुरुषित विसवास।
ते पीर परशाय वि पुषु पाविन फरवन विवु परवास।
वार्ण बान मंत मदन महामान पिनि सफलत कह भाज।
दास गोविन्द मन कल्न नारायण सोरम देवि समाज।

Nos. 6 and 7—have been characterised as the poems of Govindadāsa—by Dr. B. B. Mazumdar (MM—P. 618).

Out of the five others, he gives only one which is common with the above list and he adds one more (MM—P. 617), the text of which is given below—

लन सुकुमार पपोषर गोरा, कलक सता अनि सिरिफळ बोरा।
देखि कमङ मुखी वरणि न जाह, मन भोर हरकम मदन बवाघ।
मौला धनुष चलस तबु आयु तोष कदव वदन शर भाय।
सव तर सुनिश ऐसन पवित्रारा, मारिक नागर चव गमार।
कल्न नारायण कौतुक गाने पुनवतपुरावत गल्लति भावे।

The above quotation would go to show that Kaṃśanārayana was a reputed poet of Mithilā and his contributions to the


Dr. B. B. Mazumdar has also published a book on 'Govindadāsa'.
growth of Maithili language seem to have been great. The publication of Kaṁśanārāyaṇa Padāvali would enable us to present a critical evaluation of this poet, who has been otherwise confused with others. Dr. J. K. Miśra does not mention the RT collections of Kaṁśanārāyaṇa ( HML I. PP. 218–219 ) and does not equate Lakṣminātha with Kaṁśanārāyaṇa. He treats Kaṁśanārāyaṇa separately and there he mentions the RT collections ( P. 220 ). Dr. Miśra rightly calls him the greatest patron of Maithili literature after Śivasiṁha. To me it seems that both Lakṣminātha and Kaṁśanārāyaṇa were one and the same person, just as Kaṁśanāpati is a short variant of his Viruda. He was a contemporary of Nasrat Shah who ultimately destroyed the kingdom of Tirhut in the second quarter of the 16th century A. D. 113 He was the last independent Oinwāra king. The Maithili lyrical poets found in him a great supporter. Kaṁśanārāyaṇa also refers to Nasrata Shah. Poets like ( xxiii ) Govinda, ( xxiv ) Kaśīnātha, ( xxv ) Rāmanātha and ( xxvi ) Śrīdhara thronged his court. Dr. Misra has given reference to a number of poems by Govinda 114 in Kaṁśanārāyaṇa Padāvali ( Ibid- P. 221; KNP Nos. 72, 99, 146, 136, 55, 57, 79; 107, 121; also RT 101, 102 ). Thus it appears that the literary activities in Mithilā continued unabated till the reign of Kaṁśanārāyaṇa, who was himself a poet of no less eminence. Other contemporary poets were Rājapandita, Kaviratana, Npramalladeva, Prthvichanda, Chandrasimha, Dhireśvara and others. Their songs are collected in the appendix of Dr. S. Jha’s Songs of Vidyāpati.

As we have seen above, the use of vernacular words in Mithilā begins early and the Maithila scholars, though well versed in Sanskrit, did not ignore their mother tongue. Rucipati, a contemporary of Bhairava Siṁha, in his commentary on the Anargharāghava of Murāri has used a number


114. HML—221 ff.; For the latest work on Vidyāpati, Cf.—Niranjan Chakravarti—Vidyāpati Samikṣa ( in Bengali ), Calcutta 1970.
of Maithili words to explain Sanskrit and Prākrit words—e.g. भौतिक, आण्वक, धत, नेभा, उज्जोगी, करन्द्रा (कहन्द्रा), मंगल, नरव, ब्राह्मण, कामति, कतरनी, करौतिक, कुक्कड, गम्हर, बहुतरों, टोल, फूलक, गोरी, विख्यात, पुतलों, वीण, वींर, नन्दरा, आह्मान, पुतलों, वाप, विख्यात, वहलों, सौकर, सुभासिन हस्यदि. Jagaddhar, another writer of the 15th century A.D., in his commentaries on the Mulatindhava and Venisamhara, has used the following Maithili words—सार्तुल, नेश, गम्हर, पेप्पर, कंकारी, पेना, हुण्डा, गोड, बोहित, ओरा, कोआ, रवीदि—(Cf. JBORS XIV–PP. 266–273). Vācaspati, another writer of the 15th century A. D., has used Maithili words in the V. C.—e.g. ओराक (ओरारी P. 97); गोदुलदल (P. 99), कोट्यार−कोट्याल (P. 147); शाक (P. 157), हुभुबुर (P. 165); बेंगी or बेंजी (P. 108); वण्ठनीय for बेडन; रसी for रसक; काटमय माघ for ताम−पैठी; बड़ना for दसी; शहन्दी for नापित and बाहर for उपार etc. Vidyāpati in his Dana−vākyāvali has also used vernacular terms—e.g. राहि (P. 112), सारी (P. 113), बीजपुर (P. 196); भार (P. 152) and व्याशय etc. (P. 153). All these are indicative of the fact that the Maithila scholars, beginning from Vṛddha Vācaspati down to our period, did not neglect the study of the Maithili language. The perfection of the literary style, attained as early as the 13th–14th centuries A. D., amply illustrates the fact that the cultivation of this language as a medium of literary expression was going on for a long time. Rahulji, in his Hindi Kavyadhirā, has also given a list of Maithili words and that strengthens our point of view—e.g. ( i ) बदमिर ( P. 6 (in the poem of Saraha) ( ii ) धरणी P. 12 Do. ( iii ) अन्धिय (modern−अन्धिय) P. 16 Do. ( iv ) मौँड़िल ( "−मौँड़िल) P. 20 (Śabarapā) ( v ) अहंकर ( "−अहंकर ) P. 18 (Sarah) ( vi ) खाट P. 20 (Śabarapā) ( vii ) " ( viii ) तिम्मि (modern−तिम्मि ) P. 54, 98 (Svayaṁbhū) ( ix ) पोटाक ( "−पोटाक ) P. 64 " ( x ) अहदङ्गि ( "−अहदङ्गि ) ( xi ) घा P. 68− Do. ( xii ) अप्नान ( "−अप्नान ) P. 132 (Bhūsukapā) ( xiii ) महकि ( "−महकि ) P. 134 Do.
These few words have been collected here just to show the antiquity of literary use of Maithili and they are spread over centuries. The age of Vidyāpati left an indelible mark on the history of Maithili literature. The rulers were very much interested in the cultivation of art and literature and some of them like Nānyadeva, Harisimhadeva, Sivasiṃha, Viśvasdevi, Kaṃsānārāyaṇa and others were themselves great in the field of art and learning. The passing away of the Oinwāra dynasty marked the decline of the literary activities. On the whole it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that the age of Vidyāpati signified a high watermark in the tradition of literary activity.

As in the field of prose and poetry so in the field of drama, Mithila's contribution, during our period, is unique. In our *resume* on the Sanskrit drama in Mithilā, *Kirtaniya drama* we have already given some description of the characteristic features of the Maithili stage. The reference to dancing and acting is there in the *PP* of Vidyāpati and the *VR*. Both Jyotirīswara and Vidyāpati were the pioneers in the field of Maithili drama. Grierson wrongly attributed *Pārījātaharana* and *Rukminiharana* to
Vidyāpati. Umāpati's *Pārijātaharana* contains a good number of Maithili songs, specimens of which have been cited above. *Nalacharitanāṭaka* of Govinda (C. 15th–16th century A.D.) is an important specimen of the *Kirtaniya* drama in Mithilā. The drama deals with Nala's exile and, as usual, the dialogues are in Sanskrit and Prākrit and the songs are in Maithili. Some of his songs, as quoted in *HML* (I. 295–96), are as follows—

(i) अपद सकल संपद पढ़ हारक न मानक कोन्हु सिखेषि।
परिहरि परिजन गमन कपड़े वन दाहन दैव विरोधि।
× × ×

(ii) आयक शैष्ठ वसुधानाथ, चान्द्रवदन दमयन्ति साय।
सक बलव माह कुक्तलहार, जन मुनि सुरपति अबतार।

The origin of *Kirtaniya* drama is associated with the worship of Viṣṇu but its use seems to have been very popular in the 14th century A.D. Now there is no available source to present a critical study of the *Kirtaniya* stage except the few dramas that are available. The drama had certain spiritual fervour and its greatest point was its popularity among all sections of the people of Mithilā. The Sūtradhāra played an important part in the drama and the dramatists had options to select a wide range of subjects. *Māna, Nachari* and *Tirhuti* songs were generally sung. The choice of subjects can be gleaned through the titles of the play like *Pārijātaharana, Gorakṣavijaya, Uśāharana, Nalacharita, Gauri śwayambara* etc. Umāpati (C. 14th century A.D.) may be taken as the founder of the *Kirtaniya* drama. These performances were always held in praise of the Lord or Almighty, no matter whatever name we give Him. The performances were held in the night. Maithilā dress was used. The *Nāradiya*

115. *LSI*-V. II. P. 17.

116. Sri N. N. Das has given me information about this MSS. The work refers to one Yśdava Rai as his patron.

117. Narendranātha Das says—"नायक ‘जामा’ ‘नीमा’ देवामा पद्मिरि पुकारा बालिह चहरि औदि साठा गाम माथ पर राखि कुलहन्ता हाय में कप साचारण मुक्त टॉगं कप बनाओं रंगमंच पर नान्दी पाठक के पक्षाव 'अलम विस्तरण' कहैत प्रवेश करैं छाहे।"
form of Musical Kirtana was prevalent and the actors were thoroughly trained before being presented to the audience. In Umāpati, we see that characterisation is of a developed kind and is intimately linked with the plot of the play. Nārada plays a prominent part. There is an element of suspense in the play and humour predominates. The foundation of the Kirtaniya drama was, no doubt, laid during our period. It was a short of poetic drama. 118

During our period, the cultural relation between Mithilā and Nepal was very intimate. The sweet lyrics of Mithilā were equally popular in Nepal and we see that some important Nepali rulers and writers have composed fine lyrics in Maithili. Sinha Nṛpati was one of the famous Maithili poets of Nepal. The RT (P. 74–75) contains one of his poems—

**Sīnha Bhupati (Sīnha Nṛpati)—**

सब्दू सिन्हा परशुभि कामिनी आनि देवि देवी पास।
अनि बौद्धिक व्यवहार विपिन सभो मुगैन्याते तौँ बिलसात।
सैलब अजन समीप खळ्बूना नवनेवल श्रुत होईँ न होई।
रूढानाय नेवल देशीदेश देव मनमय फोई।
सफळ गात दुःख दुःख अर्थ कल्प नहीं अवकाश।
पानी परसे परान परिव्राज पुरात कीर्तित आश।
विवेक विम्व्य गठन कदुल अन्यतृ अपवित नितथ।
वठन काम करोर कामिनी मान नहीं परबौध।
कल की परकाय आवे हवै फिकलुम पर अबाह्र।
काये कौस्तो देवः नाहिं दुःख दुःख दृश्य हारै।
दिस नारी गमाए मात्र तलात रति समवृत।
वन्धुः का वज्ज होई बैराज लिखे भूष्णि मान।

118. *HML*-1, 359—"The Kirtaniya drama of Mithilā is one of the glorious achievements of Maithili literature. It simplified the Vidyāpati tradition of writing poems. It contributed to the growth of long narrative poems in Maithili, it kept generations of Maithili writers engaged in a profitable task and finally it contributed to the popularity and development of Maithili Language and literature during the centuries." Also of-J. K. Mishra 'कौरिनिया नात्रक';
He is believed to have been a ruler of Nepal. His poems bear the bhanttas of Nṛpasiṃha, Narasiṃha and Siddhi Narasiṃha etc. Shailendra Mohan Jha has published some of his poems.

RT (PP. 73–74)—has one song of Nṛpa Siṃha—

In the Nepal MSS, we have one poem of Nṛpamalladeva, possibly a ruler of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. It is futile to identify him with any king of Mithilā. The song is given in appendix No. 8 in Subhadra Jha’s collection—

Maithili lyrics are also found in large numbers in the Maithili dramas of Nepal. Even in Sanskrit Dramas, Maithili lyrics were introduced. Vidyāpati seems to have inspired the lyricists of Nepal. Nepal was, geographically speaking, the safest ground for the cultivation of literary and artistic works. Scholars from all over India had flocked to Nepal and even when the people of Tirhut experienced the political shock, they migrated to Nepal for safety. Keith has pointed out that the dramatists took refuge in those area where Muslim power was slowest to extend. 119 The vernacular was coming into prominence. Sanskrit and Prākrit had begun to be unintelligible and the dramatist had realised this truth. There

was no dearth of plot in Indian Mythology and the themes varied from one source to the other. The stage was rejuvenated and simplified and the introduction of the folk element led to the further popularisation of the dramatic art in Mithilā and Nepal. Music and dancing were already there. More or less it was the musical entertainment that marked the play. The old emphasis of the Sanskrit dramatist on poetic beauty, complexity of action and psychological development of character had been a thing of the past. We have seen that the Kirtaniya drama in Mithilā was composed of men and women characters, persons of all sorts, literate or illiterate and of all castes. The common folk took active part in these performances. The popular character of the drama was further enlivened by the introduction of vernacular language and the Maithila dramatists carried them far to the land of Nepal.

Vidyāpati's art of writing popular dramas was so keenly followed by the dramatists of Nepal that vernacular plays came to be written over there in large numbers. Eminent Maithila Panditas were invited to the court of Nepal. Even the Paddhatis were prepared by Maithila Panditas in Nepal. Jayashitimala (C. 1380-1394) is said to have invited Kirtinātha Upādhyāya, Mahinātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, Raghunātha Jha and others to codify social and religious laws in Nepal. According to Jayaswal, a host of other scholars continued to be invited to Nepal. Even without invitation, Maithila scholars, in large numbers, took shelter in Nepal and helped the growth of Maithili language, culture and customs over there. They carried with them the sweet lyrics of Vidyāpati and other Maithila poets. Over and above, the musical attainments of Mithilā had already attracted the notice of the Nepalese people. During our period, there was hardly any difference between Maithili and Nepali and the former

120. Cat. of Mithila MSS—II. PP. 2, 47, 63 etc. also introduction. Varṇasamani Jha, Kṛṣṇadatta Jha, Śakti Ballabha, Bhāna Jha etc. thronged the court of Nepal and influenced her cultural activities.
was, to all intents and purposes, the linguafranca of a major portion of Nepal. The royal patronage to Maithili was a factor to be reckoned with and according to Dr. P. C. Bagchi it had practically attained the status of a court language. 121

According to Dr. H. P. Sastri, it was Jayasthitimala who introduced the dramatic literature from Mithila. 122 He is said to have introduced the Dipakarūga which was played on instrumental music at the royal burials. It was during his reign that four-act Rāmāyana was written and possibly staged. We have already discussed the importance of another drama, named Bhairavānandanātaka by Mañika. It is said that the drama was staged on the auspicious occasion of the marriage ceremony of Dharmamalla, son of Jayasthitī. 123 Due to the uncertainty in political life of Nepal after Jayasthitī, the cultural movement had a set back. Yakṣamalla was a ruler of some importance and after him the kingdom seems to have been divided into three parts—occupied by the three sons of Yakṣamalla. Raimalla ruled at Bhāṭgaon, Rāmamalla at Banepā and Ratnamalla at Katmandu. The Malla period of Nepal, though disturbed politically, is important in so far as the cultural activity is concerned. The Mallas were closely associated with the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā, 124 who had gone to Nepal after 1324 A. D. With the Karṇāṭas, cultural tradition of Mithilā had also entered Nepal. Kumar Ganga-nanda Simha in his brilliant review of the dramatic art and literature of Mithila and Nepal has rightly observed—‘......we get a very favourable impression of the court of Nepal as a place for the encouragement of literature, music and art......

121. Cf. Vaṅgiya Sahitya Parīsad Patrika (Bangābdā-1336) PP. 171-72—मिशिक्कार राजसमा तस्कू विखापती सप्तौस सुखरित हष्टेथ। पद संगीतां मे कहे नेपाल गिये पौचिये तत्ते अर श्रायर कि ’...... नेपालेर मार्दीन बंधेठे ओ प्रभाव समप्म व्यक्तिेर शिशार मारा ढिरे मैथिकी कारण ताँदेर अनेकौसे मिथिका थेरे गिये छिलेरे’......
122. Sāstri—Nepal Cat. XXXVII. ff.
123. Ibid.
124. Cf. My article—‘मिथिका ओ नेपाल’ in the Vaidhe incorporating 1960. Necessary references are given there.
the language of these popular plays denotes the remarkable fact that Maithili had then become the literary language of Nepal.”

Even when the Sanskrit texture was gone, the framework continued to be the same though the new technique and the vernacular language now dominated the scene. Jayarmadatta of Banepā (C. 1496 A. D.) composed a drama called Pāndava Vijaya or the Sabhāparvanāṭaka. He was possibly a contemporary of Vidyāpati. The court of Katmandū was the centre of Maithili scholars among whom Vaṁśamani Jha was the foremost. Jagajyottirmalla’s Muditakuvālayāśva is very important even from the historical point of view as it contains a good deal of information regarding the history of Nepal and Mithilā. The first Maithili drama, entitled Vidya-vilāpa, by Viśvamalla, was written at Bhatgaon in the first quarter of the 16th century A. D. The Nepali Maithili drama, based on the Sanskrit tradition, was thoroughly influenced by the Mithilā school of Music. The contributions, in this respect, of the Malla rulers of Nepal are outstanding and the Maithili dramas continued to be written with vigour and enthusiasm till the close of the 18th century A. D.

Since the days of Caṅḍeśvara, Maithila Nibandhakāras were invited to frame laws and rules and the contact between the two countries became close and intimate. Maithila scholars gained access to the court. The smaller Zemindars on the Indo-Nepalese borders also patronised literary and cultural activity. Nepali scholars imitated Maithili in their own compositions. Vidyāpati was a great force in Nepal. The Malla kings employed musicians to set his songs to music. Vidyāpati had a host of successors in Nepal. Many Maithila

125. Cf. JASB (N. S.) XVIII (1922) P. 253 ff; XX. P. 73 ff;
Also Cf. P. C. Bagchi—Nepali Bhāṣanāṭaka in the Vangliya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrika of B. S. 1336; Nani Gopal Nepali Bhāṣa Nāṭaka;
Also Dr. U. Miśra’s article on the same topic in the Hindustānī (1935).

126. He was the author of Maithili Dramas—गौतमदिग्म्बर and मुद्रितमशक्स्मा।
musicians and poets were invited and appointed. Simhabhupāla or Bhupālasimha (author of Sangitaratnākara and Rasārnavaśudhākara) is believed to be earliest Maithili writer of Nepal. He is sometimes confused with Siddhi Narasimha of Patan whose poems are collected in the RT. He was a great poet and dramatist and is believed to have been a descendant of Harisimhadeva. Maithili acquired the status of a dignified language at Bhatgaon, Patan and Katmandu.

The rise of Maithili in the age of Vidyāpati influenced the course of literary movements of the whole of eastern India and its influence on the Assamese was more pronounced and marked. The relation between Assam and Mithilā in the middle ages was very intimate and cordial. The Bengal Vaiṣṇava preachers had popularised Maithili through their songs and the message of Vidyāpati was carried to Orissa and Assam by these Vaiṣṇava teachers, Mr. B. K. Barua in his Assamese Literature has shown that Śaṁkarađeva was responsible for the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam. He further suggests that he was influenced by the Maithili language (P. 21). The Assamese dramatists also used Maithili as their medium.127 Barua says—“......a common language was formed at mithilā, the great centre of this neo-Viṣṇavism. Maithili.........soon became the language of a definite literature. Through his emotional and lyrical songs, Vidyāpati made the language an eminently suitable and exclusive vehicle of expression for the Vaiṣṇava poets of his time......Scholars from Kāmarupa also visited Mithilā and learnt the language.”128 Śaṁkarađeva is credited with having written a number of dramas in Maithili. He also wrote a drama, Pārijātaharmaṇa. His story is different from that of Umāpati. Śaṁkara’s play is in Maithili.129 His chief disciple, Mādhavānanda, also wrote in Maithili. He

129. Ibid—PP. 15 ff—नाटक कक्षियादवम्, रामचित्रम, कक्षिमणिहरण, केशिन-गोपाल, पल्लो पस्ताद—are his important dramas.
was greatly influenced by the Tirahuti Vaiṣṇava saint, Viṣṇupuri and translated his work Bhaktiratnāvali. He also wrote a number of dramas in Maithili. All these dramas are associated with the Vaiṣṇava thought and movement and deal, mainly, with lord Kṛṣṇa. The next important writer in Maithili was Gopāladeva. One of the disciples of Saṅkara-deva is said to have written Śyāmantaharona. It should be noted here that in these Assamiya dramas, we have not the pure Maithili of Vidyāpati but only a mixed from of Maithili and Assamese of which Saṅkara-deva was the greatest founder. One of the main features of the Assamese Anklānatas is the use of long prose passages, a fact which is practically absent in the Kirtaniyā dramas of Mithilā and the Maithili dramas of Nepal. Since the dramas in Assam were written purely with religious fervour and motive, we find therein different scales of emotions and solemnity aroused. The main aim is to inspire the audience with similar Bhakti.

IV

Conclusion—

The age of Vidyāpati left an indelible mark on the history of Mithilā. Mithilā was the centre of orthodoxy and in the field of Nyāya and Dharmaśāstra, she made her name all the world over. Being comparatively free from the then political upheavels she could afford to give protection to a large number of scholars from all over the country and could also devote much of her time in the pursuit of learning. The patronage of the local rulers to various branches of learning and culture stimulated and accentuated the growth of Sanskritic studies with renewed vigour. A study of the history of Mithilā, during the period, has an important bearing for an adequate understanding of the life and culture of the people of Mithilā and Bengal. The intellectual renaissance in Mithilā was an important event in the middle ages. In almost all branches of cultural activity, Mithilā made unique contributions. The contemporary court of Mithilā was engrossed in luxurious enjoyment of literature and art and D. C. Sen has frankly admitted that the civilisation of Bengal came from Mithilā at a time when Magadh had ceased to give light. Nānya-
deva’s contribution to dramaturgy is unique in the sense that he introduced much new matter in the treatment of Jatis and Rāgas, not usually found in Bharata. The traditional music of Mithilā largely influenced the music of Nepal and Assam. In the field of lyrics, Mithila had no rival in the age of Vidyāpati. Mithila’s folklore was equally rich in tradition and the folk art had attained perfection. The establishment of Tuljāshrine at Nepal is ascribed to a ruler of Mithilā. ¹³⁰

In the realm of Maithili language, the age was really fortunate. After the decline of the classical languages, Maithili was the first to give vernacular dignity of literary vehicle in the whole of eastern India. The lyrics of Vidyāpati constituted an important landmark in the history of early Maithili literature. He took by storm a large number of his contemporaries. There developed the Brajabuli language as a half way house between Bengali and Maithili and between Assamese and Maithili. The popularity of Vidyāpati’s songs has gradually established him in the imagination of the Bengal and Assam Vaiśṇavas. They consider Vidyāpati as a Mahājana. Vidyāpati overshadows all vernacular singers. His flight of imagination is a brilliant poetic feat and according to Grierson his songs of sensuality and lust are a strange combination of holy and unholy, earthly and heavenly.

The medieval period was the golden age in the literary history of Mithilā since many of the illustrious names in the field of literature, philosophy and Smṛti flourished during this period. Not only Mithilā but the whole of India is rightly proud of these luminaries in different branches of knowledge. From here flowed the eternal light of learning and the place was the much frequented resort of the refugee scholars for centuries. Even when their political sovereignty was a thing of the past, they succeeded in maintaining their cultural tradition to a great extent. The people of Mithilā changed with the time. Caṇḍeśvara proposed that simply by an obligation to pay tribute to an overlord, sovereignty does not cease. Sovereignty can also subsist where overlord-

¹³⁰ JASB (Letters) XVI. P. 186 ff.
ship consists only in demanding regular tribute. His *ratnakaras* have influenced the social system of Mithilā. The sixteen *Samśkāras* of the *Gṛhyasūtras* were reduced to ten during this period. For that purpose various *paddhatīs* (systems) were compiled and they ultimately replaced the *Gṛhyasūtras*. Rigours were imposed on social intercourse among different castes and classes and people were expected to conform to the codes laid down for the purpose. The grip of feudalism was so strong that it was difficult to pronounce any ideal of equality. Vidyāpati made poetry an integral part of life and he drew his imageries from the contemporary system.
APPENDIX-I
अथ विचारतिविरिचितो
विभागसारः
VIBHĀGASĀRA
(an Unpublished Work)
by
VIDYĀPATI
(Being a Treatise on the Law of Inheritance)

Edited with the help of Shri Mahesh Mishra of Awadh Bihari Sanskrit College, Rahimpur, and for some time a colleague of mine at G. D. College, Begusarai.

