

18.9095414
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LITERATURE IN
KĀMATĀ KOCH-BIHĀR RĀJ-DARBĀR

Publisher : Dr. Ajay Kumār Chakravartī
Dhubrī, Assām.

 Library IAS, Shimla

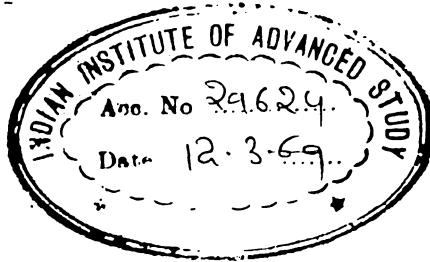


00029624

First Edition : 1964

398.809 5414
C2496

Block & Design : Viśvanāth Studio
3, Garanhāttā Street
Calcutta-6



Printers : (1) Sukumāri Printing Works
Dhubrī, Assām.
(2) Block, Cover etc.
Sree Dāmodar Press,
52A, Kailāsh Bose Street
Calcutta-6

Pitr Devke

PREFACE

From my very childhood I had a fascination, almost romantic so to say, for the folklores and folksongs current in Goālpārā and Kochbihār. With the advancement of years the fascination deepened into an interest to make a study of these and the literatures that flourished in the Kāmata-Kochbihār-Rāj-darbār of which the present districts of Goālpārā and Kochbihār formed a part. In this part of the country, lores and songs as well as literature in manuscripts and prints are still extant in abundance. As I proceeded on with my work of research it revealed to me the possibility of the discovery of a rich store of materials hitherto unexplored.

Nearly hundred years ago the research in the field of Bengali literature began. Many scholars of superb eminence entered the field. Their valuable researches cover varied and wide range no doubt, but the region I refer to above has not been very seriously traversed by any of these scholars. It is now high time that serious and sustained efforts should be made to study and explore literature of this part of the country. If this is done, I dare say that with new discoveries and achievements the works of our veteran pioneers will stand supplemented, revised and systematised. As a matter of fact, I, in the course of my research, came across a good number of poets of this period whose writings, so far, are unknown to the reading public. From their writings it has been possible for me to collect and collate fresh materials of considerable interest.

This work is an attempt, perhaps for the first time, to present before the educated public a fairly compendious survey of the materials found. In it, these poets have been discussed with details of their writings. Along with this discussion I have dealt with folksongs, folklores,

ballads, pāñcālīs. Social, political and anthological aspects of the period have not been overlooked in this treatise. I have also discussed all the branches of literature viz, poetry, drama and prose and have also made a comparative study of the literatures which were found in the area under review with those of the neighbouring States. So far as the linguistic side of the literatures is concerned, I have fully discussed it or tried to discuss it in the chapter under caption "Language" I have also tried to express my view-points with regard to the languages of these writers without any bias to any critics of Bengal and Assam. I have taken every care to guard against any angular view or display of animus. At the same time I have tried to be out of the beaten track.

In order that my readers may have some glimpses into the style and diction of the writers of different times of the period under review, I have quoted passages from their writings and also some of the folksongs. They will, no doubt, help the readers to make an estimate of the authorship of the period in question. Incidentally, therefore, the present work is a representative anthology of the literatures of the period under review. In giving illustrations from the writings of these writers I scrupulously avoided correcting wrong spellings. To make the treasury of pre-modern literature easily approachable for the non-Bengali and non-Assamese readers, I have ventured to write and publish this work in English garb and have given all quotations in Roman Transliteration along with their English translation.

I have indeed tried to collect materials as far as practicable, but I am sure many being not within my reach have been left out. And many are lost irretrievably. It is no doubt that it is a matter of great regret. Still my consolation is that TIME has handed down some of them and they form a worthy heritage to the readers.

It is needless to prolong the preface further. Now it

is my sacred duty to place on record my deep sense of gratitude and thankfulness to Dr. Srikumar Banerji, M.A., B.L., Ph. D., Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., P.R.S., D. Litt., Dr. Sukumer Sen, M.A, P.R.S., Ph. D. and Sri Sudhangshu Mohon Banerji, M.A., I.A.S., each of whom treated me with kindness and affection. I worked for this thesis under the guidance of Dr. Banerji with the scheme formulated by Dr. Chatterji. Dr. Sen's counsel at every stage and Sri S. M. Banerji's suggestions were of great value to me. I am deeply indebted to each of them and with all humility I pay my tribute of respect to them.

I thank the authorities of Kochbihār State Library, Mahāfezkhānā and Kochbihār Sāhitya Sabhā who gave me ungrudging facilities for perusal of manuscripts and papers at their disposal and permission to take copies and notes therefrom. For the said reason I also thank the authorities of the Cotton Library, Dhubri & the District Library, Dhubri. Sri Suresh Chandra Rajkhowā, M.A. M. Ed. (Lond), Director of Public Instructions, Assam, Shillong, took very keen interest in the publication of this work and it was possible for me to secure financial help from the Govt. of Assam solely through his active support. I offer him and the Govt. of Assam my grateful thanks.

I also offer my grateful thanks to Sri Hemendra Chandra Das Gupta, M.A., B.L. and Prof. Jayanta Kumar Chakravarti, M.A. who had always been the sources of inspiration.

Finally, a word to my readers. While going through this edition, they will find omissions and commissions. To them I apologize in the words of Michael Madhusudan Datta :

“Tabe yadi kṛpā kara bhula doṣ guṇ dhara”

I will be rewarded for my sincere labour.

Dhubri.
30/10/64

Ajay Kumar Chakravarti

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1. The Background of Assamese culture
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2. Kāyaṣṭha Samājar Itibṛtta—H. N. Datta Baruā.
3. Kāmṛup Burañjī—Dr. S. K. Bhuyān, D. Litt.
4. Early History of Kāmṛup—K. L. Baruā.
5. Śaṅkar Carit—Rāj Mohan Nāth.
6. Bāngālā Sahityer Itihās—Dr. S. Sen., M.A., Ph. D.
7. Ṛg Veda.
8. Viśvakoṣ—N. N. Basu.
9. History of Brajabuli Literature—Dr. S. Sen.,
M.A., Ph. D.
10. Eastern India (Vol. III)—Martin Luther.
11. Sonārāyergān —A. K. Chakravartī, M. A.
12. Kochbihārer Itihās—Khān Choudhury Āmānatullāh.
13. Manasāmaṅgal—Dr. B. Barua and S. Sarmā.
14. Journal of the Assam Research Society,
1942, 38, 39, 36, 37, 34.
15. Review of Philosophy and Religion Vol. X No. 2.
—A. Ayanger.
16. Śvetasataripañṣad.
17. Post Caitanya Sahajīyā Cult—Manindra Mohan Basu.
18. Caitanya Caritāmṛta—Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.
19. Rāgamayīkaṇā.
20. Amritaratnāvalī.
21. Origin and growth of Assamese language—D. Chāliā.
22. Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese manuscripts.
23. Goālpārājilār prāciṅ puthir bibaraṅ
—A. K. Chakravartī.
24. Social History of Kāmṛupa—N. N. Basu.
25. Kavindra Mahābhārata—G. N. Śāstrī.
26. Haribaṃśer Kavi Bhabānder paricay
—A. K. Chakravartī.

27. Descriptive catalogue of Kochbihār State manuscript
—Dr. S. Dās Gupta, Ph. D.
28. Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikāś.
29. Paricārikā (monthly journal, Kochbihār).
30. Kirāta-jana-kṛti—Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji.
M. A., D. Litt.
31. Caṇḍimaṅgal—Mukundarām Chakravartī.
32. The Khāsis—Major P. R. Gordon.
33. A. Cultural History of Assam—Dr. B. K. Baruā.
34. The Kachāries—J. D. Anderson.
35. South India Images of Gods and Goddesses
—H. K. Kṛṣṇasastī
36. Ṛg Vedic culture—Dr. A. C. Das.
37. Sādhanmālā—Dr. B. Bhattacharjee.
38. History of Nepāl—Daniel Wright.
39. Vaśiṣṭha Smṛiti.
40. Śiva Saṃhitā.
41. Bāṅgālā Maṅgal Kābyer Itihās.
—Āshutosh Bhattāchārjee.
42. Pūjā pradīp—Sacchidānanda Bhattāchārjee.
43. Gherendā Saṃhitā.
44. Gaurabmay Assam—Rāj Mohan Nāth.
45. Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī—Padmanāth Bhattāchārjee.
46. Origin and Development of Bengali language
—Dr. S. K. Chatterjee.
47. Assamese its formation and development
—Dr. B. K. Kākati.
48. Vāṣār Itibṛtta—Dr. Sukumar Sen.
49. Pallīgīti—Śībendranārāyaṇa Maṅḍal.
50. History and Geography of Bengal—Blocman.
51. Aspects of Bengali Society.—Dr. T. Das Gupta.
52. Caitanya and his age—Dr. D. C. Sen.
53. Moghul North East Frontier Policy
—Sudhindra Nāth Bhattāchārji
54. Śrīhatter Itibṛtta—A. C. Choudhury.