It is printed here for the first time. The poet compiled this work and thereby secured a place among the Nibandhaka-ras of Mithila. The work is referred to as being of prime importance by all the legal luminaries.
अथ विचारपति विचित्रितो
विभागसारः

॥ नमः गणेशाय ॥

गंगा मेषति समापि प्रथम कवमहो वैप्रथितः असिदः
किन्यािमनिः ३ भूमि: स तु मदुः तथा मैदभागः: प्रामाण्
सिदे कोऽस्वाभी विचित्रितिः विचिनाः सर्वमाह वाचयाणि
पायतां निविनवारी सन्त्य हरिहरिः व्याख्यातं वाराणसारः: ॥ १ ॥
राजी मैदानशिष्ठ आसार्थुतमाना दर्पणार्युणेन:
राजा स्वयं कोन्यार्युणेन विभागसारः विचार्य विचारपतितानोति
॥ २ ॥

अथ विभागः

तत्र नारायः—
विभागोवर्त्य विपच्छय पुनर्वा: ३ प्रकल्पते: दायमाण ईति श्रेयस परिवार्य वरमेव हृदः: ॥
पुरुरुरार्युप्लक्षम् । पूर्वालि सभाक्षियाव विभिन्ताव च स दायः । सवें तु
पूर्वालि सब्जावावशेषादेव । तच्चुष्ठकामामाह महुः—
कर्त्ते पितुः मातृगुप समेत भुवारः समः । मन्त्रेन ३ पौरुषं रीत्वमानी शारसे हि जीवतः: ॥
सर्वभूवेदमन्य पितामहादेवपि पौरुषं पवित्रायोपि । तिरानाविदिकयमपि बिकेशस्यिः: ।

शाक्षः—
अकामे पितारि रिखभानो बुद्धे विपरीतकेचति । बोधिनिरतिः ॥ विकेशस्यिः
विक्षक्षयः।

वैवेधः:
पितृथुपरसे पुस्त विमेवस्यः ३ पितुः । अस्त्राय: हि ममेके निर्धनें पितारि सिद्धते: ॥
निर्धने पातितयाददेपि चिन्ते । तथा च पितुः स्वातन्त्र्यविपयो भवने मृते पितारि
विश्वलीयम् ॥ एवं मातृनमपि पौरुषममस्यैः पक्षेषात्।

नारायः—
पितृथुपरसे पुस्त विमेवस्यः ३ पितुः । मातृद्युतीभरेभें बुद्धिसमन्वयः: ॥
अन्तोमभ्रान्वानवः: । तेन पुस्ताबें बुद्धिता: तदमेव तदस्य ईति सम्बद्यः: ।
केविन्त मातृदें बुद्धिसा समन्वयः।

"जन्याः सांख्यानायनु समस्तेः सहोदरः। ।
मन्त्रेन मातृकृ श्रेयसे भविज्ञान सकायं: ॥९ ॥ ईति
मदुक्तन्त सिक्षानिष्ठानात् । युतियुषुककारिविषाणे विकेशार्डिनयम्। । समस्तथः
भिन्नानात् । पारिजातायुक्तपते सममिति चापाने सहिते पाठः: । तेन नानापि विकेशार्डि
रातीस्यं: । शांकिष्ठिताः । अतः कप्पलेवानो न जीवति पुराय रिख्यं विमेवस्यैः। ॥९॥

१. "सिन्यास्याम मेधस्ति" ईति झुद्धापाठः ।
२. पौरुषं। ३. मन्त्रेन।
४. समस्ते समायः बा। ५. योगिनि पितारितिः।
६. विकेशार्डिनयम्।
७. विमेवस्यः। ८. विमेवस्यः।
९. "पितामहे"चेकीषापाठः।
१०. विमेवस्यः। ११. समायः।
१२. मन्त्रेन।
भाषप स्यान पश्चाद्धिगत तैरणां एव पुनर्ज्ञर्योरस्वातन्त्र्यात्। स्वाभित्त्यापि जीवितं पितारि न पुरुषाः विभाग हस्यं। मनु: ।

ज्ञेष्ठ एव तु गुहियां, पिन्ध्यं धनमशेषत: ।

शेषान्तु समुपप्पोक्तुर्यायीः पितारनतः II शयादि

वाक्यं सहायतेकं पुनरिण स्वामािपि। तदात्।

एवं सहवेदृश्यवां पुरुषवा धमाक्याय। पुरुषवेदृश्यं परमस्तस्मात्ते धुरुक्कृतिस्रूपं।

सूते पितारि तजर्शेऽ पुरुषान्त्रोऽ व्रजस्रोपं। कर्मशीर्ष अनुसिरमार्ग 

हस्यः—

एकपासी वस्तृता पिन्ध्येऽदिविजांनम्। एकं भवित्त्वमानां तदेव स्यात् गुहाः गुहाः।

विभवलज्ञनए साधारणमेऽ सुन्धर्यं विभवलज्ञनः

साधारणं पुष्यमिश्रत:। इति सृतः पिन्धीकिरियम।

पुष्या विभवलज्ञनः बिल्विविशेष नारदः।

मातुस्निःश्रृणिु रक्तसि प्रत्याय भवित्त्वमानुः।

निबुखने बापि रमणे पिताहृत्त्र सङ्गे।

प्रतिरंजितस्तु पितामह: सन्तोऽ भेयो महोऽ महोऽ यज्ञबल्क्यः।

गुढ़े पितामहोऽ पता निबुहो गुढ़े वेल्ये। ततः स्यास्तादान्त्रः स्वामः पितुः गुढ़े भोभो:।

हस्यः:

इत्ये पितामहोपते स्यात मोणे तथा। समामपेशमास्तां ॥ पितुः गुढ़े भोभो:।

अतः पुष्यमालर्यापि विभागः। पितुरुविजितल्यातः। तेन जीवित्त्वपि पितारि विभागः कर्तृ

शक्त्यत हति स्वतिस्तारः। रक्षकर्मः तु नारायणशशिक्षिनः न वा समाधिनः।

विषयः—

पिता केदिर्वविमोदेत रवेच्छया स्यात्मस्यापेशः। अतः समवेदममानो पितुरिच्छः

अपि विभवलज्ञ स्यात्मः। सर्वात स्यात् गुहियात् हति स्वतिस्तारः। स्वाभित्त्वमधम पिन्धोऽत्त्वम्।

गुढ़स्त्रकाण्डेऽ कल्पतरुश्राकारादोऽ स्पद्यः। पुष्योऽवृद्धेऽ पितुरिच्छः वविभागः।

तत्तदात् मनु: ।

प्रेक्षकनु पिता ध्रुवमनवाष्टि यमक्षुपुरवादा। न तदा युधिमेजस्तािहकामः स्यामहित्तमः।

तथा

प्राइमाये हि पितुः ॥ शक्त्या युधिमनिममात् ॥

विभवलज्ञरदिना प्रासं तत्र स्वामः पितुः स्मृतमः।

प्रदानं स्वेच्छाया कुर्याद्वैं म्याम चैव नसो धनात्।

तत्तदेऽवा तु तत्तदाः: समांता: परिकृतिता: ॥

पितामहेण परहृत्तः नोदुध्दः। पितामहादिति भवित्त्व: स्यात्मक्या युधिमृत्तः ततः यादानि पिता स्वेच्छाया कुर्याद्वित्त्यः। यदा तु तदन्तोरक्षेत्राणाः तत्र व्याससमस्मापि

पितामहिष्ठपितुरिच्छः दानाविधि इमस्यर्यज्ञितित्वादः।

2. शेषास्तमुपवेदिर्ष्ठैः । 2. पुरस्कृत्यः । 3. विमानजनासाधारणम्।

4. विमानजन् । 5. प्राचारु । 6. सममिथिलमायात्तमः।

7. पित्र्यः । 8. मनु: द्रष्ट्यः ।
APPENDIX 1

तथा च स्वाभिते स्वोद्दृढ़ते च पितुरिवच्छ युगानामैवानिष्टेन्ति संख्येषः। अत्रेय याज्ञवल्क्यः——

यदै चुक्ष्याःसमानानः शाश्वतः कार्यः समाधिका।

| न दत्तं खोरं याततः मच्छाया स्वस्वते न वा।।
| दत्तं तवाय प्रक्ष्येन विदितम्। पितु: कष्टवेनो नायाततः तदुपप्रतियोगिकमेव पशुलयमव-गयते। यद्र रिचिच्चयं विमानद्वितितं अवगताः स्वामिपकं गुणाः इत्येकं। किविन्तु भवे अंतति तथा वा गुणांगति तदर्द्ध एव पर्यं। अतएव यदि कुष्ठाःसमानानां निश्चितं मतापदाति-र्खे हुष्टतान्तरास्तराः। यहाँति। स्वतं न अवच्छे भूविन्दप्रदाय कसोद्यते बहुदशेषेऽद पुनर्तेर्यो गुणाः। उपदेशेऽद निर्धितों भवेदविष्यं च। पितुरविविधं तु नारदः।
| ब्रह्माणी प्रतिपेदेः विमानार्थम् पिता।

तद्रेष्ट्र निखतिताः——

| स्वयं ब्राह्माण्डार्थम्: कुष्ठाः।
| दिष्टवुध्येण रूपमाधिकं ३ श्रुत्वा जैविक गुरूं वानिष्टे अन्यन्तर पितुविधानाद। आप्सत्तमः। एककत्वने वेदयो तपोपित्या जीविकुपुस्त्यो विद्विशेषसम्मु। जैविकप्रदायस्तुण्य प्रर्थाय मानो नाइति मुक्तस्तु अन्यन्तर पूलुक्ते स स एव "अत्तरे कै जायते पूलुक्ते।" इत्येवसातताः। वाच्यानार्थात पर्यं अन्यत्तर मा वास्तु एकपुणे जैविकुपुस्त्यायों। अन्यथा तु समस्व गृहिणाः। संयंवारणार्थातृत्वाधिकार विमानवेद। एककत्तिवेदिः तथा च स्वाभिते पितुरिवच्छविनन्तराः। पैतामहे तु पितुरिवच्छवायु न बिमानः पुराणविविधिता विचित्रः।
| तथापि पितुवृद्धों विप्रियोपि विभागः प्रामाण्य न्यायाम्। न च इन्द्रे पितामोहपसै स्थवरे अजमे तथा। समाधिरविद्वेषार्थम् पितु: पुनस्त्य चोभयो। इत्यादिवचने समप्रदर्शानाद समविभागः एवेदो वाच्यम्। सबिशेषणां वृन्दप्रकृतस्तु ३ च बिशेषणयोगो नेिलुक्ते। समप्रदर्शेिके विशेषणे भवितुममिति नतथे। तेनाहितामां रमावमात। अन्यथा "ब्रह्माणी प्रतिपेदें विमानार्थम्: पिता।"।
| स्वयं: ब्राह्माण्डार्थम्: कुष्ठाः नारदेऽदकशिकत्वचचन्त्विरोचि: स्वयं।

मदुः——

अभूताभिमानमार्कानां व्युत्थानं भवेसह। न तत्त विपर्यं भागं पिता दर्शाद कथमां।
| अभूताभिमानमावेदने विपर्यं गो न निष्पर्यात। नाग पितुवर्षम:। तथा नोदारो वेदविद्यो। मदु:——
| वेदस्य विद्या उदाग: सबिप्रदर्शान वर्दमानः। नीरस्तं गृहिण:। तस्पदामस्तं विपमां ३ चीद्रस्तु विद्ययाः। तथा सबिपेन भनजातामादिनादिपथमायाः। यथा सातारहे भवितादशक्तिनुपयादमात्।

बौधायनः——

ददानाग्रेकुंकुरेऽजित्य: समाधिरे भजर्यो। पितुरिवच्छवायः पुनस्त्: सर्वं एव समाहितः।

१. रूपमाधिके।

२. सबिशेषणां वृन्दमयुचस्य च विशेषणयोगो नेिलुक्ते:।

३. ततोद्वेयं मध्यमस्य स्वाद्य उदीपस्तु कसोद्यः।

४. सबिपेन भनजातामादिनादिपथामायः।
मीठला इन्ह अहे विद्यापती

निवळ्या तत्समृशम विभागित.

त्याखयान त्याखयान दसम साहित्य भागांते" ।

तभिमधुःपर्ण?—

समानूणाशिका मागा: पिता वेपां प्रकाशिता ।
तृळू ते पाहनीया: परिता: स्वरतानेयान।

पिता वर्ष प्रज्ञा मुख पर्यति स प्रभावावल पुराण वेचूळ ।

जन्मसमावृत्तावेचूळी बाळी दायमवापूरतात्। समानानामिनसाधूळे ५ तेपां पितूसमो हि स: ।

तथा स—

पितूरङ्गहरा पुष्पा: सवां एव पवांशत:। विषाकभरूत्तशापमोदकां लोकमहि।

व्या:—

साधारण समाहित यथा किबिद्वा हिन्नादिकम ।
बने शौचार्यानी प्राण्त भारतस्त भागान:।

tयत्स मागांद्र देशा शेषास्तु समागणित:।

विषाणु—यें सेवां पर्यत्सपादिते इंधनांकार्यत। इंधनामकां जन्मशायाणी केचें:।

प्राप्तेवधूळे:। विषाचे चैतन्याधिकामादिते। साधारणश्च्योणाखेके: इंधनामलेवा।

नारायण—

कुड्याच्यो चौपूरस्तत्त्व कार्य कुर्हेत च य: । स भारतभंगिणीयो ३ भाषणांदनवाहीन:।

किबिद्वा मङ्गले:। वाञ्छोऽध्य:—

विबन्धवेंचु सुलग: पिकोहुरच्छक्षुवृत्त समादु:। सामायाक्षेत्रस्त्वाणि विभागत सह: स्वत: ।

समस्तान वर्णेन:। नात्र वर्णेत्तरंहिणीको मागा:। इति तुवाणांनपर्य । अनुवा विज्ञान—

बन्धानविरोध:।

अनेकाधिकारूळा तु पितूलो भागकलना।

अस्ताहे:। अन्वितभंगाना भारणां बहेहस्तु एकर च हर: पुष्पा: ५ अन्नसिंच:।

पर्यायकर्षोऽपिनिष्कर्षा स्वे स्वे पितूमामे गृहस्ततन नाथकिरणित:।

नारायण—

कुड्याच्यो चौपूरस्तत्त्व कार्य कुर्हेत च य: । स भारतभंगिणीयो ३ भाषणांदनवाहीन:।

कुड्याच्यो प्राकृतवदुर्योग: अठाराहण समायो आभुरिततांतकार्यसंयतं कर्त्तव्यं ।

भगु—

भारणां वर्ष नैहित्य धने शास: तास्मण:। स निवास: स्त्राकारस्ताद किबिद्वा दोषवजनवमन।

य: शक: स्त्रांग परार्थते। सोपी किबिद्वावे निमाचु: कर्तव्ये विभागिणाताय।

अन्नान तत्सुतुवी दायाविवाद: स्वयाव:। अत्रावें पूर्णातकारार्थवतनानि। हुहादुः—

प्रकाशन यो भागिणु ६ धनाय स्यापणवत्तादिवं व्यापारम्यस्य स भाषारंभानितातीलाहिद:।

कायाकाल:—

विष्णुको निजे प्रेते तत्सुतं विष्णुमिहिनम। कुर्वित जीवनं वेन लघः श्रैव पितामहादुः।

केभेलं स पितूव्यते पितूनाश्चाति तत्सुतात। स पर्यावरं सवांने भारणां न्यायतो भवेद ।

१. विद्याक्षरमुद्रात् मुद्रात् ।

२. समायभागिणश्चचाणे।

३. स भारतभंगिणीयो।

४. चतुर्वाण: पुष्पा:।

५. अवभरण:।

६. चौपूरस्तत्त्व।

७. स भारतभंगिणीयो।

८. भारुपु।
क्षेत्र तत्त्वी वाचियिन निर्देशितः परति मंबेदः।
यतस्य पुष्यः पीड़क्य विद्वायारः। मार्गं क्षेत्र तथा च प्राप्तिःपर्यणान्तिर मार्गः। तदुपरिण निर्देशितः इति सहस्रास्यपरि पाकादिना विमुखः। अख्यातार्थवतः योजक्य समोनमोक्ष्यतसदलानीमैत्री समामारे न्यायामारे लातः।

ब्रह्मेऽः
अविन्दाविभाजनानां कृष्णानां वर्तान्त सहः। मूयी दादाविभाजः। यथार्थवर्तान्तितिः सत्यिः।

विमुखानां सः हृदः। सहस्रास्यामारे न्यायामारे दिन्यः।

बशीः
अथ भार्तानां दायां भागो वाणिजनपतः। ख्यातसांसारपुरुषायामारे। यदि पुष्यो नावित तद्द सम्बन्धमेतां पक्षीयां मार्गे दक्षते। न जेतु पुष्यो देवेती देवेठर्विभाजणों मार्गः। एवं प्रियत्यक्तिः न्यायामारे।

वहुस्थितः
तद्भवे तु जननी नवादसमाशिनिः। समांशा मात्रे स्वेतं दुरीयांशा च कन्या।

पुनरविभाजः पुजयो जननीमातास्ताः। पुजयोसमाशिनयः। अविन्दाविभाजः भण्यिः। आश्वेशः दुरीयांसारः। नारः
प्रेणान्तु न क्षुदाः। पुष्यो संस्कारस्विधयः। कन्या। कन्याय भार्तीलिखित्यो देवेठर्विभाजः तद्भवः।
अविन्दाविभाजः प्रियत्रेषें सांसारिकुमारः। भण्यिः। अविन्दाविभाजः।
व्यासः
अविन्दाविभाजः प्रियत्रेषें सांसारिकुमारः। अविन्दाविभाजः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजना
प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः दायां। सांसारिकुमारः।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

वाणिजनपतः प्रियत्रेषें।

मृत्यु वाणिजनपतः।
अथ भागानहि:

तत्त्वापस्तवः—

यस्य सर्वगमणे द्वायाणि प्रतिपादायति क्षेत्रेर्षीपि तं मार्गं कृतितम्। समझवी त्वेष्टः।

गौतमोपि 3 सर्वनामोपिषु पुषोन्यांत्यां प्रक्षुचो न लभते भागानित्य अन्यायां प्रक्षुचो विव्यतिकर्मी।

बुधहस्पतः—

सर्वनामोपि विद्यापारशी: स्वाद पैदेर्ने धनो तत्त्त्वपिण्डः 3 निर्मियां 3 पनन्ते विशीर्यते।

गुणात्मानमभावो विषयः।

मुः—

सवेष्ट एव विकम्भो नाहिन्ति आतारो धनो ।

विकम्भो अस्त्रिधरकर्मकः। शायः। अपराधितस्य रक्षपिण्डीदकारिस निवर्तने।

गुप्तसिद्धसर्बाति—माहोदकायतिनै। शायतिमेलित: केर्तपात्वान:। स विण्डानमिषी नाभिकारितति

विशेषः। मुः—

अन्योवृ 3 दीर्घ पतितो जायस्यविधि 2 तथा। उगमस्तिच्याकायाः स केर्तिपिन्दितः।

वर्षामित्रोद्वार: 5 दु: शक्ता महोदितः। मातस्यांतव्यस्तरः पतितो बखारोऽयुवेदः।

वचनायति 3 दुर:रस्यांस्वात्त्विराधिनानं कर्मणं। तेववास्त्त्ववेद्यासामस्यार्थमप्रहितमहः।

अनीयशः 3 अनेकप्रकारः। वेणा पुषोन्यां विद्यापंक्तिः केर्तावेद्यप्राप्तमभित्तिः।

तेन नात्यांगि सवाविद्यानुमश्रः। निर्मितिनाधि: पणियांहादारिनितः। आगतापोष्यसमावाहायानहि।

शति पर्यावस्थि वति पितामोदारिनिति पितातस्रुव्याभागारः।

वाचस्यवः—

पतितसङ्क्तः हीवः: पुषोन्यचको रजन:। अन्योदिष्टापिण्डरोगानां मर्त्यसनानु निवर्दशकः।

अस्वधृतारीपादित्मानानि:।

उरस 3 कृत्ता वेणाणि नवंष्य दायारिणः। तुता सवाणि प्रमर्च्या चाबः महुतालक्ष्यः।

उरस: पुषोन्याः 3 न दुरजः। उत्तरमा अष्टि मर्त्याः। सुता: अन्ये प्रमर्च्या:।

निर्मितिः सणुवुदः।

अपुवा विद्वत्तमेव 3 मर्त्याः सणुवुदः। विप्रस्य व्यभिचारिणः: प्रतिहृतास्त्ववेदः।

प्रतिहृताः पुषपार्धिदिना प्रागाहरणप्राप्तः।

नारः—

पिण्डितु पति पति पम्णो यथा स्वादपापित। उरस अष्टि पैदेत्तां हमेस्तः क्षेत्राः: कुल:।

पिण्डितु प्रेतुवानादित्तिकारी आदादिविविवेकः।

तीव्रगाममज्जला जडोममचन्द्रपशवः। मर्त्याः। सु: कुलशैते तत्त्वासवेदभागिनः।

तथा देवः—

सुते पितकरे न दीक्षुमक्ष्यानज्जलांकः। पतित: पतितापस्य त्रिश्री दायांस्थभागिनः।

तेने पतितवश्यानि मर्त्यां प्रदीर्यते। तत्त्वाः पिण्डवाशां भण्डेनू: दोषविद्यता:।

चतुर्वेद्याज्ञानम्। त्रिश्रीरतिकिरकरः 3। देवा: पुरोक्त्वाः। वचिस्वः—अनंताः

आद्यादनताः आद्यादनात्ताः गामस्वः। कार्यायन:—

1. गौतमोपि। 2. तत्सपिष्यि। 3. वैदित्यः। 4. निपिष्वनाहि।

5. च। 6. अप्योः। 7. विश्रस्तः। 8. वर्षामिषी तु नद्याः। 9. क्लीनः।

10. आरसः। 11. पुषोन्यचकः। 12. विप्रितदचेवः। 13. त्रिश्री अतिक्रमकाद।

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अकाली...मुलाचैत्र ³ समोळाअद्याव्रत जायते। प्रत्रस्त्वा वसितैत्यै न सर्वत्र तेठू काहीत्यत।

यस्य यो: शास्त्रोपाय विवाहस्तंत्रकन्यागोपायः ⁴ स्वतः प्रत्रस्त्वास्सितः। अनन पूर्णांका-समस्यांतः।
³ विशेषतः काँप अयापतः पाठ: कोऽधौः। अखिकिस्तरोगः ⁵ अनो वृेदिरु: उमतस्कंबां; मूळ: पाणिप्रस्थिपण्यां कुष्ठकर्मारी पाणिप्रस्थिपण्यां अभामानन्यानां तत् मानाहाः।
³ पाणिप्रस्थिपण्यां जिम्नः। पूर्णांका-पदोपदार्तिरां: एतस्य पुषा भगवाहाः।

अध्यायांक्षतसंस्कारः

तत्व व्यासः—
अस्त्रकालं ते तत्र पैदकादेव तदनानात। संस्कर्याक्षङ्कन्याः: कन्यायास्ह: यथाविषः।

तथा च नारदः—
वेश्यानु न कङ्कि: पिता संस्कर्यामनिध्यां कमात। कल्याणम्याध्यात्मेश्वर वैपुलकादेव तदनानात।
विवाहयात: पितर्यस्य स्तायादुभुया वा रुप:। विवाहाध्यायः: संस्कर्यार्याणि:। कन्यायानु:।

वाच्यविबृत्यः—
अस्त्रकालं संस्कर्याक्षङ्कन्याः: अभामानन्यानां मूळायाः। सत्मंध्यायां कन्याकर्माणि:।

देवेठः—
कन्यायानां पितःप्रत्य देवें वैवाहिक्षिकं भवः। अपुवसय तु कन्यार्य: धर्मत: पुजवलिरेण।

मनु:—
वेश्यानु: कन्यायाः: प्रत्यहारालिङ्गानां प्रवृक्त:। स्वस्तिकर्माणि:।
अस्त्रकालं संस्कर्याक्षङ्कन्याः: संस्कर्याः: काया:। पितःर्यानां भाराज्ञपणेनापि। अपेक्षा विवाहार्यात्मकस्यातः नामित किंतु संस्कर्याः इत्यदृश्यायात्मकस्यातः प्रत्यक्षार्यादिभानामस्य:।

कामम्यां: कन्यायाः:। वेणित्वादा:। स्वस्तिकर्माणि:। प्रत्रस्त्वाः।

अस्त्रकालं संस्कर्याक्षङ्कन्याः: संस्कर्याः: स्वस्तिकर्माणि:।
अनुवसय तु कन्यार्य: धर्मत: पुजवलिरेण।

कार्यायाः—
प्रत्यहारालिङ्गानां प्रवृक्तः।

अथ विधायाम्

कार्यायाः—
प्रत्यहारालिङ्गानां प्रवृक्तः।

**: अनुसार अङ्क ३, ५ और ७**

१. अकाली अमृतबैल ।
२. क्रमेणोपायः।
३. पूर्णाकालानु:।
४. अखिकिस्तरोगः।
५. पूर्णाकर्माणि:।
६. स्तायादुभुया।
७. अनुवसय।
८. अनुवसय।
अथ विभाज्यम्

व्यासः

पितामहेन यद्यस्ते पित्रा वा प्रीतिपूर्वकम्। तस्य तत्रापहतायेन माहा दस्यभ वञ्चरेत्।

तथा च ब्रह्मसि

पितामहेन पित्रायेन वद्य माहा च यद्यवेव। तस्य तत्रापहतायेन श्रीर्मायापनन्तथा।

सद्य सतिदर्शनमविभाज्यम्। नारायः

वैश्या वैश्या नानामो वेदार्थं सतो बलवात्। पैदश समाधिः न चैवेत् न तदात्मां।

यदा वैशालिजत्नेनान्ति संवृद्धा तदा दधादेव। यदा वैधोपि नारेकस्त्दा तस्यापि न देवम्। मनुः

विद्या च भनतु वस्यत्र तस्यायेन धनमवेव। मैत्रेयीदान्तिहिषैव माधुपादिकमेव च।

मैत्रेयं मिन्धुपुरकारलब्धम्। माधुपादिकमण्डिति।

व्यासः

अनाविभ्यं पितःऽऽृवद्यं संत्वयामोति। ब्रवप्यम्। दायायेश्वो न तथाष्ठितं वधमेव च।

एवं वृद्धवचनेन्वैधायमविभाज्यम्। अथ साधारणसनातुप्रक्षेपं यदाजितम्।

तदेवविभाज्यमिति प्रकाशः। तदुद्युन्तं विद्याधारणेवैस्यं वैधायपिते। तेनायाः। यदृथं विद्याकर्मकालो साधारणसनातुप्रक्षेपं विभाजितम।

विभाज्यम्। तदन्तः पुरुषार्थम् कार्यवानः

परमस्यकार्ये प्रारंभिव च द्रव्यम्। तथा प्राप्तं तु यद्यर्धेन विद्यामार्थनुवुद्धेति।

कृपे विनिताविधानां भूतानं पितुस्तत्वान। श्रीप्राप्तान्तु यददधारणविभाज्यं ब्रह्मसि

परस्मार्थनोत्तरोत्तरत्या विधिः। यद्यचतुष्टि तत्त्वभावायेत्। विधिः तु साध्विभायरिति।

विधावते विद्बुध्यो प्रतिप्रेतीति श्रद्धार्थं।

उपव्यायस्य वधायकव्यायमः। विधावते माधुपादिकमेव विधिः।

प्रशास्तकार्निन्तः। संविद्याधारणीयायाः।

स्वाधिकारसंहारदाबर्म्यं प्रायम्यायाय यव। विधावते तदाधारणेन नविधिः।

शिष्येन्ति हि इमां वृद्धिकारं संपवेदयं। विधाविधिः लघुमून्तकारणम।

एवं शिष्येन्ति विधाविधितमवद ब्रह्मवारः। अविद्याधारितं तदाधारयुवेश्यं विधिं वस्यकार्यार्थः।

आलंकारं करकरणादिति। प्रायम्यान्तम। ब्रह्मविचारात्। अहंमां विध्याय ज्ञाताचार्यति विधासितम।

नायानामपि वैशेष विधावते बलप्रतिमायुज्मात्। स्वस्मानाधिकरणापि वैशेष तदन्तः।

१। प्रविधि। २। हितं विधेयस्य तावद्यद्य बण्डनियात्। ३। यद्यवेत्।

४। यव स्वमान्यति। ५। करकरणादिति।
अन्वस्मानाभिचित्रिते दानप्रदेक्षकृतार्थाद्वारे। किंतु तराजितमिश्रमयमित्र-भिग्य। स्वप्नप्रदेवेशं वेदन्तिक तस्यात्मिक्यमाणं। स्यादिवाज्ञकलात।

कार्यावन्—

कुड्डूं किस्मतः भृत्याविचित्रनिगच्छत्। मांगं विवाहनात्मकाद् ३ स कनेतिष्ठतोपिष्टी सम।

तथा च विषयोपाध्याय: दायादायस्मानकृतस्मिन परतोष्टी न शाख्य ग शाख्यानवा साधारणेनाभिचित्रार्थाद्वारे। वदरंजितं तद्विख्यातिनाद्विविषयम्।

मनु:—

आङ्गिका संख्यं ब्रज प्रत्ययं कर्मं क्रृितं। तरंगमें कर्मिणां तुष्टि प्रतित: स्वामिना जीतं।

तत: छल्लं च च द्वितीयं तत्त्वं जीवनं वा संवेद। ध्यज्ञातं स्वातः ५ विषयाविश्वात्स्तुहारम्।

समाजात्मायं गुणं विखल विद्वृत्तनावम्। ७ स्वामियं जीवितं त्यस्य तद्वस्ततहितमुक्तं।

पताकं तीर्थं विषयिनिगम्य॥ नायरसा: सीरिकमकसाधारणं भवति तद्वार: मनु:—

यह्यं कामाक्षे तु तिलोकायु कामया सह। कन्याभर्णं तु तिलोक: शुद्ध: कांडर: स्तुतं॥

वैविद्यं तु तिलोकान् भार्याय यस्मात्मातम्। भन्ते सवेद: सब: विखल: चर्मसाधारणं॥

कसाष्टयमानाविभावं निधविद्यं: च: कमागत: शिर्त: काल्याणकर्त्वानातं कमागतेनविभावं

कमाणगत:॥

मनु:—

जातिकान्यपदार्थाद्वार: सुकृतानं शीतौत्तमां श्रेष्ठं॥ समाशयार्थ: कुशलमकार्षं तथं अत्रिसारं बौद्ध:॥

बेनाशी पितरो यथा बेन: यात्रा: पितामह:॥ तेन यायात सत्या मांग: तेन गच्छिरिष्ट्यं॥

दुस्तरस्तु:—

अतिविशेषकुलानाथे ये धरम: माधव प्रकटत:॥ तथेऽव ते पालम्बी: प्रत्र भ्रात्यकर्यते॥

सुस्वयं विखल विषयिनिगम्य। कार्यावन् गोरिकशी। विधम: कांशी: श्रवित: सिद्धिमेलितत: तादृशी॥

वेभु:—

अथ श्रीवीरकारणं श्रमोऽह्मा पितामह:॥ तथेऽत वैकाकाराय: मणसापिण्यं न घोषयेत॥

कुरक्कमाण: प्रमाणमेवते: तत्राद्वै:॥ राज: राज्यविण्यम्॥

तत: नामह:—

वैधिनश्च गरे:नाध: च न कार्थिपि च जीवित।

न हेतुत: हृष्य:॥ राजभृतं प्रमाणमेवाह मनु:—

तत: नामं: चम्पिग्नु: संवेदेनविशेषरिष्ट्यं। आनुविश्वायं समिग्नु: संवेदेनविशेषरिष्ट्यं॥

नातिकेन: नाराय:—

अश्वत्ताना: प्रजा: स्वत: स्वतः प्रविष्ठिकित।

महोपि: अभ्योगकान्यपदपारात्तिकृतपुरूष:॥ नमु: विषय:वायविज्ञविरोध शिर्त: चेत्या, शोभापादायत्वात्मकमयां शुद्ध्योगित्यरिष्ट्यं समामतः। तेषां सामायपरत्वात्। यथापि श्रव्यव-नाशुशरितित तत:क्षेत्रवै:॥

दश्या दानन्त: विश्वेन्य: स्वस्वसुमुक्खितम्॥ पुरे: राज्यं समासंख्य कुर्तित: प्रायणं वशे॥

शिर्त: मुरुक्षेत्रात: आत्मसन्न:॥ र्येन प्राणस्यामुः कुर्तित:॥

“रण” दलपुरुस्तान्या: मौलसाधनोपोषे अभिधारण:॥ नमु: पुष्य स्वाम्यसाधारां कथे

वेद्येश्यिनिगम्य।

यस्मिन्नं स्वति: वेद चान्त्हायमधुतः॥

१. तत्स्मात: २. भवेश्चु ३. बिन्दाश्रीं गणम्।
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स एव धर्मसः पुनः कामशा मितरा बिदुरित सनूकः प्राणन्याद। तथा च मनिपर- 
बोरीपरवरुद्धातीतसारे राज्यक्षुमनयात्। कोकुशीक्षा राज्यक्षुमनयादाह। 
हस्पतिरिपुणः। अभाः हुमाह मनुः—

"सोक्रस्तिन्तव वाहुषां सोकः सोमकः धर्मसः। स कुवेरसस्व वहणसमहेश्वरभवतः।
बधोपिनयानामतयो नमुन्येः हति भूमिभेः। महती देवता कृपा नरस्मयेन तिश्वती" तित
पुनर्वेद्याधिकर्षकरे मनुः—

वधवा दानानं विक्षेपःसर्वशेषसुशिप्ततः। पुश्रे राज्यं समासवः कुवार्त्त प्रायः बने।
अभ इथवकृचनादिकरिहेय वावायु व्यदः एव। तदाह व्यासः—
शाश्वतोदवं स्तुतो धर्मः पविवानां नरेतः। न क्षुरोवानुरु स्तित्वे ज्योधे राजा भवितु महित।
भारते—
कचयं वेदांतदिनक्य कनीयादात्र्याहारितः। पदरू सचिवोधामाऋथाः नयमेः सं परिधायः।

रामायणे—
नहि राज्यं सुतः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भाविनि। बहुनामापि पुनरागेस्रको राज्येवभिषिच्यते।
स्वाध्यात्मानु सर्वेऽ सुमहानं नैव यो मोहद। तस्मानन्येऽपि पुनरुवास साधिताहिताय वाविनाः।
आसुजनन्यानावः गुणविविश्वाये च। तेऽत भावेः रसः पवेन स्तेद्यथे न सं द्याः। अतस्तन्वितः राजाः न भादु अवश्यः।

अस्तस्तय निरक्षिप्तिः। तद्राज्यमविविधाम्। तदाह नाराई—
विधानुदं नरेन्द्राणां करापि च जीवित्त्य। मनुविष्णु—
अनुपवनसं धितेऽवायु यपुवात्तिः। स्वामी धितसं लक्ष्यां नाकामां जातु महित।
अभमः तेनाद्वि। धितेऽवायु ज्योधिः। रसः विवेयाणामाः। साधारणातुतिवेद्याधिता- 
जन्मकस्थः।

अभ मागक्लमना

तत्र मनुः—
विधानात्तु सर्ववामीमाहात्तथ चनन्यन्येत्। समस्तत्र विभागः नखिक्षित्य नया गारण।

अभमः—विधा। सम्बं विमानेऽरु। हद्रा क्षुरादद विशोढ़राधिरज नारित।

गितां—

वेन वैपण्ड महेनुवायितं व्रजवंशायये।

यदा वहुद्र आलानाधवे साधारण धनमासिर्य एक एव कुम्भादिनाज्येद्वि तदा तस्य

d्वांशी शेषानामेंः।

प्रायसः—
साधारणं समाजित्य वद किवार्त्त वाहानाधवर। शीर्षादिनास्रीति धनं आतरसस्व मारिन।

साधारणचेदक्रियात्ति शीर्षादिद वयेति वहुद्रेविबिधारं तेन कार्यम्य- 

परिमीतिन्तु साधितमितेवक्ष्य मानाः। तेन "द्वादशम्न" न ज्योधाण्यव लक्ष्ये वे। निवित्त्य व्यासविचार विरोधः।

1. कनीयादात्र्याहारितः। 2. सचिवोधामाऋथाः। 3. अनुपवनसं।

4. स्वामी धितसं।
अथ ख्रीणविभागः

तत्र सौरभमाहतंमुकालययोऽ

अध्यवष्यवाचारिनं दर्शं न प्रीततः सिद्धि व मातमायुद्धवत्र सचिवेन स्मृतम्

अध्यवष्यवाचारिनं वेदेन नैनापि दर्शं तद्भव्यप्रीततः प्रसिद्धम्। अध्यवष्यवाचारिनं

दिरृगसमनकलं वेदेन नैनापि दर्शं वौद्धम् हि प्रसिद्धम्। दर्शं तद्भव्यप्रीततः

प्राणे ब्रह्मवस यथं किंतुः च चिन्तृकाव्यवहा व स्वारूपः वा। पादवनिविष्यं तु वाहे ब्रह्मसिद्धिमृत्युः

आधिविदेशिनं सर्वं सौरभनात्तर याधवंशक्यः

अधिविदेशिनं सर्वं आधिविदेशिनं सर्वं। न दर्शं सौरभं वर्षं दर्शतर्कम् प्रसिद्धवेत्।

अधिविदेशिनं प्रथमाधर्मिनं न महर्षिवेदनाकात्ते प्रस्तुतं दशसमविदेशिनकम्।

विषयः

मातुपितुरहर्षाधरमाधर्मणुवालसम्। आधिविदेशिनं शुक्लावाचारयेषांमिति सिद्धिः।

शुक्लामहालायः

गृहोपकर्षणां दीर्घामरणकल्पणाम्। मूलवलम्भनं यथं किंतुः हर्षं तद्भव्यपरिकृतम्।

तथा

विवाहातःततो यथं लघवे भूर्कुलादीत सिद्धा। अन्वयेववत् वल्लोकंवर्यं वर्कुला विषयः।

एवं दशं सौरभाननि। पत्रदेव सौरभं सौरभिकम्। पत्रदेवः नामाना:।

कहां कथा वाचि पत्तुः पितृपूजेष्ठिऽभवः। भ्रातुः सकालान्त: प्रमोदवालं लघुं सौदातिकं स्मृतम्।

विवाहित्या अविवाहित्या व पितृतुलो वा पितृतुलो वा यस्यं तथा: सौदातिकः

मिति संक्षेपः।

कालायः

सौरभिकं धनं प्राप्तं सौरभं स्वतन्त्रमितथा:। तसमातेदानुसंवर्ध्यं त्वर्तं तस्य आंवित्यम्।

सौदातिकं सदा सौरभं स्वतन्त्रं परिकृतिम्। विकर्षे ज्ये दारणे न यथेश्च स्वर्णश्रेष्ठः।

आपस्तम्भः— अन्तःकराएवाचार्यातिषुवेदेनः। भाषा: स्मार्कते शेषः दातिनेन

श्यातिनेन दशसमिर्दः।

मदुविषयः

पर्यो जीवितं व: काभिरक्षणं धृतो भवेद्।

न तद्भवेनुरूः दाराधा: भक्तमाना: पततित ते।

धृतं स्वामरुवया परिष्ठतं अनं श्वशुरस्ये दाममितिकिर्येया: सौरभं स्वतन्त्रमेव

कालायणनवनादः। पतितस्य तु ज्ञाते तबं भ्राते सौरभे तु न स्वतन्त्रम्।

भवाप्रेमं सहस्रं विरेन तार्किन अनुदेशित तत्। सा यवङ्काममश्रीवाहायवादा स्वास्थयात्।

हि नारायणानां। "ननुभया कथया वाचि पत्तुः" रितं कालायणनवनन पतितस्य

स्वायमाधर्मिकं कश्च जोति चतुर्दशीतस्य भ्राते सौरभं स्वतन्त्रमिति मैवेः। पुरुषोपपत्तिकाल्पकमेव।

१. अध्यवष्यवाचारिकाधि । २. भाषा: स्मार्कमिति शेषः।

३. मदुरूः। ४. भक्तमाना:।
कार्यावननमननया १६०६। कृत्तवा तत्वौभक्तस्वैवस्वमातरेष्ठे; न चाचित्सविधायरी१६। वैन केनापि दससतंमाक्षिने पीनरुदितिति वास्य९ मातृवाकण्यतुप्रदद्वयु "पीन्रुदितासपात्
स्वत्तत्ता, तत्र च तत्र काठे तत्र सौनयिकमनमहृत्रृतिदद्विंति सौनयिकं स्वस्वमा सिद्धा।
स्वरस्य पार्थुदर्माहेषुप्रवद्वत्तनमाह कार्यायनः—
भर्जीघार श्रीरत्नपि विनयपललिते प्रेक्ष्यमि। १५। विबनामे तु संकेतेऽक्ष्यविरुद्धवायु।
अनुभा र्यानं महः। पार्तिनाः भृस्तित्वे। मुज्जरता भरमाना दावादा। क्षरधारामुक्तुः।

विबनामे पर्यत तद्दर्शत्। तत् स्ववात्स्वादृश्यं श्री तरस्य स्वाधीनर भिन्नता तद्दर्शन
याभवन्त् मुज्जरता। तस्यां सुताब्ध तद्दर्शन दावादानं। धनामापे प्रतिवुत्त यथा कालवर्ये।
स्वाधीन सीतानामिक्षानिकाः। तेन कार्यावननमारुपयोन्तिविरोधः। एवं श्रुतपरस्पिती
स्वाधीन मार्तिरि सकारे तथा स्वाधीन न हो श्रीमणों दातादी स्वतत्त्वम्।

न्यायतीकाय तथा च पूर्वक स्वाधीन सीतानामिके श्रीमण स्वतत्त्वम्। मार्तिरि सकारे
पस्य स्वाधीन तथा धनामापे मार्तिरि सकारे पस्य स्वाधीन दातादी न स्वतत्त्वतिक्षाः।
पत्तुदर्णिप्रतिधान व्रिहात धनामापे मार्तिरि सकारे पदार्थाराजिनुवे स्वाधीन दातादी
स्वतत्त्वमेह वेस तद्भविन्तं तथा तस्यैवत्ति न्यायसाब्धाय तथा स्वतत्त्वविकस्यनमवावः।
अत एव पस्य पिप्रदानाज्ञानारचिष्ट स्वाधीन धारणेऽगे। भार्याया। स्वतत्त्वविक्षार्थी
संगठते। तथेऽत तदनवरा। व्रिहात जूरिमुखस्य स्वाधीन दातादी स्वतत्त्ववाहिक वर्णयात्

अथ श्रीहन्तप्रणन्यायवस्था

तनाथ देवकृ—

‘छुतिर’रणेः शूक्ल हामका श्रीपणं मेवद। ‘भोक्रो’ च स्ववेदेऽ‘पतिन्हृद्यनापित्।
आपद्द्र पाणिपूर्वक्कारेदेव श्रीमणिश्चर्लकृ। तथा।
वृध्दादेः। च स्विष्ठे द्रवपात संभवकम्। भृतृतिहरे जापि श्रीपणं मोक्षमहतत्।
छुपा दाने विमानये च निष्पठ। अत्र प्रतिहरे प्रदातानविमानाः कार्यचिन्तकृ।
नदेव यदुनायाम महादेवो शारीरस्कम्। स्वयम्भस च दायः। स्वतत्त्व सरस्य मेवद॥
नदुनमिया विना पन्यमार्याम्। तति भने नस्यमेव प्रतिवुत्त इच्छ्ये।
व्यविष्टं बासकान्त्व धर्माकृति प्रतिहतम्। ब्रह्मालिङ्गे संगमेश्वरः दयादारमांच्छूहारिः।

व्याधाविन्द्रस्त्र तस्य विशाल मार्याया। यद्य वर्णं दंतं तत्त चेष्वयां दच्छिदिर्यये।

वाज्झक्याय—

"महें५। वर्क्यायं च व्यायचो च प्रतिरोधाये। गृहिंतम श्रीपणं महर्षि न श्रीये दातामहति।
प्रतिरोहे व्ययो अनुपाक्ताये कार्यायन—
अथ चेस भार्यायं: स्वतत्त्व मात्र मध्ये पुनः। प्रीत्य निषुद्धारायु च प्रतिदायया। संत्तदाद।
भिक्षे भरीं महंसतेतिबिशेषेः। ऋत्ती न गच्छिना तदा। श्रीया प्रीत्या पूर्णकमतिन्त्यमार्यु
हरथावे च दायः।"

1. पीनरुदिता। 2. भाघिष्ठशिर्याय। 3. धृतिमहिरिति वाच्यम।
4. पीनरुदितारविवाहाय। 5. यथेच्छया। 6. गुत्तो वा।
7. भोक्रो। 8. स्ववेदेऽ। 9. भुदाद्ये विमानेः। 10. हुमक्षे।
अथ खृष्णनिधानः

मात्रः—

जनन्यां संसर्गायान्तु समं सये सहोदरः। मातेर्न मातुं रिस्यं महिन्यक्ष साहामयः।

कुमारं व सहोदरं महिन्यः।

वासाः बुढ़ितेस्वरसामधवयुः। मातामशा धनां विक्षित्रु प्रदेयं प्रीतिपुरवंक.init

भगिनीमुतामयोधिक किषिदेयं किषिदाधीपुरूषकिमित्तनेन प्रसादे सति देयरिमयेः।

बुढापति—

खृष्णं स्वादपत्यानुं दुःखिता च कन्यिनी। अपुष्य चेयं समुद्र तु हमते मानूपकिमू।

पुष्यां अप्रचा पुरीनाध समंदात।

तत्र विशेषादिपिता। क्षया तु किषिनमार्ग्य हसते हय्ये।

गौतमः—

खृष्णं दुःखित्रीणां मपुष्यान्यमन्निशितानारः।

अप्रतिरिताः भिवङ्गोपपरिहिताः मातुपन्यमामाज हय्ये। मात्रः—

मातुः वैष्णवं व व वत्ताकुमारिमानं पि सः। वैष्णविकिन्त्रसु पुष्यान्योपपायायानुं

खृष्णं सुहो चेयं व्यभिच्छर्या। अन्याः श्राद्धकार्यं प्रमोदपत्रस्व पुष्यस्व विभागाये।

बसिष्ठः—मातः परिज्ञान किष्यं मातेर्न। परिज्ञानं वरे दुःखितेव पञ्चस्ते। वाजङ्राण्यः—

“मातुिदुःखितेव पञ्चस्ते पत्रस्व अर्थनमयः।” तत्र तथा प्रिसोधादिनिश्चिनि मातेर्न। भागादि

बैष्णविपरे दुःखितयेव दिनेये। कार्याचारः—

दुःखितानामवे तु अर्थन पुष्यं तद्रस्वेद्यं। वन्युः बन्युः मारमायी भृद्धागमि तद्।

भगिन्यां वान्यां। सार्व विभागेर्न सम्सुः। खृष्णन्यक्षे चन्द्रस्य विमारस्तु प्रकशित।

मातः परिज्ञानं भागादिविकुण्ठी विवाह्युः पितृकुण्ठी विवाहावर्षदामावे वनस्य

तत्र तत्तिरयोऽथैवजल्ल किषिदेयं पुष्यं पुरारोभयानमगी। वन्युः भागादियैवाभिस्व भगिन्याविवाहिताससाधिनी।

विवाहिता। किषिदेयं मातः। तंयोराचे मातुं गमामि। प्रदेवाय नामः—

भागादि भागादिविभागावर्षदामावे गंध्रम। अतीतादिकालस्य भागादि तद्वर्ये।

विवाहिविधाने मन्वादिदर्मिकाहिणी विवाह उक्लांतैव भागादिविभागावर्षद्रोही। तेन

प्राप्तेषु भागादियैवाग्राम्यावर्षद्रोहेयु पूर्वकक्ष्वस्था।

१. चिन्ते। २. स्वनभावादि। ३. पुष्यान्यक्ष्वमाण्यमिति। ४. सनास्य।

५. देवं वानस्य। ६. पुष्यान्यप्रदेवानुं पुरीनाध समार्थात। ७. दुःखितानाम।

८. वैष्णवं।
अथ गुरुविभागः

याज्ञवल्क्यः
अन्योन्यपुष्टं इत्य विमोक्त सिद्धपरमे विभूति ।

महाभारते
अथ तत् तत्र वाणिज्य सिद्धपरमेः विभूति ।

अथ याज्ञवल्क्यविभागः

तत्र मनुः
चुतुराहसु इर्दमिवः तृणमानो विभूति।

महाभारते
अथ तत्र मनुः चुतुराहसु इर्दमिवः तृणमानो विभूति।

अथ ब्राह्मणविभागः

ब्राह्मणस्य चुतुराहसुः महाभारते।

अथ अमृतविभागः

अथ अमृतविभागः

अथ अमृतविभागः

अथ अमृतविभागः
Appendix I

वाहदारायंतः ब्रजानाथ्यानयानिदानां दिनाजालः। ब्रजानाथ्यानिदानां दिनाजालः। ॥

बांसः। श्रुतांप्रथेत: घरवापि देवरावस्य पिता दचात्स स एव भागस्त्य गोमिष्ठहुनापमनद्वातः।। ॥

कुक्लायसंक्षे- पाण्यं तिलकरः। मनु:।

चवपिः स्वातसुभुषी व यशपुषोधिः व भवेत्। नाबिकं दशमाहायंश्चुद्रा पुजाय धर्मतः॥

ब्राह्मणविविग्नं श्रुतां न रिक्षवामक। ॥ यवेदवास्य: पिता दचांवेदवास्य: चन्ते भवेत्।।

सुपुज्ञविविग्नकुसमहितं। न रिक्षवामक। ॥ कप्यात्तौ न दशमाहात्तिरिक्षवामातित।

तैवास्यत्तत्तिनुेन क्रांताहुष्ठोनिडिः न पितुरिक्षवामातित। ब्रह्मस्वरः।

अन्यक्रिस्य श्रुतां सुभुनानां श्रुतमिनिनिजः।। गुरात्जीवनः कर्पिः संपिन्दः:। समवाप्पुः।।

श्रवाक्षेरिः तृतीयस्य अर्थप्रमाणः रिक्षवालयः। हरिमुनोशुद्रापुः सत्तौ न अवष्टशुद्रापुरः सति

तस्यापि भागकल्पः। मनु:।

दास्यांवः दासलिया:।। श्रुतां सुभुनानां भवेत्।।

सोनुङ्गाः हरेदभिमिति चर्मः व्यवसित:।।

सोनुङ्गाः। पितुमानुङ्गाः।। याज्ञवल्क्यः।

आजीविः दास्यां प्रदेशः कार्तिकः स चन्ते हरेत। ॥ सुर्वतिः पिरिर कुस्तंतः भातारस्वरस्वरायिकम्।।

श्रुतां नुभुषी जातोऽर्थः। जातोऽर्थः मानः पितुरिच्छया भमते।। सुते पिरिर मानातोऽर्थः मानः भमते।

अन्यदा: स्वायमूर्तिः।। तेनाप्सिवामित्तत्त्यस्य भागस्त्य:।। तथा

अभासोऽर्थः हरेत सुभुनानां सिताते।। विनविहित्तुपुवनीपरमालः इतयः।। गोतमः।

श्रुतापुरं एव प्रतिलोकमात्र श्रुतादिविनां वैश्याचिनी जनिताः। श्रुतानवल्क्यायामाणुं

हरिकालादिः।। विश्रिति सम्भवं हरेः।।

अथ विमृक्तक्षमितामः

याज्ञवल्क्यः।

विभक्तं शुचो: जाताः सचर्वांविभागमाकृः।। श्रुतासिद्धात्मेयः।।

विभागाक्रेते गन्धर्मः पञ्चाग्रन्त:। स विभागहृं संसस्तीयः।। विभागाचन्ते भविषयः।।

व्ययविशेषमानारारस्यार्थः समभास्य भवतं इत्यः।। इत्याविलीत। इत्यासिद्धात्मेयः।

तैवामित्तत्त्य सर्वायामित्तत्य सम्भवान भगवं य सि: पितुरिप्रतिद्वं विभागाचारात: यशः।।

चायर्यः।। सर्वविद्यात्तपिक्षोपितिविभागागोतमः।।

विभस्यः।। पितुर्रुपानवणारस्य भगवं द्वृष:।। मनु:।

कर्वचं विभागाचारस्तु पिच्छमैव भवन: हरेत।। संस्कृत्तास्ते न वा वे स्य: विभेत त सै:सह॥

एवकाय चिन्द्रस्य विभागाचारे विभवस्य आङ्गृत:।। कर्दस्तु।।

पियां सह विभवस्य वे सहस्त्रा वा सहोदराः।। ज्ञानवाचकः।। वे वैष्णवमानस्तु।।

अणौदः: पियांविभागेत।। विभागः।।

1. ब्रह्मदायांमातः। 2. कुपितः संख्यात्मस्य। 3. समाप्पुः।।
4. पित्रा दचे। 5. हरकालादिः। 6. भागाचारादामाणः।

35 M. V.
MITHILA IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

अथ पुष्पः

ततः यमः

पूर्वास्तु हादद्रापीकः ६ सुभित्तवदशिभमः। तेषां पश्चवन्यादायाः ३ पश्चवन्यादायान्।।
स्वयंपुरवस्त्रादेव त्रिभुवानं भृगुः। स्त्रीश्वरः
श्रीमतीमातृश्वरः कानीन्द्रियं प्रथमः। गाइं च गुरु उत्तरः अद्वेदे विष्णुदशस्त्रतः।
अविद्वते सहोऽहस्तः क्रिमिः एव च। प्रथमः पुष्करकापां वंशिपथम्ये शुममः।।
हेष्येते संक्षोरवधा पश्चवन्यादायान्।।

नारायः

औरसः क्षेत्रजाते पुष्करकाप्ते एव च। कानीन्द्रि सहोऽहस्त गुरुप्रतवस्त्रतः।।
पीनमेवोदवविद्वते द्रश्चिन्तः कृतसमः। सवं चौरंगस्ता शुस्त्राः हादद्राति प्रकृतितः।।
तेषां पश्चवन्यादायाः पश्चवन्यादायान्।।
पूर्वः पूवः स्त्रीश्वरः कृमिः जनयतः च उत्तरः।।
कृमिष्टे प्रकृतिते सहोऽहस्ते विश्विं तदन्।।
अिष्णुवश्वः क्षेत्रजातान्तरस्त्रवावरोधः।

पूवारात् हादद्रापीकः ७ सुभित्तवदशिभमः। तेषां पश्चवन्यादायाः पश्चवन्यादायान्।।
औरसः क्षेत्रजाते द्रश्चिन्तः कृमिः एव च।
गुरुप्रतवस्त्रादेव द्रायादा बाणवाक्षः पदः।।
कानीन्द्रि सहोऽहस्तः कृतः पीनमेवसतः। सवं वद्वश्व श्रीश्वरः पश्चवन्यादायान्।।

बौधायनः

औरसः पुष्करकापुरः क्षेत्रजन्तृ दशकिरिकि।
गुरुप्रतवस्त्रादेव ८ विभिन्नमाः। प्रकृतिः।।
कानीन्द्रि सहोऽहस्तः कृतः पीनमेवसतः।।
सवं द्रश्च द्रश्च गीतमाः ग्राममाः। प्रकृतिः।।
एवेवाबिवधाय देवोपति एव द्रायादशानात् सान्यायः।।
आर्जनः पराशाक्षी श्रीवालिक्षाकारः।
तेषां पश्चवन्यादायः पूवः गृहीता बिलुरेन् पदः।।
विशेषकारः पुष्करकापुरात्मवा विवेकः।
सवं क्षेत्रजातिः पुष्करवादहरः स्त्रीश्वरः।।
औरसे पुष्करसे ज्ञेयस्तेन्नक्षेत्रे।
तेषां सवं वे पुष्करातत्तीवाना श्रीवालिकः।।
हादद्रापीकः मारात्मसचारभक्तः।

एवं पुष्कराताभार विवेकः। एतेषां पूवः
पूवः श्रीवालिकः स एव दायवारः स चारावारः
विवेकः। तेषां च प्रथम औरसः त्रिभुवानं
क्षेत्रजातिः पुष्करकापुरः। पीनमेवः।
प्रथमः कानीन्द्रि गुरुप्रते महामः। सवं
सहोऽहस्तः श्रीमतीमातृश्वरः। कृतः नवकृतं सवं
सवं गुरुप्रते समस्ताः।।

1. यविनिःस्तवदशिभमः। 2. पूवः च दायावायान्तः।
3. गुरुप्रतवस्त्रादेवः। 4. सवं ग्राममाः। 5. पीनमेवः च विवेकः।
6. भवनव एव च विवेकः।
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दृष्टम: अपविष्कार एकादेश: पारशुरारो दाडाश:। केहिं नन्दकिने पारसरावँह धती तात:।
पुनः दार्दशिनार नृणामिति मननक्षिणेयाशिवायनाद:। शिखः। औरंग-क्षेत्र-पुनिकापुप-
गृहोत्सवम् नीतीनिर्मितिकोषकिंस्तुनिर्मितिकस्तोद्विपिनः।
पिण्डदेशार्हारणी पूर्वाभावे परे: पर:।