55. Asamiyā vāṣā āru Sāhityer Burañjī—D. N. Bezbaruā.
56. Asamiyā Sāhiyer Cāṇekī—H. Goswamī (C. U.)
57. Sex worship and symbolism of primitive races
S. Brown.
58. Rasasār.
59. Premānandalahari.
60. An Account of Assam—Dr. J. P. Wed
(Edited by B. Sarmā).
61. Eastern India—Bucanan Hamilton.
62. Assam Burañjī—H. K. Barua.
63. Uttar Bāngālā Sāhityer kāryya bibaraṇ
—Raṅpur Sāhitya Pariṣad

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

<i>Name of the Mss.</i>	<i>Poet</i>	<i>Custodian</i>	<i>Address</i>
1. Purāner anubād	Hema Sarasvatī	A. K. Chakravartti	Dhubri.
2. Aśvamedh Parbba	Harihar Vipra	Kāmruṇa A. Samiti	Gauhati
3. Droṇ Parbba	Kaviratna	do	do
4. Naldamayanti	Pitāambar	Bangīya S. Pariṣad	Calcutta
5. Mārkaṇḍeo Purāṇ	do	do	do
6. Bhāgavata	do	Kochbihār State Library	Kochbihār
7. Sāvitrī Carit	Rām Sarasvatī	A. K. Chakravartti	Dhubri
8. Bana Parbba	do	do	do
9. Harbaṃśa	Bhabānanda	do	do
10. Virāt Parbba	Vipra Viśārad	do	do
11. Karṇa Parbba	do	Kochbihār State Library.	
12. Bhāgavata	Govinda Miśra	A. K. Chakaravartti	Dhubri do
13. Ādi Parbba	Śrīnāth Dvija	do	do
14. Droṇ Parbba	do	do	do
15. Draupadīr Svayambar Kābya	do	Kochbihār State Library.	
16. Droṇ Parbba	Dvija Kavirāj	A. K. Chakravartti	Dhubri.
17. Nāradiya Purāṇ	Dvija Nārāyaṇa	Kochbihār State Library	
18. Māṇikyami- trekathā	Dvija Umānāth	A. K. Chakravartti	Dhubri
19. Aiśik Parbba	Harendranārāyaṇa	Kochbihār State Library	
20. Savā Parbba		do	do
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22.	Brihat Dharmma Purān	do	do
23.	Śailya Parbba	do	do
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26.	Kiṣkindā kānda	Raghurām	do
27.	Vīśma Parbba	do	do
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43.	Dharmma purāṇa	do	do
44.	Viṣṇupurāṇa	Mādhav	do
45.	Kiṣkindhyākānda	Devīnandan	do
46.	Kāśī khanda	Sāradānanda	do
47.	Uttarā Kānda	do	do
48.	Prasthānic Parbba	Mahīnāth	do
49.	Rāmrasāyan	Raghunandan	do
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53.	Bana Parbba	Mahīnāth	do
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57.	Āśramic Parbba	Kīrtticandra	do
58.	Āśvamedh Parbba	Mahināth	do
59.	Bhāgavata sixth canto	Jagannāth	do
60.	Savāparbba	Jaydev	do
61.	Rājbaṁśāvalī	Ripuñjay	do
62.	Mārkaṇḍeo Caṇḍi	Mahināth	do
63.	Caṇḍikār brata kathā	Mādhavcandra	do
64.	Śiva Purāṇa	Vaidyanāth	do
65.	Rājopokhyān	Jaynāth	do
66.	Kiṣkindā kānda	Śrināth Dvija	do
67.	Bhavānīmaṅgal	Rāmnārāyan	A. K. Chakra- vartti. (Dhubri)
68.	Ādi kānda	Mādhavdeva	Kochbihār State Library.
69.	Bhāgavatsār	Rāmendra	do
70.	Kirāt parbba	Kaviśekhara	do

1. Manasāmaṅgal Mānkar and Dr. B. Baruā and
Durgābar S. N. Sharma.
2. Bhavānīmaṅgal Rāmuārayaṅ A. K. Chakravartī.
3. Śaṅkardevā's printed books.
4. Mādhavdeva's printed books.
5. Rāmsarasvati's printed books.
6. Haribaṃśa Bhavānanda Satish Ch. Ray Dacca.
7. Baṛgits Dāmodardeva.
8. Printed books of Mahārājā Harendranārāyaṅa....
Kochbihār Sāhitya Sava
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9. Behārodanta Brindeśvari Devi do.
10. Gosānīmaṅgal Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-Kavi do.
11. Māṅkiamitrekathā Umanath A. K. Chakravartī
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12. Baudha-gān-o-dōhā H. Śāstri
13. Śaṅkar Carit Bhūṣaṅ Dvija R. M. Nāth. Gauhati.
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Transliteration