याशवन्त:।

औरों भर्मप्रजाज्ञातत्सम: पुनिकासुत:। क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रान्तर्व गर्भावजेति रूप:।
गृहप्रजात वर्षश्रो गृहोत्सव: सुता: स्वतः। कालिनः कालिनाजाति मातामहेतुः स्वतः।
आयु काली जाति या जाति: पौनमः सुता:। दशान्माता पिता या या सं पुन: दशको मनवित।
कौमां त्यानं विकिरत: क्षेत्रः स्वाद स्वर्य सन्त:। क्षेत्र: कार्तिकवनस्त्रो गामिनिः साहोदरः।
उल्लिखृते गृहसिद् ५ जस्तु सोदिको ६ मनोहरः। पिण्डदेशार्हारणी पूर्वाभावे परे: पर:।

भर्मप्रजा विशविजया सवाणो तदुप औरस:। अयो मातापिलो:। तथा पुनिकापुपः।
क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः। क्षेत्र: श्रीराय वाचिनः। तदाच्छायामयः।
गृहोत्सवः स्वादामवलितः।

स्वादरापिकारैकाकाचारिनो मातापिकारैकाकास्वरूपस्वं मातामहेतुः स्वादरामत्तो नीतीर्विनः।
पृष्ठ: कथौ सुते नमरुद्याहेण्य नरेन्द्रलिंगं पुष्कः सुनवोः।

दत्रो कृतफळ:। कौमान्तेन परन्यपरास्च कौमान्तेन कौमान्तेन। स्वस्वादके भूत यस्य पुनः स्वादामवलितः प्राप्त:।
साहोदः। गर्भसंख्यतः। पानिक्षेत्रस्वतः। अपरिक्ष: मातापिलुभासुत्रिको वैन धृतापत्य सुमः।

जुझसिद्धः।

'पुराने बने धर्मी वाचिनि:। ततुहुः पुनिकास्मी विशविजया महामात्रावलित:।

मुखः।

'पुराने बने। पुष्कः। विच्छेदः वसु:। प्रसु:। श्रीपानामातुतस्यार्थः प्रदानादि प्रदेवसः।

आयुर्वेदात् महानुष्ठः। प्रभृतिके पुनिकार्थे पाेहारीशे जाते तदुप पुनिकार्थे परदानुष्ठः।

पुनिकार्थे कुतांतानु:। यदि पुनःसंवरावते। समस्त: विषमः। स्वादोद्धता नातिः हि क्षिपः।

शत्म मनुष्यचारः।

कार्यावन:——

उत्तमेन स्त्रीरसे पुनि: तुरीयांशास्त्रस्यानु:। स्वरूपस्वरूपांस्य असाराचार्यांमहानमस्त:।

६५ एदुतुर्मात्रार्थः क्षेत्रांज्ञ:।

समस्त: विषमः। क्षेत्रः। सुंदर: पुनः स्वादामवलितः।

शत्म मनुष्यचारः। उच्चमर्दकविषमितिपरे:।

विविधत:——

वर्तक्षेत्र विविधेऽस्मिन् औरस वर्षश्रोऽस्मिन् चचूर्धमानो मायी यदि स्वादः यदि नामस्वम्

दत्रो कथौ। कुम: सत्यार्थिगृहोत्सव:। कथौ स्यादे भूत्व नामनि:। क्षेत्र:।

६५ श्यामेण:। यदै स्वास्थ्यसुत्र: न स्यादे मर्दकविषमिति:।

१. गृहसिद्धः। २. सोदिको। ३. पौनमः। ४. एदुतुर्मात्रः।

५. एदुतुर्मात्रः। ६. श्यामेण:।
अथ पुनर्धनग्रहणाधिकारः

तत्र विषयः—
अपत्यस्य धनं पतन्यभिमागमि तद्भवमु भार भारभाग्यायामि तद्भवमु वन्यभागमि तद्भवमु सहायायामि तद्भवमु भागवणवन्याभागायामि। बन्युपदेमाथ सिद्धः।

ब्रह्मस्पति—
सपिण्डाति तु पुरुषे सत्ते विनिवेति। सामानोदकमुल्यु निवर्ते। बुद्धशान्ति।
जन्म नामस्थृतिर्कृतौ तत्त्वं मोक्षमिल्ये।
अपत्यस्येति पुरुषीव्रीभाषिनितः। पुनः पीपल प्राप्यो वैवादिनिः पाठकमेत्वा वर्त्तिकारी सिद्धे सामानोदकमुल्यः अक्षधारणाय तवाधिकारिक्षे।
अव पीपलप्राप्तायामयेति पन्यभिकारिणी। तद्राह ब्रह्मस्थः।
अप्रत्याशयन्तरः पालनस्ति तत्र विनिवेति। पतन्यवद्वारः तद्भव विनिवेत कङ्का प्रभेयत् च।

ब्रह्मस्पति—
आदये भ्रमिति ते लोकाचारे च सुखिते।
शरीरायेः स्तोताय जाया पुण्यामुन्ये के समा।
यत्र नोर्ताल माहाते वेदाय तथ्य विनिवेति। जीवितये श्वरोत्कर्षये कसमये: सामान्यत:।
स कुलेष्वरमण्यनु पिपिमातुसात्मिकमिः। अधूरः प्रमत्तितय पतली तद्भवमहारिणी।
पुरुषनिताभिनीक्षिन्ते। भर्तिनिक तदन्यः। बिन्देत परित्वान च धम्मः यथा समात्तेह।
जेम्टम स्वातवे हैमरी धार्य वसान्यः। आदयदापन्निवृत्तायामात्रायामस्यायमात्सिंकितकः।
पिपिम्यथुरुस्तिवासमात्रायामातिसात्मिकः।
पुजुभे वल्ली प्रवृत्ताय विनिवात्सत्तिविच्युक्तिः।
तद्विपिण्डायायामे तत्त्वा स्वः परिप्रेषणः।
हिंस्कुमायानि तानुराजां चौरं वर्णेन दापयवेदः।

तथा च अपत्यस्य सुतस्य भारोऽयेः: एव आद्यकारकस्य वयस्मातन्याभिकारक्षेत्र्न्यायः। एव बिन्दसाधित्यपयतः। परिनिर्माटा सात्त्विकाः। अन्यत्रा धनग्रहणायस्याः।
अववर्त्ततस्य आतुर्मु गुरुस्वयंपत्ताः भारोऽयेः स्तुपानाथ किलिन्तरः जीविति वासंत्यविकृतामिः च गुरुवादः।

1. चुर्ण: समानरिंग्यामाः।
2. निबेदितः।
3. पतली प्रद्वारः
4. आनावे।
5. पूर्णप्राप्त्याभिपदिः सुते।
6. तापयवेदः।
हारित:—

विषया मौर्यनाथः ३ हि नारी मययत करि खः। आतुषः खुपणार्धेश दरातवथें खीचनं सदा।

इदं संसहितायमित्वन्ये। अविभूक्तस्यायपत्वस्य सुतस्य पल्ल्या मानो नास्तीति

प्रागेव व्यास्यात्।

भारते—

क्रीणं स्वपतिरावयस्तु उपमोगमणं स्तुतः। नौपहारं क्रयं कुडः परिविचारं कथा च।

उपहाराचिन्द्रं दानं विकायादिकम्। पल्ल्यमावे हृदितुमागि विषितविभुविचनाद।

त्रृस्तति:।

आहार्यादात समुक्ततं पुनवदहुः त्वम्। तत्स्या: पितुरं सः ३ कथे गृहीत मानवः।

नारायणः।

पुरानावे तु हृदिता स्तनवस्तनकरणाद। पुनः हृदिता चोमीपितुः संतानकरणी।

वयैवत्तमा तथा पुरुषः पुनः हृदिता समाः। तस्त्याभामननि जीवंस्तं कथमेव चनं हरेद।

अपुवननामधिष्ठि कुमारिः। वाहसी कुमारिः भन्मधिष्ठि तामाः।

त्रृस्तति:।

सदैव सुश्रुपे दासी श्रुपृणं रतः। कथा करता वा पुरस्य पितुदैवनहृ तु सा।

न वैतके देवं पुनिर्काविषये तत्साय अधिष पुरुष सते समप्रहस्याभिकरावतः तदमावे

मातुगाम। त्रृस्तति:।

भार्या सुता विवेशस्य तनवस्य सुतस्य तु। माता रिस्थहरू शेषा आता च तदनुस्या।

मुनः।

दृष्टि रासिं रिस्थमुन्तरस्य पितुरेषु। स एव दराढः पिण्डोऽपि मातामहाय च।

पति इदायु पुरावथे पतली हृदिति हस्यादि कमानोबिधात। अनपत्वस्य पुरस्य स्याचार

मातुद्वमावे पितामाहाः।

तवाह मुनः।

अनपति स्याचार माता तदल्ला नावाव। मातर्य कृतत्यायं पितार्मात्तकं होद्वानम्य।

दृष्टि शृङ्खवस्य चनं पितामहेऽ हरेदिर्यथेः। मात्रावे पिता विषितविभुविचनाद।

'मात्रावे पितुगाम मातामावे आतुगाम: तत् मुनः।

पिता हरेदुनुस्य चनं आता पव वा।

गोतमः। प्रेतामावं चनं श्रेष्ठचार्य। आपस्तम्भः। आस्तः सपिण्डस्यावेभविष्टस्तपि

उपास्यात्। आचार्यायस्यात्मामावे अनेतवासी।

पालकस्य:।

पतली दृष्टिरौखौ पितरी आतारस्तथा। तरक्षो गौरवो बन्धुसः। श्रेष्ठः स महर्षारिणः।

पालकस्य प्रौढः भन्मायुस्तक्षरः। भार्याः तस्य भूपयस्य सर्ववेगेऽपिव पितरी

पितामावे मातालेैरिति कमादेष विषयाचनासुरारूपाद। तस्वतुः आतुषः। अपुवनन

पीवादिरविश्वस्य। कायानां।

१. मनवनस्य हि २. वचनं ३. दृष्टिरविश्वस्य ४. मात्रावे

५. मात्रावे
MITHILĀ IN THE AGE OF VIDYĀPATI

विभक्तसंस्कर्ते द्रव्यः पुनः भ्राताव्रें पिता हृतः ।
माता वा जन्मी बापि माता वा तद्व विदु हमादः ॥

अथ न्यायसीतो विक्षरसः । तेन पितार्जिते पिता भ्रातार्जिते भ्राता मातार्जिते माता पितामाधविते ॥ पैठानिसः । अपवर्यािवास्य आतुमधविविव तदमवे मातामितरी वकमितम् ।

दुःखः ।

ततो दायमुखस्य महोत्सवः सङ्गदाचरः । दुःखः दुःखितो वापि प्रयमाणः पितापि वा ॥

सवर्णा सारारी माता भ्रायि वैति यथाकामः । यथामवाये युधिष्ठिरः सङ्कुलः सहसहिनः ॥

दुःखः । वहरा । आत्मोऽव सामर्थ्यः । अथ देवकिँचंकेन विभुवास्यवल्क्यकरः ।

सवर्णानाद्यक्षरपरवर्तकः पिरीरः ॥

बौधायनः । स्थिराद्वार्त सकुलात्यदारे अवचारवश्यदारे सहसहिनः । आर्तीः भ्राह्मिः तदभावे वाजासम्बरानाः वन्याहिवल्क्यवननात् ।

तत् वन्यपदन स्वस्वलाप्रावासम् ।

आसमदुधु स्वमुद्रा आसमालु स्वदृढः । आस्मालुस्थु विवेजया आस्मवल्क्यः ॥

पितुः पितुः स्वमुद्रा पितुः स्वदृढः । पितुः स्वमुद्रुस्थु विवेजया पितुः स्वल्क्यः ॥

मातुः मातुः स्वमुद्रा मातुः स्वदृढः । मातुः स्वमुद्रुस्थु विवेजया मातुः स्वल्क्यः ॥

धर्ममपि करता प्राधिकरः । तेषामवाये भ्राह्मणविनवः राजा गृहीतारः । तदाद् मनुः ।

अहार्य भ्राह्मणवं राजासिंहवर्धिनः । इतिरावश्च वर्णानां सवातबाव हेरेयुः ॥

बौधायनः—

बहादुरः पुनःतावः हन्यदेवकिन्यिनं विस्मृ हस्तमादजः भ्राह्मणर्त नानारूपवश्चवः ॥

शंखशिवी । परिपदामिः अभिमर्यकरं न राज्रामिः । परिचुद्र श्राणः ।

तथा वायुशिर्तागः । करमात पुष्यः प्रौप्रातः सात्त्विक भ्राता वृत्त विनाः अपवर्यािवास्य अवस्य ।

सप्तविंशिष्ठिः कामदताविनातिपिणः मातुकुःस्निः । भ्राह्मणे विनाः सत्या ।

राजा भ्राह्माणनारः पूर्वपूर्ववातवामि करारतैर्धिकारः । वन्याल्क्यः ।

वागप्रस्थयति भ्राह्मार्यावल्क्यमीगिनः कोपकार्यायार्यावल्क्यम्योक्तिकारः ।

प्रतिलोकः कोपकारिकारः । तथा व भ्राह्मार्यार्यामाचारः ।

ब्रतेस्तिकरः । वागप्रस्थयः आत्मस्वेतनात्तो वागप्रस्थयः ।

वागप्रस्थलोकः । पेताहि महागंितमसम्भवेश् । ओौषधिविनातिपि न वैवर्यम्यः ।

वालाक्षः । नारायणी वृत्तान्तारुपमानन ब्रह्मानन । नारायणः पदार्थ विस्मृ भालानाः पैठाधिक धनम् ।

वधम् । परिचुद्रमिः ।

वात्यदायकः रिक्ष्यक ताव्याद्यवात्यावेदः । अवस्त, स्वात समास्तृत मातापारातैश्चः ॥

अथ संस्कृतश्रवनविभागः

तत् वृहस्पतिः—

विभाजी यः पुनः पिता भ्राता चेकन्तं सिद्धतं । पितुर्यायात्तमा प्रीत्या तद्व संस्कृत उत्त्वते ॥

1. पितृविनिश्चितेदेवाः । 2. पितामाधविते । 3. मन्त्रसत्तमः

4. भ्रातिविनायकः । 5. वायु समोजामवायः । 6. वागप्रस्थितस्य

7. पैठा महादिनाखवारः । 8. पुषागमम्
असमा क पुत्रतमविवरण 9 तथा सर्वानसाक्षरमय सर्वमय पुनर्विम्यां यथाविद्यत व्यस्यय हिळि। प्रकाशोपिनितम्म पितृगुरुवेच वा संगी ब्रह्म। केविचु पुत्रकन्यावर बेदभद्र किविमवर संगी कालाविद्यायां। इह पद्धतिः मन्दिः। आभिम्याचिनुपरवरस्तपस्व-भवाय दिविचेव वाणी मातमीमांसार्षार्थ। 6 वहमें संस्तुतिः वारः 5 तथा चालसामन्या बांका ब्रह्म लक्षात्वेते विद्याधिपियोगिन्य वैन देनातप विद्यकरस्त विशेषार्थ तथ। तथा तथा च विभूती भातरो वै च संगीर्धकृत संस्कारसंधिः। पुनर्विम्याघरणे जयर्षेत्वात्त न विचक्ते ॥

अन्तःयोग्यतायमायापी नातोदरारिः।

कालपिकी प्रतीचेत प्रत्रज्ञदं ब्रह्मन। न यद्यते 6 तथा वाचनं सोदरस्त्रवर विचारात्।

"त्रिभुवनस्य भगवनितद्रादं तौदश्यमोहिता। अन्तःयोग्य भर्मोदेशमायापीभवकरस्त च।"

संस्कारामस्थं यथेकः प्रतिविद्यते। तस्य वाचनं यथावते 8 तथा संसूक्तिसोदरो गृहाविषयं।

सौदर्श्यं विभाषेरसं 9 सन्तै संहितं। समस्म।

आत्मिरे वै च संसूक्तं भगवनितद्रादं। सावधानमं ॥

मनुष्यानुकूलयात्राः। अन्तःस्तुतिः पतृभवात्सा। 9 केविचु हि सोदरो एको वैतातात्यः।

तेजः विकलचिदिव्यितमा भगवनं संस्तुतं तथा दयानुमा एकसमु 5 तुहु स्तानिलोकाविवाहसहितैः 9 तादृशस्यो विभाषो भवेत्। एवं भक्ताविवाह सूक्ति मात्र सोदरस्त्रवरस्त मा प्रस्तुती नाग्राहश्च स्वाहाः। 9 तद्भक्ताविवाहस्य विभाषा न विभाषो भवेत्। तद्भक्ताविवाह निरीक्षार्थ विमानू प्रायलत्वायत्तात्त प्रस्तुते विभाषो युक्तटिक्षितम्यास्य परः स्वाभ-संकोचमार्गित।

सौदर्शनानलाः संख्यं संज्ञी संसूक्त तु सोदरः।

दशारत्नेरांजी जातस्य च गृहाविषयं 8 च।

जातस्य जीवनं श्री तुरायुक्कु। परे 5 दुखुपुरुसंस्था भारताः जाते पितारे चुरू तदु पितुमाः। तस्मै भावे दशारत्ने। 9 प्रमीत संकोचमार्गस्य संख्यस्य। ततया संसूक्तरो भवेत्। नानाविनयस्य एवं पितुपूर्वोपिनित संस्तुतिः सर्वसत्त्वाद्रोपेनाकेस्थानाद। ननु "पैतामहं पियर्वाम विकारित्व 5 स्वाभाविताम्।" तदनु विभाषा निराकार विवाह स्वाभव निराकारात्त। नवानवालेन विभाषानेिमितता चाचन्त तस्य संस्तुतिः संभलितातिषयविवाहालाः। अतप्रय निपद्धति। संस्तुतिः पितुमाः भवारूपररजत अंतःग्राहावकाशाय इत्यादि संस्तुतिः पुराणद्रमाय संसूक्तसर्वारिः इति संस्तुतिः। 7 एक्षेत्रम् मयुः।

अधिक विद्याभाजालस्य द्रमेव मनः हरेतो 5 संसूक्तास्तन सो वा पुरुषत्तमं सैः सह॥

वाक्वश्चात्—

न्यायोद्भवतु संसूक्ती नालोद्भवनाभं हरेतः। असगंगा भावाजालसोदरी नाममात्रः।

आदर्शाय गृहाविषयं। अन्तःयोग्यम्। सोदरस्त्रवरस्तं।

1. अष्टक वनरूपविनाशस: 2. व्यवहारग्रहाय। 3. लोकविवाहस्य।
4. न ग्रहार्तये नो वा 5. नामस्य भगवनीस्त्रवरस्तं। 6. न ग्रहार्तये।
7. भिन्नेयं: 8. सन्तंभाय 9. विभाषारुपायः
नाराय—
संस्कृतानं तु संस्कृता। पुष्कर स्थाने पुष्कर रसिता।
अयमवेदः। क्रिया त्रिवेदः। प्रारम्भ त्रिवेदः।
संस्कृतानं निर्मिती निर्मितीवर्गम्। गच्छदे इस्ये।
पूजार्थसमाधिः। संस्कृतानं पुनःश्रुतिका पातादनाः।
विभागस्थितं पूर्वस्त्रृताज्ञानालयं भगवानवर्गम्।
क्लीकः। चालानमाणाः। क्निम्मान प्रेमालेषु। प्रसेध वतः।
विभागवेदनास्य क्षेष्टुरु स्वामण्यालौतित्वम्।
वर्तमानाः। कुलस्वरूपे स्वामण्यालौविशिष्टयाः।
रत्नितया स्वरूपे मनःश्रेयस्यावर्तमानानां ततः।
वातस्य कुमारिणि। परिष्ठे भरणो मनः। आसक्तकार्यरत्नाः।
संस्कृतानं क्षणामात्राः। प्रत्यांत्ये गुरूऽवत्से।
तत्र अभिश्च प्राची प्राचीवाच्यिन्यार्थे न भर्तिवा।
तस्य कुमारी कुमारिणि। प्रतार्हेत्यपि।

cायायन—
संस्कृतानं तु संस्कृता। पुष्कर स्थाने पुष्कर रसिता।

cायायन—
अयमवेदः। क्रिया त्रिवेदः। प्रारम्भ त्रिवेदः।
संस्कृतानं सुदर्शनपत्रार्थमाणास्य श्लेष्ये।
क्लीकः। क्रिया त्रिवेदः। प्रारम्भ त्रिवेदः।
संस्कृतानं सुदर्शनपत्रार्थमाणास्य श्लेष्ये।
क्लीकः। क्रिया त्रिवेदः। प्रारम्भ त्रिवेदः।

स्थवरं दिप्यितः। यथाय स्वयम्बितम्।
अर्द्धात्मकज्ञानोद्वर्तन व विक्रयः।

अस्यपावादः—
पृष्ठीपि स्थवरं वृद्धाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।
स्थवरं दिप्यितं संस्कृत गृहस्थं कथारं च विशेषतं।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।
स्थवरं दिप्यितं संस्कृत गृहस्थं कथारं च विशेषतं।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।
स्थवरं दिप्यितं संस्कृत गृहस्थं कथारं च विशेषतं।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।
स्थवरं दिप्यितं संस्कृत गृहस्थं कथारं च विशेषतं।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।

कसीदेषिसे कुलाहारणमविवर्तम्।
आपल्लि कुलाः परमारं विशेषतः।
अय विमागणिले:

तद्द नानुरः—

विमागणिले दायादानां विनिर्णय:। शालितिमाराणेको इत्येक तथाप्रचारणागत:।

आत्राप्रभावादिनामको थाक:। प्राचित:। विमागे सति भिन्नांक भवेतेंत्युपक:। पुक्तक:।

दाताप्रभाव उपकुलेश्वरपिंडपाद:। विमागां पुक्तक:। देवय वाक्यमागममवः:।

साधिकं तत्तभाषान्दा दातामामेव:। विमागां भारत:। कुरुर:। नारिमत्त:। परशारम:।

वास्तवमां:। क्रिया चोखे प्रकारिते हि रिशेक्षाः। विमागानाविनिवेदेशेष्वरमुन्नवरणात:।

विमागा स्वर्णम् विमागम्यः। शास्त्रो विमाग विमागादार्यां दायादान:। भाग्ये-नानामयमवर्मणेश्वरं निभितपरभाव:। पुक्तकार्यक्षणायादिः। दातामामेव पुक्तकार्यक्षणायादिः। अल्प मधुकारं ग्रह:। पाकगुण:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। वाक्यमागममवः:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।

क्रिया चतुष्कुलेश्वरपिंडपाद्विभीमां:। प्राचित:। अन्यां भारत:।
बुधस्पति—
पृथगाप्यवः अनाकुश्यदश परस्परम्।
शेषोन्वयवहारजारस्ते विभजार्यदितथाः॥

द्यथः:
विभागफलमि पुष्यकु पुष्यकु व्यवहार धव।
तथाय सारथः।
स्यभागायं यदि द्रुप्ते विक्रोण्युरथापि व।
कर्मचतुष्यं तत्सर्वात्मात्ते स्वपनस्य वै॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीविद्यापतिबड्डुर्विरचितो विभागलारः।

१. पृथगाप्यवः चापि २. विभक्तारो वेदितथया।
APPENDIX-II
श्रीवियापत्तिविरचिता
न्यायिभक्तितरांगिनी
VYĀDHIBHAKTI-TARAṅGINI
by
VIDYAPATI

Arranged, collated and edited for the first time by the author in collaboration with Dr. Virendra Shrivastava, Vidyavacaspati, Professor and Head of the Department of Hindi, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur.

Though it was believed that Vidyapati wrote Vyādhibhābhaktitarāṅgini, the manuscript of the same was not available in India. Snake worship was prevalent in Mithila and hence it is not unusual to have a work on the subject by our poet. It was Dr. Sukmar Sen who first drew our attention to this manuscript and later Dr. P. K. Maity made a notice of this manuscript in his Thesis. I contacted my esteemed friend Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah. Head of the Islamic studies, Dacca University, Dacca, who spared no pains in helping me in locating the manuscript of this invaluable work hither to unknown. He got it transcribed for me. The Manuscript was corrupt and full of mistakes. I am very obliged to Dr. Virendra Shrivastav who took pains to compare and corrlate the manuscript and prepared the text for the press. My thanks are due to Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah and Dr. Virendra Shrivastava. The text is now before the scholars and it is for them to judge its importance. It has been included in the appendix because this work of Vidyapati was unpublished. Like other works it also appears to be incomplete and ill-arranged. A second copy, if and when discovered, may give us a correct picture.
न्याडिभक्तिरक्रिञ्जी
अथ वियापतितिविरचितो

|| नमो गणेशाय ||

अथ घटस्थापनविधि:

प्रथमतः सूर्यध्वेण दस्य स्वरितावभान्न कुर्वतः
अस्मि स्वरित न हंद्रो बृहस्वायः स्वरितम् पूष्या विभवेदा: ।
स्वरित नलस्यों वसिन्योऽयों अरिन्योऽयों अद्यतनामिः
अस्मि स्वरित नलस्योऽयों वसिन्योऽयों अद्यतनामिः

नक्षत्राणि पिशाचाणि राजसायं सदृष्टाः
अपयश्च ते सर्वेऽवेदाकृष्णा ताण्तितः

सूर्यं सोमं वमं कालं सर्वं भूस्तन्यं
पवनो विभवमिसंकाशी लक्ष्मणं ( राः )

बाणं शास्त्रनमानयं कल्पनविह विभविः

Folio 2 A

लोकवादकः तत्वः

अकादेववेल्टाः लोकानां सौभोज्याः

प्रबुद्धाः प्रतिकोलेकोः लोकवादः इतरितमः

ते च सर्वभूमिद्रिश्युद्दान्तस्य वैशिष्ट्यानि मन्विन्यान्याय विशेषरी मन्विन्यान्यायः

लक्ष्मीपरेण नो दशा वस्त्रामुक्तामुच्चिता

तस्मान्नोनि नां त्वं क्षुद्र सत्समवेद

यूण्यों विभवम स्वरित देवताहः समाबुद्धाम्

घटितव्यस्तत्व विभवाः ( च )

Folio 2 B

पुजयेवगीतनत्त्वे

पदराक्षित्वत्रयश्चादत सिद्धनागिकित्ययमन्विन्यादानायमपि परिमहस्तेष्या

पूर्वमं वोक्षाः

अथम विश्वदोषानोभवतारिः मध्यमम्

उच्चमं पदिङ्गाः च दत्तिष्ठतोऽधोमोच्यमा

चतुर्दश महामायम् लोकोऽति सति ( सदि ) परिकृतितः

सति सतिः भूस्तन्यं विभवायाधाम् न न्तने

1. अकादेववेल्टाः लोकवाद=
2. तन्व ( यन्त्र ? )
3. चतुर्दशकाम्यम् लोकां परिकृतिता

पूजयते हि कस्ते इति शक्ते द्रेः पूर्ण यस्माः
APPENDIX II

वे वे समागता द्रष्टु तानः ३ संस्तुति प्रमुखंतेतः ॥
मद्वाणं नायवं द्रष्टुः वागीं लक्ष्मीं च पावतींमः ॥ काविक्रेयं गणेशं च कालीं यं प्रभागातकम् ॥

Folio 3 A
जरवकारामातिकृत्वांमेव चन्द्रधरतथा ॥ स्वर्गरखाच ततप्रसी पुर्वं लक्ष्मीपरस्तथा ॥
तत्प्रसी प्रुपुष्पार्पि श्रीधरार्थं दिजहतथा ॥ यशोबरस्र देवश्री कर्णधारक दुर्लभस्मम् ॥
अये गणेशं होकानां पतिनोदीच मनोहरं ॥ माण्डवारिण्याधारचार्यः मधवे मुखे तथा ॥
नेत्रालयः ५ नारकत्रिष्क शुग्नधार तथापराम् ॥
सुरेशर्वीं तथा दुर्गा देव्या दिशा समनतः ॥ हर्षाक्षोषकपालः सातुरानुं सत्ववानान् ॥

Folio 3 B
पूजाहोमादिकं कुरुवंदु युग्मदिवसं हिजः ॥ यथाकामं यथार्थस्तति बहिकामचं विवाहः ॥
नौराजनयः कालेवं तौराजनकपुरस्तरस्मः ॥ नवाय द्वाय द्वायै द्वायुः खोमे ततः ॥
द्विश्चार्यं विविधवनं गौतवाचः समापत्र ॥
दर्शनाच विविधवाच वासुदेहकरणं मधेवः ॥ नानन नानन च गोहारी ६ विख्यात या महितः ॥
गोहारीं सूरसां देवता कतस्यं भक्तिवाचः ॥ हेष्टलकामानस्तप्राप्तं देवान्ते स्मर्यमुक्तम् ॥
पुष्पमधुप्रभोत्रातः लक्ष्मीनेतृत्वमायमेवः ॥

Folio 4 A
धार्मिन्यादिर्भयं नासित नं ३ च समयन्तथा ।
गौडचन्दीभक्तमसायः चः -
सूरसां पूजयेव वरसू दृष्टान्तज्ञायतप्पबृतः। सुक्ष्मवहा तु विविधायं गहानन्ते स्वमें प्रमोदते ॥
कविचारुक मधुसूदनः प्राण्योत्तितों सूक्ष्मम् ॥
अलसतदिवसः नौराजनकपुरस्तरस्मः ॥
तेन सर्वप्रचारितः ३० पुष्पनायकशोभिविचरनेतृत्वम् ॥

Folio 4 B
संभवमाथ्यमावः १३। धारिक-विविध-मोक्षप्रशियुपक-स्मर्यविभिन्तसबकामो मनसादेवी
प्रीतिवद्विभिन्नाः ।

1. तास्तुत्त्य स्थान प्रमुखंतेतः ॥
2. लोकावः ॥
3. तर्काः ॥
4. कं कुर्कुद्यं युग्मदिवसं हिजः ॥
5. पुजा च स्थायेदे वा गुडदेवा चोकामातः ॥
6. गोहारी ॥
7. न ॥
8. काविक्रेयं स्तन्यं प्राण्योत्तिता सतू मल्यः ॥
9. तद्वितिजः ॥
10. नित्यः ॥
11. नित्यः ॥
12. प्राप्तावः ॥
13. प्रीतिवद्विभिन्नाः ॥
अथ रवहानिः

रवहानिसंपर्यायं। रवहानिरितिसङ्कीपा प्रतिमा भास्माधिकारिणां॥

शब्दमिहिकायाः —

वृष ( वृष ) क्षुवयं वाहुः विपुरवेः। महाबद्धितिन्त्रे शोभाय वासरे च॥

12, 21, 26, 4, 17, 29, 6, 13, 24, 22, 25, 7, 23,

विद्वानदर्शनम् ैं राजस्वे शोभायाः॥ विवच कर्त्तिरतीर्थिः। नाधिक्षुरवेः॥

सामान्येवताग्रंथं

हेमान्नकारी खण्डे —

लोको राजती तांत्रिक सूर्यभैरव विशेषतः॥ विवाहज्ञेश्वर प्रकर्त्तराय प्रतिमा चव्यवहवे॥

नौयसे सन्धिप्राप्तविशेष्युत्वसः —

प्रतिमायां ज्ञाते वा मन्त्रं वा अवलोकितः। पूज्येभूतं सुरसं देवी दुर्गावतं मुख साशकः॥

दुर्गाविद्यातिनेव वृक्षादनाचारः। तथा च —

निर्रसैनये यो श्रवणज्ञात्रीये मुःः सिद्धाम्। तस्य सत्तारे हाशिङिते स्वायु पदे पदे॥

पुरो प्रच्छागतिक्रियायां माध्यस्वति विश्वातं धीरिता तदेव॥

तस्रेषु पञ्चमां गुहारे च —

Folio 5 B

रवि वारे असंक्रमे।

दशस्माध्र अवोदयं शुल्कतन्त्रे तथा परे। वृश्चिकारित भास्मेत पूज्येत सबैदासतिदा॥

पुरो शाक्यवास्तव पूज्यमिति मतमपालसम्।

तस्रेषु पञ्चमेशु रा। देवैं रत्नमालः।

पुजाया: प्रतिमाभिमार्गस्य प्रहस्तनाबादुत्तुकाः। प्रहस्तप्रस्वस्तम्। तथा च

छन्दोपरिष्ठाः —

यव स्यात् कृष्ण्वज्ञान्यंैं अयनसेवरे मन्नीपणः।

भूसप्ति

Folio 6 A

मुख्ये तत्र कृष्णे यस्य वायुः। ( वायुः )

अथ यथापि संकृतं कुञ्ज: शाक्यवै श्रीत्व व्यायम् सहस्रसुमुक्तकरणादेव फलसिद्धिजाप्तेत

तथापि फलवहुःवाय दिनवार्याङ्कं प्रत्येकं पूज्येत । तथापि जैमिनः—फलस्य कर्मभिन्नशेषोऽहं अविशेषता:। यथा लोके वर्तिणारूढा बाहुः पुनः फलाविकं तथा वैक्षिण्येत्तथम्:। एवं

1. भने। 2. वादे। 3. रघुमो।

4. सीतारा राजते तात्कृत्र गृहमयी वा विशेषता:।

5. लोके ज्ञाते। 6. कृष्ण। 7. परिमानम्:।
Folio 6 B

कर्म कुर्भता यज्ञादिनों फल्न न दृष्टे तत्कृतिस्मावाद। तथा स विष्णुपराणम् —

यदा तदा सता हामिदेवमायास्यतारंगाः। तदा तदा फले श्रव्यितमेवा विच्छेदः॥

प्रशास्तां विस्मिति तदा परमुच्चता नूणी। दत्तानुष्ठयं प्राधान्यं केशमेवेष्यपिते॥

मण्डललुः गोदासिल्कुत्सरसः —

स्थिर्देव इस्तमाले च। मण्डल चतुर्स्कारं

चतुः॥

Folio 7 A

छोयं चतुर्दिर्न रणन्वगतिश्रीपितुः। पूजयेवनमनसा देवीं तत्र नागादेवः सह॥

अथ वैवर्तपुराणम्

सुचे जनादिने कुण्यं पञ्चायं मवनाने। पूजयेवनमनसा देवीं शुद्धनिःविद्वारसर्वितां॥

( पत्ताकोझ किस्मतिय विस्तारो विद्वारसिङ्गाभिविभागः ॥९ )

देवीं संपूर्ण नल्ला च। न सर्वभयामथुपात॥। पञ्चायं पूजयेवत्रागानन्त न्यायान। महोर्जगान॥

Folio 7 B

श्रीरं सपिष्टैं सदेवं देवं सर्वविवाहः॥

परवनं गर्भेक्षयः —

अनन्तो वाक्यं। पत्तो महापारोक्ष ताक्षः।

कुलारः क्रान्त:। श्रावः बधो नागः। यक्षीततः॥

तथा

कालों ध्वलर् विभुः मणिमन्द्रकम्। तैवैरावतं नागं धनजयमाधा।वेदः॥

चतुर्स्कारं समाल्यता वरदा कामचुः॥

अथ पूजयेवनमनसा देवीमिति देवीपुराणे दशीनामानसा

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रिवद्।

तेन ओशेम मनसादेवंः ञ्च मम इत्याश्रयमः।

म मनसा देवीः ३ मम इति वा। ओशेम विपहुःैः

नम इति ससारः ॥१ विश्वमक्षिः नम इति वा।

ताथाब्यासः निर्देशीमास्ते इत्यदेवज्ञारामः।

अधिवासगृहे देव इवायक्ते यथापितः। कस्य ( श्रधः ) वायोग्येः श्रवस्माधिवनास्ति ् ुर्भे ॥

एकरातृ विजः वा निरास्मिति वा तथा। कालक्षयुपतारोऽस्मातृ। संप्रतिविरायम्॥

संस्कारों गोथामालायोः ् ् ् ् ्। श्वातदिवसस्मितमस्थरः ॥

१. वित्तातिनं किस्मतिय विस्तारो विद्वारसिङ्गाभिभागः। इससे वह अनुमान लगाय पि कि नूढ़ पाठ्य कितना अस्तित्व ही सकता है ॥

२. देवीं।

३. देवीं।

४. विद्वारसः।

५. ससारः।

६. स्वाज्ञायिने।

७. श्रवस्माधिवनासत्।
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dīvīyātiśīrṣa

मनसादेवी दिवे (रस्य) प्रत्ययानांतदारीवादी। तथा च श्रीपति:-

पहुँच मनसा देवी प्रधानार्थो सुप्रियदी हिर्यादि।

तेन ओऽस्क मनसादेवी नम ह्रिणेव मनः। मनसादेवीतिप्रशासनानमस्ताव। तथा च

बालपुराणम्:

ओऽस्ककारादिसमाकुटः नस्मकारान्तकोतिः।

स्वाम सर्वस्थादान मनथ हृतभिन्नः।

वथा मनः। स्वामासाराण्डो बिंब सर्वस्थाभिनीतः। ततातारे च

ओऽस्ककारा बिभिन्नश्चान्ति नाममे महास्मारम्।

देवतानां स्वरिङ्गे तत्तू पूराणादिसंतवित्वद्।

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अंग फलमनका दूरवृङ्गायत कर्मोच्चयकम्। अन्यथा संकल्प वाहन विस्तार दक्षिणातः

स्वर्गः। तथेऽ भो विविधाधिकारिनयानि इत्याधिकारेत्तद्वियोक्तमपराधिकारीः

साम्प्रदायक-संस्कृत-संस्कृतादिहितका मान्यतापूक्तप्रभावसंकल्पः कार्ये हिते हृतमण्यः।

भवारानिभिविन्त्याला कोहिका एव।

श्वारालस्वर्णकोनैः।

'भद्रकम्: पूर्णकम्मो

भवारा: कनकाक्षः।

'कर्ण्यांगिरहितसम्कारः।

पूजायां कायशुद्धर्ष्य प्रथमो मृत्युः।

शुद्धिलकारमाह अभिव्यष्टु पुराणम्:-

गलवाख चार्य हृदतुर्यत्वेत्।

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पूर्व कुमकड़ कथा रेकलध समाहितः। कृत्तकारिण दोषालाल हृताध कायादिसम्बद्धर्।

आदिपदेन वास्मनस्य योगपदानाम्।

वाम्यफलप्रमाण-साहित्याधिकारिणायां

किंसिर्य भाराधिकार इत्याधिकारसाबर्णकार

श्रोते दहने स्तयं पक्षाने च यथाकमः।

वाम्यप्रमाणकारिणश्चिकाराधिकारः कृत्तिः।

न्यथाविधि हृदतुर्यत्वानां।

प्रणवाकीकृतिः देहं, तेनेव सन्यस्तं पञ्चभूमि मयं

तेनेव प्रणवेन सन्यस्तं संघटनम् सृष्टि सुडशं तथा ध्यानारूपम्यमुः प्रकर्षावेद।

इत्यादीविभिन्न आह्वान-नादिकर्मणि।

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रक्षणम्य प्रणवेन तु।

आदिपदेन वाम्य-साहित्यप्रकर्षावेद नादिकर्मणि।

वाप्रणवेयानां तु सांख्यविश्व परिकर्षावेद। देवता गामिकां पूजा स्वाध्वर निवेदेयेत्।

1. विवाहास्य मनसा देवी दिवे प्रथिणातालादिवत्वादिवा

2. सुकम्।

3. सम्कारान्ति 4. मनोरवाम। 5. जनक्युँक्यालय। 6. एवं।

7. शुद्धरामानाम्। 8. न्यथाविधि हृदतुर्यत्वानाम्। 9. तथावानिभिविन्त्वमेव।
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मूलेशन प्रणवेन वा। अथवा मन्नबीजेन यथोकविना सुधी:।

तथा च तनानारे

पूर्वेदत पोइशेरविंदूः" धारेवेचु चतुष्पुणः। रूचेरुद कुम्भकारेन अशक्तया ६ ततुरीयकम्।

तद् शास्त्रं तच्चतुर्दशं प्राणयं संवरः। प्राणयांम् बिना मन्न्यूजने न दि योग्यता।

अथ कराक्ष्याः। शापदाय्याः।—

अशीतीयं मन्नहस्य स्कृतीविःश्राविन कुलसेवत्।

अथ पोहोपोचारः। कृत्यचित्त्रामणी५:—

आसनं स्ताम्यं पाथमध्यमचारमनीयकम्। मधुप्कृत्यमनसनात्मानसनामरणिनि ४।

गन्धपूपे धूपदीपी नेत्रेयं वनदनं तथा।

प्रपञ्चनारे:—

अध्यापाथाचमनकन्त मधुप्कृत्यम—

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नान्यपि।

गन्धार्यत्र भैवणातार उपचारा दश कमात॥

गन्धार्यत्र भैवणातार पूजा पद्मोपचारिका।

मधुप्कृत्यम परिष्ठत्रा स्मारोतित्र व्यवहरित।

गन्धपुष्पमार। प्रकार: उक्त श्रवणुः:—

अतेनाविद्धानेन गन्धपूपे निवेदयेद॥

केवलपुष्पोपचारारस्वरनिपुराणे:—

ध्वर्त्य प्रणववर्त्तु तातामान दुस्माहितः। नमस्कारः पुष्पाणि विन्यसेचुः१० पुष्पकः पुष्पक॥

उपचारामारः—

सर्वप्रचारस्त्रामारः भावेन बहिनि मलेनोदके कार्त दूर्तिलामार नारः।

１. भासुभिषिष्ठ। २. देहव विकविषिष्ठ।
３. परमोत्तत हुर्दयेत। ४. कान्तीहरुः। ५. दूर्वेदत पोहोपोचारः।
６. शायतं शीवदी। ७. दद्दशाकाः। ८. कृत्यचित्त्रामणी।
９. मधुप्कृत्यमनसनात्मानसनामरणिनि । १०. विन्यमेतु।

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नागाना प्रतिमा—

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भावे तु देवा मुक्तादिगमनवनावारीः पूजवेदः। यथा—
अनन्तादिगमनेौहृदुर्लक्ष्योः भाववेदः ॥
कृत्यकारकांकाल्यां कमणितमण्यूकताम्। शंकरपादपालस्त्राज्ञ हारकस्तन (मण्डिताम् ॥)

tatha—
पूजयेवमनसादेवा: पुरानो गणनावकः। देयेशे चिन्द्रकाशीव सुंदरेषु धुष्टः॥
वामनः महादेवः सर्वकामकर्मेण। वसून्दरवान्तिके गौरीः वसुर्देवान्तिके विषयः॥
पुरोहितांके व्या: ॥ अव्यावरोकः परां॥ इन्द्राठिकोपालांकुः स्नाविन्धु पूजवेदः॥
तत्कथनं भरतालः यथानान्ता बनेत् कमाव।

tatho है—

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म: । शारदानितिकेषु श्चिन्द्रकाश्यां वर्णपारः ॥
हस्तमायः श्रिखलि वा संहोते होमकमेण। ॥ अलक्ष्मेवस्थुस्तुचित्रं चुदरं समन्तत: ॥
वादिरिकुज्वाक्षे राजविश्रुतसः संहितायाम् ॥ प्रमेयायथे मिठिलरुपेने लक्षुले स्वते।
विबादधरणिः वा संहोते होमकमेण। ॥ होमे स्वहान्ततामाह येवाच्छे। आदाय देयेशे पाणी खुबे विमुरुषु हुवे। ॥
ओऽसु मुखोबोधे जायके लङ्कुज्वालपाणिनाः ॥
विमुरुषु चुटमुरुषुड़करालास्तु नुभासानित्विः शाक्यानववीम् ॥ विवश्यारम्वोऽरे:—
दूरवीमो: परः प्रोक्तस्तः स्वयं महाहोः॥ तस्माद्युगः प्रोक्तं मिठिलम: प्राणीवार: ॥
तस्माद्युगः यतः। ॥ ॥ ॥ ने महाबु: ॥ श्रीबिंशाक्यामुखे भवेद ॥
वत्तुत्तुत्तुः प्रोक्तं तिथ्येदेवः ॥ कृती होमे ॥ तस्माद्युगः चुटमुरुषुड़कन तत: ॥
तत हस्तनेन चुटमुरुषु सवधेमथांतः ॥ देवमुक्त: ॥
मन्त्रन्यानकाश्योऽस्मिनल्लमेनः ॥ मन्त्रन्यानः ॥ नमोदवालः स्वाहान्तरिते ॥ वे च
पूर्वायामालिकै चापिस्वाधिनों स्विधनों विभिः: हिशे।
अन्तेनसानी दिशे। ॥ तथा
अत्र ओऽसु स्वाहा श्रव: स्वीद्वरसाधारकः।

eyah हुरिमाः—

उपदिश्वोऽः स्वातकार प्रणवक्रत ऋतः।

1. हारकस्तन ॥
2. चिन्द्रकाशीविके गाौणा।
3. पूजयेवमनसादेवा अव्यावरोकस्त्राज्ञ।
4. कमणिताम्।
5. शाक्यानववीम्।
6. मन्त्रन्यानः।
7. मन्त्रन्यानकाश्योऽस्मिनल्लमेनः।
8. उस्मीनालः।
9. सवधेमथाः।
10. सवधेमथाः।
11. मन्त्रन्यानकाश्योऽस्मिनल्लमेनः।
12. नमो आदाय येवाच्छे।
13. नमो द्वात्त्वासानित्विः।
14. हुवे।
# APPENDIX II

स्वाभाविक श्वाहित पदेन प्रदानम्।
स्थासो यासु आहृतिनुषुलताः।

अतएव स्वाभाविक प्राधान्यमित्र श्वाहितः। स्वास्थ्यमन्यायसिद्धैव इतवादः।

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म्यामनर्तकं स्वाहित स्थामायं, प्रदानार्थस्वल्तं तृत्यव वः मनस्ये नामिनि चतुर्ध्वरनताः। तेन ओश्मु मनसा देश्ये। नमः स्वाहित होमे दशावरी मनः।

भविष्ये—
आहृतिनु चुत्ताद्रीं खेते खर्म्मोभुवेन हु। हुदु तिलक्ष्याहितिस्तु द्रेर्नोच्छानंगणिना॥

महाकास्पद्यारुङ्गे—
संख्यापुस्ती शनि सादृ शहःवं वा व्यायामिदु।

अन्त शाल्लिखलास्वबं वर्दोदारिग—
गोमिलहुभुः—
शामिनिके वर्दः स्वरतः। शामिनिरीम्यकार्यं बस्मितः—
कथनां कार्यशेषस्त्र शिवः काठार्यलषु च। कर्मविकृतिः मनोरण यथानुक्रमयोगत:॥
तत: शामिनिः प्रकृतिः अवधारणमेव च। दक्षिणा च प्रदाते महामहास्म विसर्जनम्॥

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शालिश्वामस्ते ब्रमायानार्दि—
अवधारणब्र्ह्मायानासत्तरतः कायः॥

न तु पाठशालादाः

पुष्पा विग्रह् च वर्षशु गृहार्था मनुष्यः हुमे। अदस्य दक्षिणां वा पि स वार्ति नरकं भुवनु॥

शते नारायणिः

किलितामेवाधिष्ठै।

विसर्जनानान्तरः। स्वाभाविक पदेन प्रदानम्।

“वापशो च स्वाभाविकभो बुद्धिमाणचोचितमें” ततः।””शते भोक्तिजाद्वाद॥

तदनेकं योद्वर्तें च।

अध्यातम: कामसूत्रदाहितिः दातिपालिः। कामप्रविष्टिस्तोभवस्यवहे-संधुस्मृत्युद्योगां॥

अध पूजानेदाः—

दीयांम वा चतुर्बारे ह्योक्तिक्ष्रियांश्च दीयां

क्षीरस्यतिभिःसः

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तारोग्यदायिकम्।

क्षीरस्यतिः।

| 1. वुतान्त्याः | 2. ह्यिन्याग्याः | 3. स्थामाय्याः | 4. देह्याः |
| 5. हुदु | 6. शामिनिः | 7. अवधारणमस्ते ब्रमायानासत्तरतः कायः |
| 8. विप्राचयः चुर्माः | 9. विसर्जनानान्तरः |
| 10. सुंदरो यान्नमोर | 11. भोक्तिजाद्वाद के बद धूरोदार स्वाभाविक प्रकृति स्वाभाविक प्रकृति |
| 12. ह्यद्धित | 13. क्षीरस्यति देववस्तीकरस्तारिनुः | 14. शाक्तिकृत |
न विपुले दुक्षिततीव्र यथा बुधायं सा विश्रातः बुधेयथः। अनुति यदन्यादुरर्ममक्षिताः। दुर्गामयिताः। अनुसरित शाशवाज पुनः विद्वितं धमाङ्गः।

इति समस्तक्रियानन्यतस्मृतिताच्यावर्तमानस्मारकायायामेव समस्तविविधतास्मात्
श्रीविचारशक्तिस्त्य। श्रीव्याहारमभित्रियाः प्राप्तात्तरः प्रथमः। श्री श्वेतीच्याश्च महाविद्वानः।

श्री हरि—नामसाहीः।
श्रीदुर्गेनायामः।

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ओश्री मनसादेवम् नमः।
स्त्रुपमुकुमुराणिक्षोभदरानुसारः। व्याहीपूजाविवेचनस्य त्रिविंशो निष्क्रियेनाः।
अति यत्नश्वेताः।

तथा पूजादिव संति निरोधो विवाहार्दिव दानकार्यस्य श्रीरामनानाईतिहायीसूत्रम् विद्वानः। दशरथ रामनानास्य अविवेचनस्य अनुसायभाषायांक्षो च।

Folio 15 B

भोगपार्थिववस्तुः मोदकाकंभिकाः।
मनसादेवीपतिकाः पौरवचित्रकाणाः।
मनसादेवी—पौरां यस्मां विद्वानः।

इति संकल्प्या जनमांक्षयां धिष्यता। "ओश्री महास्तम् इति वहनेन प्रयोगः। "यदन्याता श्रीहरि। श्रीनिर्वान्ति विद्विताः। पराधारांस्य कार्याद्वेशः।

Folio 16

इति वप्तमिदयान्याः।
वर्णोपस्यभूमिनां सत्यस्यस्मृतिः।

1. कृत्तिः। 2. यदन्यादुर। 3. नामसाहीः। 4. श्रीनिर्वानम्।
5. श्रीहरि। 6. यथेर्देवत। 7. अविवेचनस्य असामान्याः।
8. दशरथाब्यास्य श्रीवास्तव।
9. वर्णसमस्ताः।
APPENDIX—III

Some Extracts from Likhanāwalti
in English Translation

(Letter Nos. 38 to 64)

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIKHNAWALI

(Translated into English in collaboration with
Prof. Vishwanath Jha of C. M. College, Darbhanga)

The Likhanāwalti of Vidyāpati was published in the year 1901 (from Union Press, Darbhanga) and the published text became rare after some time. While writing the present work, I tried to collect the letters of the Likhanāwalti and it was after great difficulty that I could get some extracts through the efforts of Dr. Brajksishore Varma of Bahera. Later on Dr. Indrakant Jha procured a copy of the same and supplied me with some extracts. Dr. Jha has already published his work on Likhanāwalti and its Maithili and Hindi translation. Since Likhanāwalti is a very important work of Vidyāpati and is of immense importance for the study of the cultural life of Mithilā, some extracts in English translation are being presented here for those who do not know Sanskrit or Maithili. It was Professor S. H. Askari who suggested to me the idea, but it has not been possible for me to incorporate the translation of the whole of it. In preparation of this work, I have received ungrudging help and support from Professor Vishwanath Jha of Darbhanga. Thanks are also due to Shri Binod Bihari Varma.

The Likhanāwalti was written by Vidyāpati in L. S. 299 at the court of Dronwāra King, Purāditya. There are in 84 letters and the whole book is in the form of letter writing. These letters are like modes of writing letters to persons of upper status (or class); of equal status and of lower status. Besides those, there are thirty one letters relating to law, legal system and the administration of justice. While the style has the stamp of Vidyāpati’s originality, the language
is Sanskrit mixed with vernacular and it can be easily understood by a man who has even little education. The modes of addressing students are also indicated. Maithili words have been freely used in the text—a tradition begun by earlier Vācaspati.

Administrative and technical terms like Mahāpatanika Thakkura; Mahāmattaka Thakkura; Mahāsupakārapati; Mahāpurāṇāgārika Thakkura; Svasrāgārika, Pāntyāgārika, Māhādeśanaibānādhika Thakkura; Mahāvārtika Naibānādhika; Mahādevāgārika Thakkura; Kośāgāra, Mahābhānugārika; Mudrāhastaka; Arthi, Pratyarthi, Pratihastaka; Sūkṣi, Asteya; Jayapatra; Tappā, Rupyatanka; Mūdrā, Moqadām, Stridhana, Paṇa, Svaru, Bandhaka, Pargana, Dalpati, Raut, Śāntikarnika, Kāryi, Osathi, Senāpati, etc. are mentioned in the text. Letter No. 48 refers to the four expediens of diplomacy. Letter No. 54 refers to the rules governing the Laws of debt and the method of repayment. Letter Nos. 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61 refer to the Śūdras, Pargana, Tankā, Paṇa etc. Śūdra and Kaivarta are mentioned together in letter No. 60. Śūdras were expected to serve in the house of rich people. There is also a reference to the sale and purchase of Śūdras and serfs (better known as Bahiyās in Mithilā). Letter No. 55 is an important document. There is a reference to the manumission of slaves in letter No. 67 and of promissory bonds in letter No. 68. The Likhānāwali deserves to be studied from sociological point of view. It is for the benefit of the readers that I am appending here with a translation of the Letter Nos. from 38 to 64. These letter have bearings on the socio-economic life of Mithila in the age of Vidyāpati and hence the limitation. ‘Yautuka’ (नौतुक in मैथिली) here stands for dowry.

Letters to Subordinates

Letter No. 38

To business. We have settled the negotiation proposed by you and supported by others as well. Hence on the tenth day from now the marriage of our daughter will be solemnised. We request you kindly to grace the occasion with your family and get this auspicious work performed in your presence. [Realising the heavy pressure of engagements here,
the respectable son-in-law has kindly agreed to bring........
(name of the elder daughter). This (form of letter) will
do even for bringing one's sister. Compliments are to be
paid to the father and mother of the addressee.] Time is
short; it won't suffer any delay. Please lose no time there-
fore in coming over to this place.

Letter No. 39

From Shrīkarana writes the well-reputed chief registrar (or
the officer in charge) Shri...Das to Shri...the Panjika (one who
enters receipts and expenditure in a book particularly of a
Kāyastha tribe) on business. Nothing is heard of the comple-
tion of accounts of the last year and the current one entrusted
to and agreed upon by you, nor there is any trace of the record
(निकल). You are hereby required to complete to perfection
the book of receipts and expenditure lest it is brought to the
notice of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Shri...... and you are exposed
to his wrath and consequent punitive measures are adopted
against you for false assertions.

Letter No. 40

From 'Saraswati-Khaṇḍa' informs Shri........... the high-
ranking chief cook to cooks. On account of the marriage
of our daughter we have taken permission of the king and
are proceeding home. Of all the cooks you are adept in the
science of cooking and most skilled in the art of mixing
various ingredients in right proportion. You are, therefore,
directed to represent us in the royal kitchen till our return.

Letter No. 41

From the betel house (पण्णशालात:) writes the high ranking
chief officer in charge of betel to Shri....... officer in charge
of royal sister's residence. Here in the royal sister's chamber
white, green and rotten betel leaves have all got so mixed
up that they are of no use. White (betel) leaves are wanted.
that is why you were despatched to fetch ripe betel leaves,
but you have been staying out for a month. As there is no
betel leaf fit for the royal sister, come with white leaves at
the earliest. Also bring 'Bhimasena' Camphor worth a
thousand Tanka (a stamped silver coin.) Seek for नागर-खण्ड, vermilion of a special variety (बेल सिंदूर) and areca catechu (betel nut chewed with betel) and bring the same if it be found.

Letter No. 42

From the store-house of drinking water writes Thakkur Shri……. the high-ranking officer in charge of water for drinking purposes to Shri……. the potter. Here there are several water-houses but they are not perfect. Hence it is difficult to expose the water to sun during the day and to dew-drops in the night, cover it with wet cloth and cool it with fans made of palm leaves. This is possible only with a large number of pitchers. Taking all this into account you are required to make biggest possible pitchers and bring the same here at the earliest. We hear that some traders have come. Hence come without delay with Aguru (the fragrant aloe wood) Guggulu (bdellium—the gum resin used as perfume) and Sihlaka (the olibanum) and other incense materials purchased with the Tankas already sent. You will keep ready water perfumed with trumpet-flowers in each of the pitchers. It is useless to write more.

Letter No. 43

From the capital writes Thakkura Shri………. the high-ranking chief envoy and glossorist to the emissary (वाचिक) Shri……. You have been sent by……. to collect information concerning the progress being made all over the kingdom. But we learn you are staying at home. If it is so proceed at once where you are meant to be. If you are tempted to the comforts of home and delay even for a day, you will incur the royal displeasure. How can one who lives by serving the kingdom hope to get comforts of home and what is an emissary good for if he fails to collect intelligence in a day?

Letter No. 44

From a certain place writes Thakkur Shri……. the high-ranking (his excellency) officer in charge of grant of property, assignment or gift for the whole country to Pratinidhipas
(deputies or substitutes). You left for home for a certain period but are now over-staying. It appears you are oblivious of governmental administration. Now that Āshādhi is at hand we have in keeping with the terms and conditions laid in various Nibandhas (laws), to disburse means of subsistence among the infantry subscribed by the barons of Raut order, you who know them are required to be present here at the earliest, so that nothing is done contrary to the implications and practice of law (निस्क्रय).

Letter No. 45

From the Royal place of worship writes His excellency Thakkur Shri............. the chief priest (or controller or superintendent of temples) to Shri........ the officer incharge of collection of flowers. You left for home for some personal work and are still staying there. It appears the king is sore at heart discovering lack of proper attention in collection of flowers at the time of worship. You are therefore required to come here at the earliest with all those flower-picking boys and garland makers who have been absent so that, (परशुपिन्नन = ) stale, not fresh, fresh (?) flowers unspoiled by worms and insects, having no holes and well strung are available when the king worships the god.

Letter No. 46

From the royal treasury writes His Excellency Thakkur Shri...... the chief Treasurer to Shri...... the Mudrāhastaka (an officer of the Treasury for sealing coins). When you were sent away on state duty on some business, you carried away with you the sealing instrument; that was improper. As the same is needed in keeping money (द्रव्य) after sealing the strings (of the bag), you are required to send the same mudrā (Seal) without any delay per personal messenger.

The end of the Second Chapter.

अथ समक्ष लिखनानि

Letters to Equals

Letter No. 47

From.......... village writes Shri.......... Rāja this loving (friendly) letter to His most exalted Highness Mahārāja
Shri...... deva Simha whose great fame like the fragrance of camphor has spread all over the earth—the earth that is made into and used as a bracelet by him, who has performed sacrifices for himself and good works for others and thus graced the whole of the earth, who in observance of truthfulness is like Yudhishthira himself and who has won hundreds of battles. We are all well here and are to be delighted with the news of your welfare and that of your family and army. I beg to let it be known—that our friendship has since long remained so fast as to entitle you to claim our treasure, city and other such things as your own. You are already aware that the army sent by the Muslim rulers to overcome the land ruled by you has drawn near. You should write for whatever we possess if it be of any use to you. The friendship of the noble ones proves effective on suitable occasion. If you make a treaty with the Muslim ruler, we shall send money and other things as presents and shall personally be present to do the needful. What more? The name of the addressee to be written outside).

Letter No. 48

This most loving and friendly letter is addressed to His Excellency Thakkur Shri...... the chief minister of foreign affairs (war and peace) who is well-versed in adopting all the four expedients i.e. Negotiation, sowing dissension, conciliation for winning over an adversary, liberality (or bribery) and whose reputation is coveted like the gently blown filaments of the Ketaki (Paudanus Odoratissimus) flower. That all is well here will make you glad at heart. Your welfare is eagerly solicited to add to our joy. When in past your king craved for friendship with our king we, convinced of his sincerity, made our king enter into friendship with yours. This King of ours, noble and magnanimous (महिंद्रा:) as he is, did accordingly and has been observing the terms of friendship as a result of which the peoples of the frontiers (border) areas of the two lands have been tilling their fields, enjoying sound sleep and leading a peaceful life. But now, certain acts of the servants and attendants of your king at
certain places reveal deviation from straightforward or upright dealings. If these sundry acts of crookedness are made known to our king, it will incur his wrath, for he cannot put with anything improper, and once inflamed his wrath is beyond anyone to alleviate. You are the minister ( concerned ) in that state and we here in this state happen to be in frequent contact with the king. If the friendship brought about by the two of us comes ( व्यभिचारित ) to naught ( fails ) it would bring a slur on ourselves, for Kings born independent do what they like, while people blame ministers. Hence let us promise not to kidnap men belonging to each of the two countries, punish those who create dissension and not to encroach upon each other’s land. Along with these let us give expression to other such things as may perpetuate the bonds of our love and friendship.

Letter No. 49

From...... village this letter purported to express deep love and humility is addressed to Shri...... Sharma, reputed scholar, the most venerated, ocean of nobility, one who like Bhagtratha has exalted the glory of the two families by virtue of his high moral character and upright dealings. All is well here and we crave to be delighted with the news of your welfare. Now let me come to the point. You are a Shrotriya of noble lineage, well versed in all branches of learning and one whose faith in noble conduct ( सद्धर्म ) is invincible. Hence we, desirous of enhancing our ( Social ) prestige, got our child related to you. As for the tale of woe of our daughter given away in marriage to your son, the least is said the better. You, on the other hand, make out that this relation has estranged you to your near and dear ones. We fail to understand how such baseless things are uttered by you [ when it is contrary to truth. You should enumerate, hold forth, ( प्रश्नकाल्पनियाथि ) assess your own worth ]. Nothing more ought to be written to one who is a respectable scholar.

Letter No. 50

From...... village writes Shri...... This loving note to Shri...... whose fame, like the Jasmine flower, is bright
MITHILA IN THE AGE OF VIDYAPATI

(untinted), standing firm in nobility. Your welfare is solicited. All is well here. To the point. We have returned from overseas with our object well accomplished. It is gratifying that our boat laden with things precious like pearls came ashore quite safe (unhindered) we sought your friendship in view of your noble birth and gratefulness. Your befitting actions have made that friendship reach day by day the highest pinnacle of its glory like the first digit of moon of the bright phase. [The good that comes of friendship is twofold—determined by life and by wealth (might.)] God alone knows when you will require (my life at your service) or I shall get the opportunity to lay down my life at your service. In respect of sharing the friends, wealth, you have always been indifferent to sharing mine. We merchants went overseas for trade and acquired four of the first pearls (मुक्काप्रकृत्या). As this jewel is for you, we are sending the same to you. You should have no hesitation in accepting them, for one hesitates in accepting things belonging to others; but when there is friendship why this delicacy? Although the friendship of noble ones is irrespective of give and take yet it shines all the more if it is adored in a proper way. The pearls being sent are as big as आमलकीफल (the fruit of Emblic Myrobalan) in size and very bright.

The list of articles sent—Pearls 4. For पवित्रन्तं silken cloth pieces 14, Cotton cloth pieces 20, silver wares 4 सुवर्णभाजन (golden ware) I, Camphor-bares 10, जन्यन समीचीन पक्ष 1000.

Letter No. 51

From...... village this letter containing the nectar of natural friendship and pure love is addressed to Prince (Kumar) Shri...... Simha of refined taste and glorious career whose piety and fame permeates the whole of the earth like the fragrance of Ketaki flower (Pandames Odoratissimus). All is well here. Your welfare is solicited. To the point. It was not good of you to be scurrilous (or garrulous) to his majesty the king. Although being well-versed आमन्त्रित in national customs (or in the Vedas), and always recipient of royal honour, having annexed glory in several battles, you
cannot put up with insult, still these Kings are very mighty and one has always to concede to some extent to their strength (prивилегии—औजित्रयम्). It is not meant to claim equality with them and indulge in war of words. You should not have left the place in anger when as ill luck would have it (दिवस दृष्टः) an exchange of words (चरणालुवचनम्) led to this misunderstanding (दुर्विचिन्तितं). When these kings satisfy us with riches or honour us with ornaments, they are kings, but if per chance they grow angry they are bad kings—this is not the way men of nobility are wont to think (or—this is beyond the bounds of propriety. Even now you should stay on outside the city where you sought shelter) after you left in rage and wait till we come. Even the king is ashamed. [He may come to appease you or you will come to appease the king]? You must not go anywhere. If you must go, let me accompany you or we shall go together. We studied together and serving the king and fighting in the battle field are our sole mutual concern. If we stand united from beginning to end, all is right. You must not put a step further than where you are staying and I bind you by hundredfold Oath.

Letter No. 52

From Gopalpur this appropriate letter conveying manifold humble submission (utmost humility) is addressed to Vanîk (merchant) Shri...... Whose acquisitions are legal who maintains the sanctity of his calling by dint of his acquisitions being lawful and right, who knows fully well how to act on different occasions, whose qualities of head and heart are untinted like the water of the river Ganges. It will gladden your heart that all is well here by your genial love. The news of your all round prosperity will great by delight us. To the point. We have received the letter and gone through its contents. You write, “Cultivation being our calling we possess seeds of all paddy crops except those of “Tulasi” variety. Hence get fifty Puraṇas (about 66 Tolas or 13 Chataks) of the same seeds purchased with the Kapardak (the crowrie shell) and send the same to us.”
As for your [ compliments that we are acting in accordance with the place and time and that you are a cultivator by profession ] we have heard the same very often from several others. We, too, are cultivators by calling. As our callings are the same, it is meant that we should be friends. We are, therefore, sending the seeds of the paddy of Tulasi variety and also the seeds of Gola (probably the red arsenic) just out of love and we request you to accept the same. Your cowries are being returned per messenger and they too may kindly be taken back.

Letter No. 53

This letter saturated with the nectar of the writer’s great friendship and respectful regards is addressed to Mahamahattak Thakkur ( ) Shri....... well-versed in politics that is beyond reproach and who has earned a reputation for purity of his heart devoted to the practice and preaching of righteousness. We are well here and solicit your welfare. Let us come to the point. It is rumoured that Shri Mahārāja Shri....... discusses administrative affairs irrespective of consultations with you and that there is no heart to heart understanding ( affinity ) between you and the king. This has pained me. We are your friend. Kings are kings. We are to serve them in action, thought and speech all our life. Let the kings do what they like, we the high-born कुलीन (the men of eminent descent) must do our duty. You should not deviate from propriety. If you do (deviate) we are still your friend. Whatever we possess—wealth and life itself—is at your disposal; you have simply to command without any hesitation (or delicacy). Prosperity makes friends but adversity (प्रस्तावे) tries them. What else?

व्यवहार लिखनानि

The beginning of Legal, Social or Commercial letters.

Letter No. 54

In village....... on the fifth day of the dark phase of Māgha (a Wednesday) in L. S. 299 Shri....... Sharma the Pratihäs-
taka Mahopadhyaya (a deputy of the great venerable teacher or scholar) in consultation with or assisted by the Parishad (an assembly probably of village elders) considered the money suit of Brahmaṇa Shri Devadatta, the plaintiff or prosecutor against Shri Jayadatta Rāuta, the defendant. The plaintiff lodged the complaint, “Five years ago the defendant incurred a loan of one hundred Purāṇas (each Purāṇa = 16 Paṇa or about 26½ Tolas 100 Purāṇa thus comes to about 34 seers) of Kapardaka (cowries) from my father on interest. I demand that he should return the same to me.” The defendant pleaded (contradicted) “I incurred that much of Loan, but I repaid the same with interest thereon to the father of the plaintiff.” The accusation and the denial of the cause of complaints by the defendant were duly considered and on enquiry the defendant offered three witnesses (1) . . . . . . . Sharma (2) . . . . . . Sharma and (3) . . . . . . Sharma and the plaintiff accepted them. These witnesses appeared on the date fixed for विचार (discussion) hearing. They asserted that it was true the defendant had repaid the one hundred Purāṇas of Kapardaka with interest and that he was free from debt. One whose assertions are said to be true by the witnesses wins and one whose assertions are contradicted by witnesses loose. Taking this aspect of the law into consideration the decree was awarded to Shri...... the defendant.

Letter No. 55

In the Lakṣaṇaṇa Sen year 299 on the fourteenth brightday (Friday) of Bhādra (again in figures......) Shri....... Datta of village Simbarā falling in Bhigo Tappa and subjected to Ratnapur-desha (?) in Tirhut ruled by...... invests his money in the purchase of a male and a female slave (शुद्धदुहार). The person who took money from the purchaser is named Shri....... Rāuta who, under some urgency (चाँख्य) sold for good, till the sun and the moon last, to this wealthy man after giving or paying गोश्रागोशिनिवारक—his slave, a fisherman or sailor, approximately forty-four year old, Black complexioned and named...... for six Taṅkas (a particular coin probably of silver) and the wife of that slave, approximately thirty-year old, bright-complexioned, named...... for four Taṅkas
and their son approximately sixteen year old... bright-complexioned named... for three Taṅkas and their daughter approximately eight year old dark-complexioned named...

Thus the number of slaves sold = 4, the amount paid to the seller = 14, the fee (?) of Gotragotranivāraka to be paid by both parties (समुच्छ रेवे) = 2/2. Now, therefore, these slaves will do all jobs such as ploughing, eating Uchchhista, fetching water, bearing palanquin in the household of the purchaser. If they run away, this deed empowers the purchaser to extricate them even from under the throne of the king and bring them back to do the slave work again. Devadatta, Yajnadatta, Vishnumitra and others were made to witness and they did witness this transaction. The deed was written with the consent of both parties by Kayastha... The fee for getting the deed written is payable at the rate of rupee one by each. The deed of maintenance (सरण पत्र) may also be written as the above one. The amount of money given—fourteen Taṅkas as the price. Received the value of the money after due verification (परीक्षा) to which the witnesses were as mentioned in the deed.

Letter No. 56

In the king Lakshman Sen year 299 on Friday the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri... Rāuta of village... falling in... Tappa in Tirbhukti being ruled by... the most venerable (the king) of beautiful appearance (पुष्पवल्लोक) shining in exalted glory, invests his money in the purchase of a Shūdra (a slave). The person receiving this money is Shri... Rāuta who sold himself for good, till the sun and the moon exist, for two Rūpya-Taṅka (a silver coin). The number of slave sold = 1, the money value = 2 Rūpya Taṅka, the Gotragotra-nivāraka fee = righteousness (honesty) itself. This slave (Shūdra) will serve the Dhanika (the purchaser) as a Dāsa (slave). If he runs away, this deed empowers the purchaser to bring him back even from under the royal throne and make him serve. Two persons named... were made to witness and they did witness this transaction. Shri... wrote it with the consent of both the parties. The fee for getting it written is payable by both, Even in (writing) the deed of main-
tenance this form will do. (There should be) two witnesses to the deed.

Letter No. 57

In the Lakshmana Sen year 299 on Friday, the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri Devadatta Thakkura of village... falling संहड़न in... Tappa in Tirbhukti being ruled by Maharaja Shri... the great king of beautiful appearance, shining in exalted glory, invests his money in securing a bond to serve on all week-days सप्ताहांग्राण्यम. Then on receiving money from him is named Shri... Rāuta who, being called upon to pay off Govt. taxes accepted the terms of agreement to serve on all week days in lieu of Rūpya-Taṅkas four which he paid off to... Bahibhunjāpaka (the person putting him in the servitude of the creditor). The condition (कः) laid down is that the said Shri...Rāuta will serve the creditor on all week days without cloth and wages—the value of the money received on agreement = Rūpya-Taṅka—4. He (the said Rāuta) will, in the household of the creditor (विबंध), get all and sundry acts (such as carrying weight) done by a Shūdram (slave). If he does not get it done, the agreement fails (झूठपात) and he will be liable to pay the creditor (a) six Kākins (=a coin, equal to 20 Kapardas) per day. The fee for writing this Vahi-bhunjāpikā (deed of agreement...) is to be paid by both parties @ 4 each. Shri Devadatta Thakkura wrote it with the consent of both. The fee for getting it written is payable by both @ Rūpya 1 each. The three persons named... were made to witness and did witness this deed and the deed of maintenance (wages, hire ?) too runs as above.

Letter No. 58

In the Lakshmanasen year 299 on Saturday the fourteenth bright day of Bhādra Shri... Rāuta of village... in the desha (district ?) falling in Pargana... in Tirabhukti ruled by... the great king of kings of handsome appearance and shining in exalted glory, invests his money in getting the bond of servitude surrendered to him by Shri... Rāuta, the person receiving the money from him, The said... Rāuta driven

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by some urgency pledged,...... a Shūdra (slave) Kaivarta (Keot) by caste, dark complexioned, twenty-five year old and received five Rūpya-Taṅkas. The slave (विधिमाणी) offered=1 the money value of the bond=5, the daily wage to be paid to the slave = one square meal. the wage to be given once in a year = तनकरकार = 1. If by any reason the terms of the bond are not fulfilled (विधिमाणी भविति), the creditor will be entitled to be given two Paṇas (in figures—2 paṇas every day as compensation for this breach of agreement. This slave will do, like the servant of the creditor, all odd jobs. The fee for writing Vahibhunjāpikā is to be paid by each 2/2. If the slave runs away the debtor is liable to pay back the value of the bond. So and so...... were made to witness and did witness this transaction. So and so wrote it with the consent of both parties. The fee for writing it out is to be paid by both @ 2/-.

Letter No. 59

In the L. S. year 299 on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of Bhādra Thakkura Shri...... of village...... in...... in...... Pargana attached (subject) to...... 'desha' (region, province) in Tīrbhukti ruled by...... deva, the king of kings shining in exalted glory, invests his money in securing a bond of servitude for four days in a week from...... a kaivarta (Keot) by caste, the person receiving the money from the creditor. The said...... driven by some urgency took Rūpya Taṅka Four and bound himself to the creditor to serve him four days in a week [In figures the bond = 1, the value of the bond = 4 Rūpya Taṅka. If the terms of the bond are not fulfilled, the debtor will be liable to pay to the creditor six Kākini (each Kākini = 20 cowries) per day. The fee for getting the bond (registered or written?) विधिसुंचापिका is to be paid by both @ 2 each so and so...... were made to witness and did witness this transaction. This deed was written by...... with the consent of both parties. The fee for writing it is to be paid by both.

Letter No. 60

In L. S. year 299 on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of the month Bhādra Shri...... Upādhyāya of village......
in Tirbhukti being ruled by Shri...... Deva the great king shining in exalted glory, invests his money in purchasing a slave-woman (शुद्री). Shri...... Kayastha by caste, the person receiving money from him sold bright complexioned maid named the daughter of...... a Shudra (slave) of Kaivarta (Keot) tribe for four Vārāṭaka-Purāṇas and gave her in marriage to...... the son of...... the Shudra (slave) of Kaivarta (Keot) tribe (or sold...... by way of marriage to......) — In figures the number of slave woman sold = 1, the value of the sale = 4. The three persons named...... were made to witness and did witness this transaction. This deed was written by...... with the consent of both. The fee for writing it is payable by both @ one and a half each. Where Kaivarta Gorāoḍa Pum. 4 and Amāṭa and etc. Pum. 8/4.

_Letter No, 61_

In L. S. year 299 on Sunday the fifth day of the light half of month Kārtika the three debtors named...... Kula Kaivarta (Keot) and Dhīvara (fisherman) by caste respectively execute this note of hand (or bond) in favour of Shri...... Chaturvedi, the creditor. They made Shri...... Sāhu the Pratibhū (surety) and everyone of them took ten Rūpya Taṅka agreeing to pay the capital along with one-fourth of it as its interest (स्पारिस्थ्यवस्थण) The said Shri...... Sāhu hereby undertakes "I agree to be the Darshaka-Lagnaka (the surety instrumental in recovery of the debt by pointing out to the creditor the whereabouts of the debtor) of the loan of ten Rupya Tanka advanced to...... the Kula, as also the Pratyāyaka-Lagnaka (the surety who makes the creditor believe that the debtor is capable of repaying the debt) of the loan of Ten Rupya Tanka advanced to...... the Kaivarta (Keot) and the Daṭṭ-Lagnaka (in surety undertaking to pay off the debt in case the debtor fails to do so) of the loan of Ten Rūpya Taṅka advanced to...... the fisherman. Whether I am a Darshaka-Lagnaka or Pratyāyak-Lagnaka or Daṭṭ-Lagnaka, I promise to get the debts duly repaid to the creditor by the debtors or repay them myself. So and so witnessed this deed.
Letter No. 62

In...... Nagara (town or city) four brothers named...... having differences over their property execute hereby a deed of partition (separation) (नियमकःयपयः). We hereby divide by casting a dice (क्षेत्रकर्तिकः) the property inherited from our father and grandfather, the entire property general movable and immovable, giving the eldest brother whatever is his special due (वैष्णवः) (the best share) and leaving out the nuptial gifts of our wives and each of us takes his due share. Hence forth we shall have no connection whatsoever in matters of wealth and property. It was witnessed by so and so.

Letter No. 63

In the L.S. year 299 on Thursday the fourteenth day of the dark half of chaitra, Shri...... Mahattama (a person of high rank).

In...... village in the L.S. year 299 on Thursday the 14th dark day of chaitra the tenant (पञ्ज)...... does hereby give the प्रेशपञ्जि to Mahattama (the most high) Shri...... to the effect that he hereby agrees to pay twenty Purânas as the share of the produce his land along with the one fifth payable by him. Hereby pays twenty Rûpya tañka as the fee for entering for cultivation into the land of the said महाष्म and also agrees to pay twenty Purânas of the produce of the land inclusive of the one-fifth (पञ्जकर) payable by him.

Letter No. 64

In L.S. year 299 on Thursday the fourteenth dark day of Chaitra in...... nagara (village or town) Mokadam Shri Murariik collected four hundred Rûpya tañka as taxes due for the current year to the great Mahâraja Shri...... सिंहदेव Shining in exalted glory and got it entered into the Potra (an office) through Râuta Shri...... करमू (a name? or a designation of a tax collector). Entered Rûpya-tañka 400. A Bhûyûti (grant of land?) is hereby given to him.
APPENDIX IV

Rules governing the Grāma Panchāyata in medieval Mithila

My grandfather, late Shyam Lal Choudhary, had a very fine collection of old and ancient manuscripts and records but unfortunately a devastating fire destroyed these precious collections in the second half of the 19th. century. He salvaged some of them and prepared copies of (i) the Pānjis of the Kayastha, (ii) an anthology (Manuscript with me) and (iii) rules regarding the Grāmpanchāyata. Important pages of the Pañji have since been lost. The anthology, in his own handwriting, is still preserved and copy of the rules governing Grāmapanchāyata in medieval Mithilā on a page of paper could anyhow he procured. The rules are written in Maithili language in Kaithi-Nagari Script.

प्राचीन हस्तलेख से प्राच प्राम्य पंचायत के नियमावली
( मैथिली भाषा में )

प्राम्य पंचायत सम्बन्ध के नियमावली

1. पढ़ि समा क नाम प्राम्य पंचायत होएत ।
2. एकर प्रतिरूप संयुग का शुभकामना अर्थेत—परस्पर आतुराम स्थापन—
   साधारण क अभाव—अभियोग क विचार परस्पर क विवाद के विषय मै सत्यता—
   पूर्वक निराकरण आदि सुधृष्टि विषय होएत ।
3. पढ़ि समा क पति कार्य तथा निराकरण मध्य धार्मिक विचार तथा प्राचीन
   समयानुसार यथार्थ विशिष्टता क अन्वेषण कथा सुविचार होए तथा पूर्ण प्रवाह होएत ।
4. पढ़ि समा क स्थान का नाम ॥ कई वाक्यों तथा सरा राजमंत्र रहते ।
5. पढ़ि समा क अनेक शाखा प्रान्त मध्य बनवावक प्रयत्न केन्द्र समा क प्रथम
   कार्य होतेत ।
6. पढ़ि समा क प्रति कार्य मध्य नटक-पूर्वक देख देश का सुधार प्रथम होतेत ।
7. पढ़ि समा क कार्यक्तियों मात्र उन सहजता तथा सदाचार क अभ्यर्थन
   आवश्यक ।

1. मैथिली आदि—स्थानक नाम बैन्द्हि पढ़ि जा सकत—
8 इ समा परसर के राणे पथ तथा व्ययप्रयोग के समानत सबवादा उपाय के मात्र रहत।
9 इ समा वद्यक विचारवागालो शान्ति सौ न्यायानुकूल मार्ग के सहानुभूति देख-बढ़क सबवादा प्रयास रहत।
10 इ समा समूपण समाज की सूमारे पर अनवाक तथा पहि समा के अनुसार कार्य करवाक उपाय शान्ति सौ करत।
11 सामाजिक राजनीतिकावशों के अवहेता आघि सौ नहि होक तहि विश वर्तम रहत भो अभिकार के हुकूम ( भोग ) कानून कविशय। साधारणो कार्य सत्य इस्तेश नहि कर ( त ? )
12 इ समा प्राचीन नियम पाठन तथा राज नियम ( कानून ) के अनुकूल प्रति विषय के विचार करत।
13 इ समा स्वाधी, अनाचारी, परपीड़क तथा अहममन्यता से सबवादा फराक रहत।
14 इ समा परसर के स्वतंत्र तथा साधारण विचार के आघि मै वादी तथा प्रतिभादी कौं अपना मस्त निर्माण करवाक के अभिकार नियमानुसार ( कानून ) रहकेत।
15 इ समा सबवादा सत्य रहत आघि सौ समाज कौं अपना माध्य तेजस विवाद के कसमय उपरियत नहि होक आघि सौ दीवानी तथा फौजदारी के शारण आवश्यक होरै।
APPENDIX V

Typical Maithili words from the Prakritapai grants.

The Prakritapai grants may be taken as an example of the earliest literary composition in Maithili or proto Maithili language. The affinity of this work with Vidyapati's Apabhramsa works is evident and a close study of the PPM reveals to us that Maithili was taking its literary shape at the time of its composition. There are a number of passages in the PPM which support my contention. Here I have collected only about two hundred words as specimen of the Maithili language.

| 1 अभिन्न  | 22 आणु  | 42 कह  |
| 2 अभिन्न  | 23 आणु  | 43 कह  |
| 3 अभिन्न  | 24 आणु  | 44 कह  |
| 4 अभिन्न  | 25 आणु  | 45 कह  |
| 5 अभिन्न  | 26 आणु  | 46 कह  |
| 6 अभिन्न  | 27 आणु  | 47 कह  |
| 7 अभिन्न  | 28 आणु  | 48 कह  |
| 8 अभिन्न  | 29 आणु  | 49 कह  |
| 9 अभिन्न  | 30 आणु  | 50 कह  |
| 10 अभिन्न | 31 आणु  | 51 कह  |
| 11 अभिन्न | 32 आणु  | 52 कह  |
| 12 अभिन्न | 33 आणु  | 53 कह  |
| 13 अभिन्न | 34 आणु  | 54 कह  |
| 14 अभिन्न | 35 आणु  | 55 कह  |
| 15 अभिन्न | 36 आणु  | 56 कह  |
| 16 अभिन्न | 37 आणु  | 57 कह  |
| 17 अभिन्न | 38 आणु  | 58 कह  |
| 18 अभिन्न | 39 आणु  | 59 कह  |
| 19 अभिन्न | 40 आणु  | 60 कह  |
| 20 अभिन्न | 41 आणु  | 61 कह  |
| 21 अभिन्न | 42 आणु  | 62 कह  |
| 60 खसब   | 95 छूठ | 132 दोस (दोष) |
| 61 खाप   | 96 छन | 133 भणि |
| 62 खाड़िह   | 97 छप्पण | 134 पव  |
| 63 खोर   | 98 छप्पणमध्या | 135 पकावान |
| 64 सुर   | 99 छड़हरि | 136 पकाड |
| 65 खेंटंि  | 100 जाव (यादि) | 137 पसर |
| 66 गाभरगमणि (गरब स मने)  | 101 जलण | 138 पसरद |
| 67 गवह   | 102 जलमउ | 139 पसरर |
| 68 गरास   | 103 जाइ | 140 पुढ |
| 69 गाखविवा (भोजुत) | 104 जाशिह | 141 पात |
| 70 मिरिपर सनण (मिरिपरजयने ) | 105 हांख | 142 पाणि |
| 71 मिरिपरसिंह (मिरिपर जिखर ) | 106 हांखरि | 143 पानव |
| 72 ऋषिभा   | 107 होपर  | 144 पाबिन |
| 73 धुनमेट   | 108 ठंड (व्यान) | 145 पिया |
| 74 घन-छर   | 109 ठाहस (28) | 146 पियाँ, पिघाँरि |
| 75 घरगि   | 110 ठाम | 147 पीवांरि |
| 76 तुलक-तुलकि   | 111 ठामहि | 148 पुत्र |
| 77 धुनव   | 112 बणावन | 149 पुष्क्रम |
| 78 चउवरण   | 113 बुलना | 150 फुल्लताम ककुम (फुल्लतनकुसुम) |
| 79 चउवरविरस | 114 बुलव | 151 बणकन |
| 80 चउसक   | 115 बुलवर | 152 बहर (बैलर) |
| 81 चउवीनदी   | 116 बुलवर (बैलरि) | 153 बहररि |
| 82 चउवीन   | 117 बुलव्रि | 154 वमला |
| 83 चउवीन (चवुवीनानि) | 118 बुलव्रि (बैलरि) | 155 बलण; बलणिविजि; |
| 84 चउबासी   | 119 बुलवेर | 156 बनीसह, बहीस; |
| 85 चउसिदी   | 120 तेरह | 157 बहर |
| 86 चउबीस   | 121 बहर | 158 बही; बहीस; |
| 87 चउमककरी   | 122 बमसि | बहीसप |
| 88 चउ   | 123 धा | 159 बहाम |
| 89 चउ   | 124 दिव | 160 बह, बहह |
| 90 थारि   | 125 दिस | 161 बह; (बहु: ) |
| 91 थारिरह   | 126 दोस | 162 बहहर |
| 92 थारिम   | 127 दु | 163 बहुविषा (बहुका) |
| 93 थारिस   | 128 दुह, दुहव, दुहि; दुहचारि |
| 94 थारीसबर  | 129 दुहाना | 164 बाहस |
|          | 130 दुहवरि | 165 बाणण |
|          | 131 देहि | 166 बारह |
|          | 132 देहि | 167 बास |


APPENDIX V

| १६८ | बासठि | १८० | मारण, माणु माह |
| १६९ | विखम (विषम) | १८१ | मियवह (मेटव) |
| १७० | विजुरि | १८२ | मुह |
| १७१ | विणा (विंता) | १८३ | मोर |
| १७२ | विरम (विरामि) | १८४ | रसद |
| १७३ | बन्ध; बुज्जिआ | १८५ | लग |
| १७४ | मणिअ | १८६ | लेहि |
| १७५ | भूकाम | १८७ | लोरि |
| १७६ | भूण (भुवने) | १८८ | क्षेज |
| १७७ | मण (मणि) | १८९ | भेमि |
| १७८ | माउ (मानि) | १९० | संरि |
| १७९ | माणि (मानस्थ); माणु (मानपत), माणिव, माणु | २०० | दाराप |
| १९१ | सचाहस |
| १९२ | सहर |
| १९३ | सुह्षे |
| १९४ | सुण, सुणहि, सुणिः |
| १९५ | सुण (सुणि) |
| १९६ | सुमर |
| १९७ | सोलह |
| १९८ | सोहं (शोमा) |
| १९९ | शम |
| २०० | हाराप |
| २०१ | हेहि |
APPENDIX VI
(Maithili Dances)

मैथिली नृत्य
(In Collaboration with Dr. Braj Kishore Varma of Bahera).

The importance of these dances has been death with in the book and here we get the details.

लूटी
1. आदिम नृत्य।
2. लोकमाथा नृत्य।
3. पौराणिक नृत्य।
4. बिचारी नृत्य।
5. सामाजिक नृत्य।
6. नारी नृत्य।
7. शिशु नृत्य।
8. विपटा।
9. वाण।
10. उपसंहार।

(1) आदिम नृत्य
- विषयरा
- अधोरी
- कुलसरी
- वेसरी
- शक्या

(2) लोकमाथा नृत्य
- कोरिक
- सच्चेत
- नयका-बनिखरा
- दयालसिंह
  - कमणा-कोयला

(3) पौराणिक नृत्य
- रामायण नृत्य
- रास पारिताहक
- चौहरण
- नारदीय अंकिता कीविया
(४) विद्यापति नृत्य

शिवपत्र

तोह्रे जै कहत्र छ
गोरा नाचन
हसूदि मचानी

कुन्यापत्र

वतान
वाजल द्रम द्रम भी
द्रमदिमिया

मापव की कहव
सुन्दरी रूपे
बयःसन्ति मिलन अभिसार वियोग वसन्त संघर्षनाता

(५) सामाजिक नृत्य

छक्कूबाजी असिस्तुर्य भामर कामर कासी बताहा-बताही नृत्य

(६) नारी नृत्य

नवनायौगिन धसकटी सामाचेकेर जट-जटििन

(७) शिशूनृत्य

मेशनूनृत्य

करिया झूमरि बसुखा बुखी ओह पार जो

मैथिली नृत्य

मैथिली नृत्य बड़ प्राचीन। कालराम में इ विनिमित रूप हैत रहझैक। मैथिली के प्राचीन पोठी ज्योतिरिस्थर के 'वर्वरानावक' में एक दान नाचन भावी "दौरक नाच्यो"। भोज भोज ह सत्िक प्राचीन नृत्य के मन्नालीक समाज में उपस्थित भावी।

आदिम नृत्य

झगड़ युग के नृत्य, ओही युग के चिन्ता जोकर बड़ प्राचीनत भावी। भो एसे सजोब अत्य जै ओहरा दैवी प्रभाव से दुक मानह जाष्त भाव भा इ विवास बैठ जाष्त भावै।
जे ओकर ‘मगता’ को कैसे हूँक से नाम दिये सकट क अच्छी। ‘मगता’ नतिंक होंसत अच्छी
आ न विवाह एक बात जात अच्छी जे देवता विशेष क अं ओ ‘बांध’ करेत ( आनेवत ) अच्छी।
कोनो नृत्य क सजीता ओकरा ‘माव’ के सजीता परवर्त छ्याय के नाता छी। अह दोष
tे ह नृत्य एक सजीत होसत अच्छी जे देरक तर-रूप में जाता है अच्छी अ लोक ओकरा
शासन में ओर देवता ( मकर ओ ‘माव’ करेत अच्छी ) जे ऐसा मानि छैत अच्छी आ ओकरा
से विभिन्न दुःख का अभाष से बान क बयान करत अच्छी। उजा जून दूर शर ओ नृत्य सव
आयो समाज में जीत आ प्रचारित अच्छी। विशेषतः उ देव नृत्य वापिक पूजा क अवसर
पर देख जा सकट अच्छी जकरा ‘बहर बात’ कहेत छेक।

अह नृत्य के दमुख बाध ही हो छ, दाशिति जूदरा आ बंदवताल। सव देवता सवहिक
अपन अपन सिखित गीत छेकट। अह गीत सव के मगति गीत कहेत है आ सरोव कहा-
वैत छये ‘मगता’। गाय क बाहर अह देवता सवहिक ‘यान’ वा ‘गहरा’ वनष रहेत
छेक।

विपहरा

उ सव नृत्य छी। मगता क माध पर छोट पैथ क कम से कला सव एक दोसर पर
dिखाकर स्थापित रहेत हैक। ओकरा एक हाथ में रेन रहेत हैक आ दोसर में धूपदानी
बाज नमगाना जैसेत छेक आ मगति गीत प्रारंभ होसत हैक। रेन के ऐसें-जूसें मगता
( नतिंक ) पूरा मालमंगी मे आयव बाहर आहेत। रेन सांप क प्रतीक में आ माध पर
काळ, परंत पिकर पर क जल-कूल क। दिखाकर पर क जलकुंड नाम सवहिक विहार-
स्वभाव मानना बाहर छेक। नरक क हाथ क धूपदानी से रहेत रहेत के नामा ब्याह बहरात
रहेत हैक जे सव विष क क्षेत्र क प्रतीक छिये वर्षा नतिंक, सांप ओंका अपन जीय लगावार
उपलब्ध रहेत हैक।

अह वर्ष के बैंक प्रकार के नृत्य हैक। जो नृत्य सव कलक रस के उपस्थित करेत
छेक। उह प्रकार मैरव, रीढ़ रस में, अंगों, अंगमस रस में ( नृत्य क कम में अंगों के
करेत अच्छी आ पूण: के शैल वस्तु के माहन के काज साधारण अवस्था में
असमम्ब छेक।) बंदवतारी, ( बाह नृत्य ) बीर रस में, देवतारी, वास्तव रस में, जनवा
(ज्वालामुखी) शान्त रस में आ शाशिया ( जनवा ) शान्त रस में उपस्थित कैल जाहत
छेक।

वषपि उपरोक्त नृत्य सव आदित्म नृत्य दिबाक आ तंत्र क ओको आदित्म नृत्य से
निशेत जुलैत हैक तथापि एकर उपस्थित नृत्य के नेट है नेट हैत हैक तथा उ
बड़ पवित्र मानन जाहत हैक।

लोकगाथा नृत्य

मैथिली लोकगाथा सव बड़ प्राचीन। विभिन्न जाति के एसिटास्क व्यक्तिव सवहिक
सम्बन्ध में, अधिक ओजोसी शैली में, ग्रेश कोहागाथा सव लोक क बैंक पर दी बाता
करें बढ़ आपि रहें हैक। एकरा लोक-महाकाव्य कहला आ महति अच्छी। उ सव बढ़
लोकगाथा अच्छी। लक्षणा क वन्दना, कथानक क छिय-छटा आ बोधि-दात्म नायक क
वैदेशिकी चरित, सवदा एका अपूर्व नातावरण क सजन करें हैक। जयसो आ तहआरी
दुलरा दयाल सिंह

दयाल सिंह के विवाह, वसरी के सुपरिवेद "दासी" बहुरा ठकुराने के परम सुबरित बेटी अमरावती से भेजिएं। विवाह काल में, दयाल सिंह के काला, (भीम सिंह) के, बहुरा ठकुराने, अपना मंत्रिय से कनाह के देख। बरसात बल, बर दयाल सिंह के से के पहाड़ी गेलाह। दयाल सिंह आदित्य मर भर उत्साह्य व्यक्ति छठ। जो कामरूप यात्रा चल गेला। जो कामरूप में मंत्रिय सिंह बागल। नजर्रें ते जो भेंड़ जोटी के छठाह। काम- रूप बाग के अपना मुन्य से मुंग के के चेणा आ दराम में मनन-तनन के मिजा पीठक।

कामरूप से पूरी दयाल सिंह अपन पत्नी अमरावती के पुरागाम कर्रे चहल।

बहुरा ठकुराने के अपना धनराज के पानी बड़े गेले छठके। अतवर और बेटी अमरावती अपना माता जान के सांग, चौधरिया नामक स्थान के हार में पानी आन्य चहल चौधरिया हारा हम, नाम-गाती में, दयाल सिंह अपना विवाहियों के सांग अंतकल छठ। दयाल सिंह के भाण गाँडेनह। जो अपना नींदर 'हिन्दी' के पानी आने पहेलकड़ी। जो अपनी नींदर के रहे से अत्यायार केरेह। वैसे सुझाव करेंक बुझारी। इनके नींद खूबसूरती, अपने सोना के मजहोता (एक विश्व का कंजन ) से हिन्दी के सुंदर पर मारे देशेके। हिन्दी के आमु के दूरे दूरे गेले रा गुंदा खु-खुमार मे गेले।

जो पूरे के दयाल सिंह के एकर सुवना देशेके। दयाल सिंह, अपना धनराज में गुप्तक धन कर्री जो गीत चोटी देखे छछाह। इनका उत्तरीय झाड़ छलैनह हिन्दी, सुदंग बाहुल्यक। सुदंग पर गाथ पड़ै। गुप्तक झाड़के के कठ। जो बूढ़ा के समीप पहुँचला। सुदंग पर बाजी रहल छछल।—“पदार्ज के पानी दे मुझे।”

किन्तु जो गलना लोकिन तह पर कोनी ध्यान नहीं देशविनह। इनका भय छलैनह जे दुरे मे विश्व गेला से बहुरा ठकुराने तमसा जेतीह।

किन्तु दयाल सिंह, परती से, हारा पर आ दराम पर से औरका लहारा पर आदि गेलाह। जो नवविवाह लोकिन इनका नृत्य पर मुन्य मे गेलीह। दयाल सिंह लहारा पर बेरी से धूमी मुन्य कड़ी लागाह। कामरूपी सब कारी गेलीह। हारी मुन्य बेस में, त तहन नर्चक हाराः में ने खसे पड़ी।

अमरावती अनुनय केरेहनह।—“हे सुदर्शन कलाकार, बहां नृत्य वज करँ। हम बहां के अपना द्वार से पानी बारी के पिये।”

जो पानी बारी गाँडेनह।

नर्चक आव अथका बनाय अपरे लहारा पर नृत्य कररे लागाह।

आदि के अमरावती व्याकुल मे उठलोक हे—“हे नर्चक देस, ठमकू, हम सत करते छरी। सवे अपनह हापे पानी बारी के पिये।”

नृत्य धन हेमेह।

“दयाल सिंह” नृत्य क संहिता पृष्ठ भूमि।यों हेमेह।
झाँसि आ मुदंग एकर मुख्य वारा छियैबक। नर्तक पहिचे आकालिंग-मुख्य करैत छैक। ओ जानेत आचि जे पिनिमरनी रूप सी ओकरे पनी छियैबक अतरब ओकरा आखि में प्रणय के ध्यान छैक आ अतर पर ध्यान के ध्यान वला सुदा छैक।

अंग मुख के तीन चरण छैक।
क—इनार के नीचे में पनी मरनी के ध्यान आकालिंग करैङ हेतु जे कैठ जाहत छैक।...

उचाटन मुख
ख—मोइन मुख...ओ मुख जे इनार के लहरा पर नाचा जाहत छैक। ओह बुधाकार मुखः सै ओ लहना लोकनी मोहिंत में जान छर्य। अंग में सय आ रोमांस दूरू क समाविष्कह। एक दिस अवाय इनार में खरित मय आ दोसर दिस मुन्दोली लोकनी दिस इस्मिप मुख के सन्निकट रहित छैक।

ग—वशीकरण मुख...तेसर चरण में, तर्क इनार पर क अध्ये लहरा पर सत्यमान रहित आचि। ओहीं में ओकरा मुख के चक्कर (circuit) अर्थ-सृजन अवस्था में पूरा करै पहिए छैक। नर्तक, इनार क पानी में, रूपसी पिनिमरनी क प्रति विमान देखित मुख करैत आचि।

पहिला शंकार छैक...ध्यान के पानी दे। यान्त्रिक ता ता ता।
दोसर शंकार छैक...नवन जुड़ा गेल इदस जुड़ा दे।
"ता चिन ता, ता ता चिन चिन ता।"
तेसर शंकार छैक...सच राखः सच राख।
"था किट किट। था किट किट।"

नृत्य के तांत्रिक स्वरूप
दयाल सिङ।(माता पर स्वर्ण कलझ मेने। स्वर्ण कलझ माँ गर्मिया के नविस के प्रतीक। शिव तब में गंगा के प्रतीक।) = दिवं तब = ॰ = अस्तिनदी। = सुधुन्ना इनार के लहरा के बुद्धाकार चक्कर = O = सुधुन्ना इनार के लहरा क।
अध्ये बुधाकार चक्करचक्कर = ° = बन्द्रा तब = ईस्ता।
अब पहाड़े ठंडा, गिऩाला आ सुधुन्ना जाठा एकाकार होति छैक ओह ठां "प्रयास" बनेत छैक आ ओहीं ठां काम = जां = अबराणितो के प्रापित होभे छैक आ "इदस-कमल"
जुड़ा जाहत छैक।

कमला नृत्य
कमला नृत्य, दयाल सिङ नृत्य के कम में दोसर नृत्य आचि।
अमरावती, दयाल सिङ के हेतु पानी मन रही लागिंच। ओ अपन बाहुप-माध क घंघर में माँ कमला (कमला नहीं) उज्जवल केने छैक। अतरब इनार के पानी माता कमला के प्रेमन से नीची दिस तरके लग खैक। जायहा खड़ना रेखोगे क धोरो से वाणी नीचा दिस वाह, तड़ना तड़ना पानियों नीची सरकाज जाह। धोरो समाज में गेल ते सच से वाणी अमरावती, अन्य अथवा क छोर धोरो से बाणी देखकह। साड़ी के छोर से हो इनार में नीचा ससरौं लग खैक ओ अर्थ मान जोंकह में गेल फिन नु जल के सतह नहीं मेटकह।
अमरावती आकृति मैं उठली। इसका एक दिस्त तै अपने केल “सत्य” के चिन्ता छठे-छठे, आ दोस्रा दिस्त भो नम्बर मैं रहित छठे। आगरहण में भरी के पुकारि उठली—
“कमला मैया नुआ पुरावय नुआ पुरावय कमला मैया।” मदक की छठ, इत्ता में पालि
भरी आयस आ आंकरा नाव मैया, कमला के फैनि हिंदु के शूप में बल बलात उठला
आ अमरावती के चारू सर अग्नि प्रसुकित आ गूँण प्रसुकित कमल-पुष्प संव देखात
भने लगा।

कमला-नृत्य का स्वरूप

तन्त्र कियोर बवः के होति छैक। नौं साती में भो नवथीन्यत्व के रूप में उपसंहत
केल आहि आति। आंकरा माप पर कोईदिखा के गुट वनल रहित छैक ओड़ में सुविशिष्ट
रहित छैक, कमल-पुष्प, काव्य के फूल, हृस्य भो माछ के आहि। ५ सब कमला-नदी के
प्रतिकृती भेल। कुनूकी पौयर रंग के होति छैक। आंकरा हाथ में सचि-अस्सी हाथ के,
बड़े पात के आहिये गांग में रहित छैक।

बाजा में छाही-मुट्टा आ बनें ताज़ा प्रयोग होति छैक। सब से पहिचे कमला के
भगति गीत गीत बाहि होति छैक। तत्ति नृत्य प्रारम्भ होति छैक। ५ बड़े वृक्षारोप नृत्य होति
छैक। तै नाच क अन्त में नति के पकड़े है, तबि यहं चाक दिवश में वैनसी आहि
आति। कहलात आति, जो भो नवथिन्यत तन्त्र के नहिं पकड़े छैं जाय ते नैचि
नैति आंकरा मुलुक में जे। अथवा ५ चाक दिनपाल निधित समय पर, नति के
पकड़े हो, आंकरा माप पर से भेषन कार लैटि छैं।

नृत्य के प्रारम्भ में नति जेना कानि उठेत आति —“कमला मैया नुआ पुरावय,
नुआ पुरावय कमला मैया।”

जोहिना-जोहिना नृत्य गतिशील में आहि आति छैक पहिना-तहिना नति के हाथ के
अभि पातर वल बलात होते छैक जेना, कमला नदी में फेंक दियोर चिति रहि हो।
नृत्य के अभि वृक्षारोप होते है ओध बल से फूल, अपपुक्त आ गुरुङिक पात के आहि
स्थित क सिम्जन होति चलेत छैक। बाज-बाजी में नति के कल्य रागिणी सुनि पड़ि
छैक—“कमला मैया नुआ पुरावय नुआ पुरावय कमला मैया।”

कमला कोइला

कोईला, कमला (कमला-नदी) के बड़े प्रय मतिछ छ। प्रतितिन सहस कमल से
भो हुमक पूजा करेत छ। गंगा कमला से कहल बिन्धी—“इ तेभक हमरा है दिया
बहिन।”

कोईला, गंगा के तेभक बन अभि अस्तिक भै देख। गंगा के प्रेरण से, कहिनियां में
बसना खंडक कागे कोईला के नृत्य में गेलेक। कोईला, भरी के अमर में गेल आ
कमला के चिने तेभक वनि गेल।

कोईला नृत्य के स्वरूप

कियोर तन्त्र, नृत्य कम में, पूजा, नाव, पत्तवर, हिंदु आ काउनिया के मात
उपसंहत करीत आति। अभि भो औकर विभिनक के नृत्य, नृत्य-गति के चरम-उत्कर्ष पर
भानि देतें छैक।
शल्हेस-नृत्य

शल्हेस के अर्थ होति छैक पहाड़ क राजा। शल्हेस के कुमुदा वह दोना नाम के दूसरा मालिक नवगीतिना। प्रेम करैत छैहैं किन्तु आन जाति क होकर दुरारै ओ सब मिलन नहीं पहाई छढ़ि। कुमुदा-दोना आजीवन निकाल करैत रहि गेलिहैं।

"केश किन्तु गेल, वयस वीति गेल।
राजा शल्हेस के अंचल बानहोँ।
वाराण रविय से अंचल बानहोँ।
तेवौ ने निरंजन दुसरा बुधि रे की।"

इ नृत्य, पर्वत सै, जल-विन्दु क किंवितगी बजैत निका रिनकी जोका गतिखाल छैक।

आदे पर ज्युसित नेपाली नृत्य "हाओरे" क बिपुल प्रभा छैक। आद नृत्य क कम में दृष्टा नृत्य छैक। पहिए छिमक "वादिन-नृत्य" अँ दोसर छिमक "कुमुदा-दोना" नृत्य।

आद में, वॉस, तम्बूरा आ तार सै बनन, "पूणा" आ "चिकारा", मूंदक क संग

बादिन-नृत्य क स्वरूप

मन्त्र वालाह वाली कुमुदा, मन्त्र क वॉस बादिन वनि जाहत अछे। भो विकराल
भावे "शल्हेस" क चाड छैहै पित्रिए। सल्हेस क प्रग छैहैं, कौनो भनेई क मारो ( मालिक )
पर भङक आपात नंद करैक। भो वाह क भाली फेक बादिन क सन्मुख ढाक में जाहत
छिड़ि। बादिन हुनका पर आकाश नाहि के हुनका चांकाय चंकर बोदि छहौ।

नृत्य चरम अवश्य पर तकन पहुँच जाहत छैक जाहत, राजा सल्हेस बादिन क दृष्टा हाँरे
कर उठा हैं छिड़ि। कुमुदा क मुखिका खसि पढ़ै की भो आदी तर सै प्रागट होति छैक
चाँ सन क कुमुदा क मुख मेरद। ओजोर मुबं केश लहराइत छैक।

इउँ संतरी नारी

का भा शरीर बादिन क।

किंतु भागन तक आदी रिस्हि में नृत्य क चकर चलैत अछे।

कुमुदा दोना-नृत्य

राजा सल्हेस, वाकसरी बजैत छबि आ एक दिस से "कुमुदा वह दोसर दिस से
"दोना" नृत्य करैत अचैत छिड़ि। केटे काल भर नृत्य अरी कम में रहैत अछि किन्तु के
कि कुमुदा वह दोना नृत्य कम में पिरीरत दिसा में वृङ्क छिड़ि कि राजा सल्हेस पड़ा
बाहत छिड़ि। सबसा बाजा क राक्षिण बदित जाहत अछि कि कुमुदा ओ दोना नियोग
नृत्य प्रारम्भ करैत छिड़ि।

नयका वनिजारा

नयका वनिजारा परम प्रतापी व्यापारी छलाह। वाराण साह क हेतु, ओ व्यापार एक
परवेद गेलाह। हुनका अनुपरिवर्ति में, हुनक दुब विकारल "तितिसरी" हुनक परम संदरी
फुलेश्री के एक लड़ स्वर्ण मुद्रामें, कारारी के बेवाह-व्यापारी कुम्मा बोम क हाँए बेवा
लेिन। कुम्मा, फुलेश्री के संग चलैक हेतु वाय बेलैन। वेड़े कीस तै है, रानी
फुलेश्री, वार में, बोम से अपना सातिल रखा करैत छिड़ि।
लोरिक नार्यो

आदित्य गुरुत्व क उपरान्त, इ रथ वाणी मन ग्रंथ ज्ञान का कुंजक असी से, अयोरितार्क ठहरु द्वारा जन्मित वर्ग-रसिककार में एक तरह आवाज वर्ग चक्र नया तेजक्षेत्र असिया हो। आदित्य इ नृत्य अपने एक-उपरान्त का कारण जन-समाज में भोजन प्रचार असी।

अपने ‘वर्ग’ का वाणी का कारण वर्ग वर्ग विविधता मात्र, जिसका कारण वर्ग जगत जगत ज्ञान नहीं रहता असी। वो नृत्यकार, नार्यो वाणी-रसिक को कृतिकार कारण अवर्त वर्ग के प्रभावक नहीं रहता असी। यदि वाणी में वाणी-शिक्षा का प्रभावक अनुपात वर्ग के प्रभावक, तो उसे नृत्य का एक कारण नहीं रहता असी।
कोरिक के नाबीद हैं। कोरिक जागि के अपने ब्रह्म उद्देश्य धार्मिक किष्ठु सोनिका अधिकार अधिकार लेता है। कोरिक भर भर भर भर भर भर। मांजरि के आखिर में भारतीय है। कोरिक के हाथ में दे देता है। सोनिका यहाँ आयात में भारतीय में भारतीय है। कोरिक, हाथ में संबंध नेनास मांजरि के आखिरण पाश में भर देता है। सोनिका का शरीर पर नृत्य करते हैं।

कोरक-नृत्य

उस नृत्य के प्रारम्भ सोनिका करते थे। उस एक हाथ में तत्त्वारी नेने रहने रहीं हैं। कोरिक के हाथ में तत्त्वारी नेने रहने रहीं हैं। एक दिन कोरिक के हाथ में चढ़ा है। मांजरि के कोरिक संग नृत्य करते भविष्य थे। सोनिका का आयात के बच्चे कोरिक फर्के चाकर में दूर रस का समावेश करते थे। एक हाथ में बच्चे से ताकत वाला आयात के कोरिक दिस प्रणाम हुठी हैं। मांजरि के हाथ में ताकत रहते हैं। किन्तु उस गृहन्त गति से ब्रज उन्नी ने के बढ़े कोरक से कोरिक के हाथ में दे देता है। कोरिक के कोरिक यहाँ आयात में सोनिका भारतीय में जाता है। कोरिक के नाम आखिरण में मुरी, सोनिका का पीठ पर प्रेम राजहंस नृत्य करते थे।

उस नृत्य के दौरान चरण, ‘उड़ास-नृत्य’ में परिवर्तन में जाता था। एक पृथ्वी का नृत्य नृत्य बने। प्रक्ष तीत अंत्री एक प्रेम ‘शव’ का गजा हुए वह से खेल गेल हो।

उस कम में दौरान नृत्य अभिनव, चनैन-नृत्य। कोरिक, मांजरि के छोटे, राजकुमारी चनैन संग, सोनिकी गात के इमाम से, रंग-रंगमस से हैरान जाता था। वर्तम बरस के अवसर के बरोबर, मांजरि, वाजिर तौयावा के पैर में योगयोग पत्र वाजिर के पटौल पत्र थे। तौयावा कोरिक के हाथ पर पल खस्तत हेक। कोरिक के इस्ती हारकार के बरोबर हेक्हर आयात में कोरिक के अवबुल्क हेक्हर प्रस्तुत होती है। कोरिक के भूमा में हेक्हर, सोनिकी अवबुल्क के अवबुल्क अवबुल्क चनैन। उस 'नृत्य के तीन चरण हैं।

क—मोहिनी नृत्य (वासनारम्भ)
ख—कच्चह नृत्य।
ग—कच्चह का आरम्भ समये नृत्य।

नृत्य के अधिक कोरिक के चरण पर, चनैन के अवबुल्क अर्थ देवक इस्ती है।

कोरिक—नृत्य नेपाल के तिब्बती मेजा में प्रदर्शित कौल जाता है। कोरिक के छोटे इस आरंभ अवबुल्क है।

कोरक-नाथा नृत्य के मुख्य के साथ है आयात कोरिक कोर-नृत्य दिस अवबुल्क है।

नारदीय नृत्य

पौराणिक भारत पर आयातित बने नृत्य हेक्स तह में सब से प्राचीन अवबुल्क भिन्न रस में सरानीय “नारदीय” नृत्य। इस सत्यायन के योजनेपुष्ट (राबी के प्रत्येक
प्रहर के पूजा) के बवसर पर प्रदशित कैलेख जास्त छैठ। शास्त्र आ यद्यंग के संग नन्दक दश श्रीमानारावण के भुज के संग पूजा स्थल के अन्वरत नृयमान गाति से परिक्षमा करैत अछित। परिक्षमा कम में ताल के अनुसार तीन गाति होति छैठ —
क — ईश्वर गाति (विक्रमित)
ख — चुराग गाति (हृद)
ग — गदहु गाति (मुखा का गदहुकान)

वरर बुद्ध के द्वार में “कर्तारो” रहैत छैठह। ओ पैतामर पहिरने रहैत छि। शरीर पर कायम उच्चरी रहैत छैठ। गारा में तुलसी माला आ झाट पर हवेत तिलक रहैत छैठह रायण क विशेष प्रहर क अनुसार, श्रीमानारावण के भुज विभिन्न रागिणी में गीत जास्त छैठ।

रास-नृत्य

पौराणिक नृत्य सथ में, कुण्डल सत्यत्र नृत्य सथ से अधिक प्रचलित छैठ। यह में सथ से प्रसिद्ध रास-नृत्य छैठ द प्रस्तुत गाम में नाचत जास्त छैठ आ प्रस्तुत नर्तक पकरा जनैत बिचि। सूदंग आ बंदुरी एकर सुस्थ वाय चिक्केक। कत्तक नृत्य में गोपी सवहिक चलायान कुटू में रायण कुंद नृत्य चलैत बित हैत छैठ।

दंडा-वांड़ी-नृत्य (रायण कुंद नृत्य)

रायण नृत्य के उपरान्त यही नृत्य के स्थान छैठ। यह भूमि में दंडा आ वांड़ी बवेत रहैत छैठ। रायण के कुटू में पूरा माला रहैत छैठह आ कुंद के हाय में बंदुरी। नृत्य में रायण-कुंद के बनाम अलाम से प्रारम होति छैठ, युन: पुनः मान: मंगः, प्रणाय निभेदन के उपरान्त नृत्य के अंत मिलन में होति छैठ।

रायण नृत्य आ लाट कंजुड़ी पहिरने रहैत छि। कुण्डल, मोरमकुट, पैतमर, आ बरमाला चरण के। मिलन बढ़ मोड़ दड़ सै होटि छैठ। नाचत रायण कुंद के गारा में माला पहिरा दैत छिवित आ कुंद पाण्डू मूमी के, रायण के दूमू पाव से हाय बढ़ै बितै, इनका आकिन्त पाण में मरी, वहालापय बंदुरी बवेत लगै छि। नृत्य के विभिन्न रंगिणी के संचालन, दंडा के बोल द्वारा होति हैत।

चीर हरण-नृत्य

इ नृत्य कहियो वह प्रसिद्ध छैठ। वाय में सारंगी रहैत छैठ बीच-बीच में बंदुरी से हो बोलैत छैठ। कुण्डल के इ नृत्य गोपी सवहिक अनुराग मरी विहंग वातावरण में चलैत है।

पारिजात हरण नृत्य

कुण्डल के परलो, सत्यभामा, पारिजात बुद्ध लेई रंगे रहीह। कुण्डल हमका बुद्ध पर वैसा के, इंडू से युध बेलुम्लू आ पारिजात ने ने दारिका बुराह।

कोटिका (Shola-wood) आ मख्कीला बसन के संयोग से गरुड बनाल जास्त छैठ। एक बार बढ़, तबता आ सारंगी छिक्कै। इ एक प्रकाश के नृत्य-नाट्य छिक्कै। दरमुगा बितिका के कोटिका गाँव के नर्तक एकरा बड़े सफलता पूर्ण प्रशिक्षण करैत छि। पूछ मूमिं, में बेराबेरी गीत बदलैत रहैत छैठ, आ नबुके बुनिम पर नृत्य चलैत
रहेत छैठै। विषाणिति के एक पीढ़ी का पूर्व कवि उमापति मेलाहाँ। हुआ किसत
पारिजतहरू नाटक कह बहुत प्रशिक्षण आछे। इ नृत्य ओहोँ नाटक के आवार पर आछे।
नाच में “उमापति” का दर्शक गीत गात जात आछे।

अंकिया आ किरितिनिया नाच
राजनगर के मनोर लव में, दुर्गा पूजा के अवसर पर, किरितिनिया आ अंकिया
नाटक के आवार पर ह नृत्य प्रदर्शिल कैल जात आछे।

पौराणिक नृत्य सत्विक का आयबे “विषाणिति” नृत्य अल्पविध बोधिसिय आछे।
इ नृत्य के आवार विषाणिति का कविता आछे जे जन कान्त में विषाणिति के काव
सवेरे का आवव रहेत आछे। विषाणिति नृत्य के प्रथम नर्तक “जयन्त” छठाहाँ जे
महाराज शिवं सिंह के वर्षभर में कवि के जीवन काले में बहुत प्रसिद्ध रहे ताहाँ।

विषाणिति नृत्य के ढू पख आछे।
क—राधा माधव पखाँ।
ख—हर मोरा पखाँ।
राधा—माधव पखाँ के नृत्य के संख्या वेसी आछे। इ नृत्य “वतान” शैली के नृत्य
छैठै। “वतान” के अर्थ होति छैठै माधव संगी दोर वतान—अभिव्यक्ति केनाध।

ह शैली में, विषाणिति के, वनसपन, राधा के दृष्टि, कुण के दृष्टि, संगमनारा,
मित्र, अभिनारा, मान—माधव—मंत्र, विषाणिति आदि। वे मुहम्मद विवरण के संग नृत्य रूप
में प्रदर्शित कैल जात छैठै। दरमण शिव जिला के संहारा साग गाम के हो दरमण आई शैली के
विषाणिति नर्तक छैठै।

विषाणिति संभ इ नृत्य सव में व्यवहार होद वसा वासयन सत्विक चर्चा केने छाई।

“वाजत द्रम—द्रम भी द्रम द्रमिया।
नटन कहवानित माति यथासंग।
कर करताह प्रवंक क्षणियां।
द्रम द्रम ठम ठमिक द्रम मादुल।
रणधातु मंगोर बोल।
सराज, रवाव, शेरा, तसर मस्तक आ करताह भादिव वाच यन्त्र के नाम अह ‘रास’
नृत्य के वर्णन के काम में ऐसे आछे।
शिव पखा के “मान—राधा नृत्य।”

विषाणिति के एकटा नापसदण सचारी छैठै:—
पारवती:—“जाय आजु एक महानारा, महामृत्यु हागत है।
तोह शिव पह नट बेकर हमरू बजाउँ हे।
शिव:—लोले जे कहां छ गोरा नाच।
कोना हृम मानव हे॥
एक सोच मोरा लागु चारि कोना बांचव हे॥
“जाय आजु एक महासार। महामृत्यु हागत हे॥
प्रमुख में नवारी के रागिणी जूनैति छिड़े। शिव अपना माह भंगिमा परन्म प्रमाण करैत छिथे जेन भंगिमा रोशन उपरितं होगी। (किन्तु परस्ति कहाँ रहेत छिथे)। जेन नाच, कारुणिक होर अपने चार ‘बालक’ उपरितं करैत छिथे। पुन: अभिरित कहिह जीर गेय वान नाच के देस्त हो। कस्तो रंग चंचल ते शिव भोजन विषु वान छिथे जेन भंगिमा प्रेयृत जाहत बालके के पान-पान स्वयं विकल तेज चंचल होगी। विभाषित क, शिव गधा क नृत्य क कम में दोसर नृत्य भिषि :—

रसनिहार-नृत्य

इ हास्य उत्पन्न करैं हेतु प्रदर्शित कैल जाहत भिषि। एक बाणार विभाषित क ६ नवारी छिड़ेक :—

रसकिर भवानी तेजि मन्दिरा।
कर वैज्ञानिक गोद गोदी।

भवानी, शिव क वेदेण ते अभिरित के नवारी प्रेयृत जाहत छिथे। शिव इनका वैज्ञानिक छिथे ते अभिरित पर भंगिमा दिरा उदारजी होति भिषि।

छकड़वाजी-नृत्य

विभाषित-नृत्य क उपराण शब्र सामाजिक नृत्य दिस अभिरित छिड़। सामाजिक नृत्य में छकड़वाजी-नृत्य क प्रमुख स्थान छिड़। छकड़वाजी क अभिरित होति छिड़ “छिड़ा” क नृत्य। इ नृत्य, इस्लामी महासिद श गीति शाह क प्रमाणित नृत्य छिड़। जेनमा, पहिले, जेनमा लपेन्दे ता माह पर जेनमा रोशन राख और तेजि वय क नर्तक अभ नृत्य के प्रदर्शित करैत छिड़। स्टारिया ता तबला एक हेतु नृत्य वाच कैल। भाव परमाण देते बाल बाल माह-भंगिमा क संग गजल, ठुमरी, बलजवली ता तिलक कामाद जे मोन हो सुनैँ जात।

असि-नृत्य

बाल से दू तीन दसक पूरी, असि-नृत्य वढ़ लोक प्रिय छिथ जे बाल अप्राय में जा रहेत छिड़।

एकाक लेखिक अपन प्रथम प्रेयृत के छिथे दोसर नवशीलन के प्रेम का कैल। झूठे छिथे पंडित प्रेयृत, इनका नव प्रेयृत क संग देखि श्रैले छिथे।
भाती के बांध से तम्बाकू काटकर रहल छिड़े। पहिर्‍ह प्रेयसी कुढ़ में म्यान से तरहतार होकी के भाविक के वस्त्र पर प्रहर करते छिड़े। किन्तु उनका अन्तर्वेषण में वे भोजन सैनिक के प्रति अभक्ष प्रेम, तब कारण, इनक दाय के तरहतार सैनिक के वस्त्र के अर्थता समीप बाय, एक सूत्क के अन्तर बनवैन, म्यान में समा बाहि छिड़े।

नृत्य का रहस्य

नृत्य, सैनिक बेहद में, बांध में अहमारी बांधने, नर्तक तर ओकर तरण प्रेयसी से प्रभाव होता छिड़े। परंतु मिलन मूढ़ में नचैत छिड़े। किंतु युग में, सैनिक के प्रथम प्रेयसी, कल्हाना अनाथिका के रूप में प्रवेश करते छिड़े। तीनू नचैत छिड़े। सैनिक नर्तक एके चार में, नवीन प्रेयसी दिस प्रणय मूढ़ आ पहिर्‍ह प्रेयसी दिस कल्ह मूढ़ बनवैत छिड़े। नवीन प्रेयसी के भणिग में बाज आ कहणा छिड़े। पहिर्‍ह प्रेयसी की नामभूत के हैं। सैनिक के बांध से तरहतार होकी के सैनिक के वस्त्र पर प्रहर करते छिड़े तथा सहसा तर तरण सैनिक स्थान में बिखा बाहि छिड़े। बह बम में, सैनिक तर ओकर पूर्ण प्रेयसी, बह मोड़क मूढ़ उपवितर करते छिड़े।

दामार-नृत्य

सामाजिक नृत्य में, “दामार” नृत्य सब से पुराने छिड़े। इ नृत्य, दिस के नचतार दे गीत के लंग बस्त का ध्वनि के बीच चलते छिड़े। इ असकते में सीता छिड़े अ रूप, वाच के नाम पर बेला बह में बमरूर दा बाजैत छिड़े। बीच बीच में शंख ध्वनि से नृत्य के स्थिति के विभाजन होती छिड़े।

कामर-नृत्य

कामर-नृत्य, कमरुद्रा तोन्निक नृत्य के कहीं छिड़े। बांस के चिकन में, दूरू दिस कामरे मारे ठापि, बाय में बड़ा-डुह बंडवाने, कांड पर बर्चिर मेने, भविष्य गीत (marching-song) गौम, कमरुद्रा के देश मंगाज रहे ती, वैचार बाय दिस बनवैत अछा। रहि रहि के “हर हर हर बम” के उद्योग होता है। बीच बीच में कमरुद्रा के लोकन दाय में बमरूर रहें छिड़े। कमरुद्रा पंक्ति वद में की, चलैत छि पा बीच बीच में सुगर गीत में देख देख की नृत्य के लगते छिड़े। कमरुद्रा—गीत, दमरू के द्वारा नाची छिड़े, देवि-देवता महादेव के रिखबांड है।

आह नृत्य के बारे मूढ़ आ चारी गीत होती छिड़े।
क—बस्तह ख—विधुल ग—सरह ध—मंगाज

पट बाह के नाचनाई आ मलती में मुड़ी बोलोन्हाई—बस्तह मूढ़ में, दूरू हाय कपर छाड़ के नाचनाई, बिशुल के प्रतीक, पानीय में न्यु-गीते ’सै आगु बडतनाई सरप के प्रतीक आ पां ती में, बी से बछैल, छिडौशू जोकी आगु बडतनाई। गंगा के धारा के प्रतीक भेज। आह प्रकार, कमरुद्रा अपना के शिवष्म, शैरशष्म क बनुमूर्ति में भाविक रिखति के “कामर” नृत्य कहीं छिड़े।
“कामर” अरे “डामर” नृत्य को भक के देखबाद है नहीं वरन स्वयं तत्त्वम संघे भक तत्त्व है जाति छैक ।

वतत्त्व-वतत्त्व-नृत्य

हूँ श्रीसंस्कर के अवसर पर, मांग के गाछ, पतलखड़ी, कारिख भक श्रीरा के वंशीय के संयोग से एक व्यक्ति शिख भक दृशी स्वरूप की पारदेसी बनेत छद्वि । संगधि वस्त्रधि भक दास के रूप तेही धरत छद्वि । दास नागर छह, वस्त्रधि दोख़छह छह भक वतत्त्व-वतत्त्वı ( शिख पारदेसी ) नृत्य करैत चलैत छद्वि । पाण्डु पाण्डु माटू माती मंडी में सनूल जन-समुदाय, भकंतत्व के पूजाय मान करत अपना के शिख के गाँव मानेत, मांग के निशा में मुकुषेह होके सुधा बनैते हौँ, चुढ़ि, धाति बनैते चलैत अचछि ।

भरनी नृत्य

भरनी-नृत्य इसन-इसैन के शहादत के गाढा पर आपूरति अचछि । इ गरवा नृत्य सन होति छैक । प्रत्येक वर्षक के हाथ में बांसक बनल भरनी रहैत छैक । ओ झोकरि बुलाकार ठहरै में के, गीत गीत चककर कादेत छद्वि भक चककर मारैक कम में, एक दृशी से हरनी पर भरनी मारैत छद्वि । भरनी के आराम, ताल लय में चलैत छैक भक खास झन में, “कर बज़ा” के गीत इनका अवर पर शृंजैत खैन्हुः —

“अपना महुँ से बीवी अम्मा निम्नलिखि।
हाय में कमल के फूलों जी।
कहूँ कहूँ सुगना रण के खबरिह दे।
रण में चमकक तेजी जी।
हाय हाय हाय हसन हाय इसैन।
हाय हाय हाय हाय हाय इसैन।”

पूछ मूमिन में होल भा ताताड़ गड़नृभागत रहैत छैक । मोहरम-के अवसर पर हिन्दू आ मुसलमान दूरू एकरा प्रदर्शित करैत छद्वि ।

नारी-नृत्य

नारी-नृत्य चारी प्रकार के होति अचछि । इ नृत्य सन में पुरुष के हेतु कोनी स्थान नहीं होति छैक । इ नृत्य निम्नलिखि अचछि:—

1. नयना-योगिनी नृत्य।
2. चसदरी नृत्य।
3. सामा-केरवा नृत्य।
4. जप-जद्वित नृत्य।

नयना-योगिनी नृत्य

विवाह के रात्रि, वर के जबल कोवद्र घर ले जाति छैक ते वधूँ के किछु कुमारि-माला के संग सिहारा के, कोवद्र के चारी कोण में जिंति नयना-योगिन के जिल के समुद्र ते जा के, “नयन-मंगिमा” नृत्य चलैते हेक भा ओह नृत्यमान बाला के चीं में, वर से वधूँ के वििहूँ ले कड़क जाति हेक । इ नृत्य नेपाल के पड़की जाति में जिंति छैक मुदा भिक्षिया के परिवार सन में, मात्र एकर ममालोप रहि गेल छैक।
घसकट्टी नृत्य

बरबुद के प्रथम मिलन के राजश—चतुर्थी के राजक के प्रथम महर—में जलना लोकिन, बरबुद के दुराघाटित लेने में है जायत छैह। संभवित मास पर दीप से जलानकर रहैं देह। बरबुद के दाय कथार के कहल आहत छैह, अनुकुल वृक्ष के केन्द्र में राजश अंतरी की कल्याण गायत्र चबूतर देत छैह। नृत्य के प्रथम अवस्था तत्त्व अवैत कछू जलन, वर, काठा पास के बोझ वृक्ष के माह पर राहैं चाहिए छैह हा वेल वृक्ष के "सीधे सीढ़ीं" देत छैह।

पुनः वृक्ष के माह पर, पूछ ता दीप मरल दाला, अ वर के माह पर पास के बोझ नेने, नर्ममाण जलना के तेरा गीत गौति धूरी अवैत छैह। इसी नृत्य आव अभायसे के रूप में देखा देत छैह।

जट-जटिन नृत्य

इ नारी कोकनीक सामृद्ध नृत्य अवैत। जट के अर्थ मेल नेव आ जटिन के अर्थ भेल पारती।

इ एक प्रकार के धिव-पारती नृत्य भेल। साधारण मास में जलन वरण नहीं होते। ज्ञान विकित पर जलकर नाहि देखाई देत छैह। अ वेल के बाबसे है इ नृत्य प्रदर्शित कैल आहत छैह।

नारी कोकनी दूर देखा में बैठी जाहत छैह। एक तरफ पूछ के वेदा धरण करैत छैह आ दोस्त तरफी लोक बोझ देश। जट के देश एक दिस आ जटिन के देश दोस्त दिस भावि जाहत छैह। गीत में कल्याणकथा चमते छैह। गीत में एकटा वखरी रहते छैह। वखरी के केर (Ring) पर दीप फाला फिसलियत करैते छैह। वखरी के साथ में एकदा बेंग राजक रहते छैह। तब पर से एकदा बचने दीप-स्मृत सोकं वृक्ष पड़ते छैह आ भोकरा चारा भर जलना कोकनी नैवेद छैह।

साम्र चकित-नृत्य

इ हो नृत्य नारी कोकनीक सामृद्ध नृत्य अवैत। शारदामण के संग, हिमालय दिसे से भाविकदू इंस समूह के समान में ह वृक्ष मनीख जात छैह।

प्रत्येक के माह पर बौस के बनत दाला रहते छैह। प्रत्येक बौस में, श्वास-चकित के गुरी—सुह सुंदरी नारी के आ शारीर धिवाचं पहुँचे क (तुलनात्मक, सहकार से) करती के पूछ आ रोका दूर से दाला सजात रहते छैह। इसी रात्रि रात्रि में, दुराघाटित लेने में इ नृत्य चलते छैह। गीत में माई के गिनेक के शराबा कैल आ मीज कुछस्ता के निम्नः—

“गाम के तिरताज तोहें फाहॉं मेहा हे
हाय दस पोखरे खुबान हे, कि चंपा वन लगवाय दे हे
कि राजसें देशे करत हे”

गीत के संग नृत्य चलते छैह। प्रत्येक नारी के दाय में उल्का दंश रहते छैह। नृत्य के कम में अंद से धरण देश जाहत छैह आ उल्का नृत्य प्रारम्भ में आहत छैह।

माह पर भरत दीप दाला हाथ में घृंठक उल्का, कंठ में गीत आ पीर में गीत, एकदा कल्याण मोहूक समय बनि जात छैह।
शिष्य-नृत्य
अन्त में मिश्रित में प्रचलित, दूरा शिष्य-नृत्य के संग उल्लेख नहीं किया जता है। इसका लोककथा प्रति अन्याय केनाक है।

कारिया-सुपरी नृत्य
बालिका लोककथा में वड़ भिय अर्थ में "मेघ-नृत्य!" अधारण मात्र के नव वन्यक्ष, जस्ता यस्ता कार करे, सदृश क्रिया में गहरी धारना करौ वहीं अर्थ जिंदगी भारी तथा मिश्रित शिलाओं के अन्तर्गत भी विचार रहे। जबकि, चमक चमक उठैँ चढ़ि। तथापि बालिका सब दू हूँ दू के जोड़ी बना के एक दोस्त के द्वारा काटी जाती है। पैरे में पैरे निवास के नाचे कार्य करत कहीं। अनेक संग जोड़ी नृत्य-रत में जाते हैं। इसके लोककथा मुक्त भेष लहराते है।

कोई एकदा बालिका आयू गवैँ छिड़कः

“आम मंगल, जामु मंगल,
कमला में खिलाड़ काय।
बाला पोखर में कमल फूलिया,
कोहली पारद सोर गाय।”

कुतु का कुतु
सब सुखमान बालिका एक संग कुतु के उठात छछ। यह प्रकारें, गीत क प्रस्तुत कहीं क संग नृत्य के बेग बढ़ात जाते है। इ नृत्य बढ़ प्रचलित छिड़कः

बगुला-बगुली नृत्य
बड़ुक लोककथा नृत्य बगुला-बगुली नृत्य कहलाते है। पाँच दा बालक सै इ नृत्य समाप्त होते हिम कहीं। एकदा बालक बीच में ठाप में जाते है। चारि दा बालक भोकरा खूंटी उड़े के चाँद दिशा में ठाप होती हटी। अगर ते बालक बालक दीमा होती होती हटी। बीच बड़ा बालक, एक शाखा दू हूँ दू, पून: दोस्त हाले दू हूँ दू के ढोल, आ चाँद दिशा के बालक एकदम दा छोर पकड़ने रहते हैं। बीच बड़ा बालक के नाचे संग चाँद दिशा के बालक नाचते है। जो लोककथा दुर्दैत काल गीत भय से गर्त के सन्तुलित रखने गह से। प्रस्तुत कहीं क अन्त मेंः

“बगुला-बगुली ओढ़ पर जो
हमर नुआ सुकौने जो
हमारा नुआ में हार हार वसत,
हार हार वसत।”

हार हार वसत क संग जो लोककथा बख़्त के जोर और से हिलावे कैद छछ।

नृत्य क प्रबन्ध क्रम
नृत्य में मुख बन्ध बाद आवश्यक होती छिड़कः। एकदा एक प्रकार क शान्ति पात वृक्षकार चाही। दिशा के, आकाश के आ तेलियामानान के मनोर्त सहात छिड़कः। कोई कोई नृत्य क मुखबन्ध में, तक्षकी बरा के नाम छेड़ जैक कहै। जहाँ "राजा मोम हेम", "मोरा सुहाना" अर "रंगीला मुसमाद शाह" के नाम विशेषतः आवृत्त छिड़कः।
मैथिली नृत्य में विपटा

मैथिली लोक नृत्य में "विपटा" के स्थान बढ़ महत्वपूर्ण है। नज़र में विषय नृत्य भी नारी नृत्य के तीन की प्रायः सब नृत्य में "विपटा" के उपयोग का जोध है। जो नृत्य की कोनों बहुतैं सुनिश्चित परिक्षा माती लेना जाय ते "विपटा" जो दो कार्यान्वयन भिन्न भिन्न है। विपटा के स्थान बढ़ है, जो कोनों ता, "विद्युक्त", "हालुन", "तुंड्रित" ता "विट" के हृदय छोड़े।

मैथिली नृत्य के संग, राम के कित्ते में राजा—दशरथ या अयोध्यात्माओं पर आवंटित काम उपस्थित बढ़ते बढ़ते वर्तमान के केंद्रित बहुत है।

तत्त्विक साधन, आन्तरिक उद्देश्य, साधन, भक्ति, न्यूयोर्क पृष्ठ, सामाजिक उद्देश्य या विश्वास विश्वास भारा संसाधन प्रकार, मैथिली नृत्य सब का ओर वेश अवस्थाएँ का रूप में जीवित बनते।

सामाजिक प्रगति एक व्युत्क्रम बन्दित अवेशा का काम में दुर्लभ बनती में ऐसी आयुर्विज्ञानिक दृष्टि के अनुसार, लाख लाख तथा पौष्टिक तत्व का काम से इंद्रिय नृत्य सब विकास अवश्य बनते।

मैथिली नृत्य के कहानी का कम से मैथिली संस्कृति के मान्यता, विश्वास भी संस्कृतिक नृत्य के संबंध सीता के नींव जो कदम बढ़ता जा सकता बनते।

मैथिली कवि कोंकण कविता के मैथिली के विश्वस नींव का असल के सबरीयाने के बारे में आकर बनते।

मैथिली नृत्य, अपितु कोंकण भी विश्वसने के अवेशा बढ़ते है।
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