Vowels

a (অ)	ā (আ)	i (ই)	ī (ঈ)	u (উ)	ū (ঊ)
ɪ (ঐ)	e (এ)	ā̃ (ঐঁ)	ā̃ (ঐঁ)	ō (ও)	

Consonants

k (ক)	kh (খ)	g (গ)	gh (ঘ)	i (ঙ)
c (চ)	ch (ছ)	j (জ)	jh (ঝ)	ñ (ঞ)
ṭ (ট)	ṭh (ঠ)	ḍ (ড)	ḍh (ঢ)	ṇ (ণ)
t (ত)	th (থ)	d (দ)	dh (ধ)	n (ন)
p (প)	ph (ফ)	b, v (ব)	bh (ভ)	m (ম)
y [(য) j (জ) ininitially]		r (র)	ṛ (ড়)	ṛh (ঢ়)
l (ল)	ś (শ)	ṣ (ষ)	s (স)	h (হ)
ṁ (ং)	ḥ (ঃ)			

INTRODUCTION

PART I

(A) OBJECT OF THE THESIS : The object of the present thesis, is to attempt, perhaps for the first time, a detailed study of the literature as it prevailed in the Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār and still prevails in the area under review, both in manuscript and in printed forms.

(B) SCOPE OF THE THESIS : It is near about hundred years, that the research in the field of Bengali literature began. And hitherto through eminent scholastic researches, the field, has been traversed by many, but there is yet at least one field which has not been very-seriously dealt with by any of these scholars. The literatures of Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār presents a wide scope for study and research. The literature abounds in folk-lore, folk-songs, ballads pāñcālies etc.

No doubt, there have been some references to those, in the history of Bengali literature but the subject has not been dealt with in detail in history of Bengali literature. And in most cases, the Assamese critics have demanded that the literatures which were written in the Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār were purely Assamese. But if we make a critical study, judging on the linguistic standpoint of view, the demands of the Assamese critics cannot be supported. The literatures flourished from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century were written in KĀMARŪPI dialect. And this Kāmarūpī dialect has got closer affinity with Bengali language than the Assamese language. And the literatures written from the middle of the seventeenth century to eighteenth century, were written in Bengali language.

(C) PERIOD UNDER REVIEW : The present thesis covers the literatures written from the fourteenth century to eighteenth century.

(D) LITERARY BACKGROUND WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE LITERATURES WRITTEN IN REST OF BENGAL DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW : Carjyāpadas are the earliest specimen of Bengali literature. These Carjyās, were written, probably in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Carjyās are the mystic songs, written by several writers, and dealt with various processes of YOGO, to get salvation or MAHĀNIRVĀNA.

After the Carjyās, so far, we get in the history of Bengali literature was MĀLĀDHAR BASU alias GUṆA RĀJ KHĀN, the author of the ŚRĪ KṚṢṆA VIJAY. ŚRĪ KṚṢṆA VIJAY was written from 1473 A.D. to 1481 A. D.¹ After Śrī KṚṣṇa Vijay, in the beginning of the sixteenth century (1519 A.D. to 1533 A.D.), we get Jaśo-rāj Khān, Kavi Śekhar Vidyāpati. These two poets flourished in the court of Hussin Śāha and Nasiruddin Nusbāt Śāha. Only a few couplets of verses, have so far been discovered. No details of their writings are available. Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa flourished during the later half of the fifteenth century. Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa's Śrī KṚṣṇa Kīrttana is a voluminous book and it has got a great importance in the history of Bengali literature.

Roughly speaking, from the present history of Bengali literature, we get specimens of Bengali literatures written in the tenth/eleventh centuries and after that, we get the literatures written in the fifteenth century. And the information about the literatures written in twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have so far not yet been incorporated in the history of Bengali literature.

1. "Teraśa pacānai śake graṇtha ārambhan Caturdaś dui śake haila samāpan." (The writing begun in 1395 Śaka and ended in 1402 Śaka).

And the history of the literatures, written from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries of the area under review, were also fully not incorporated in the history of Bengali literatures. Only, some stray references have been made by the present writers of the history of Bengali literatures.

(E) INDEBTEDNESS OF THE PRESENT THESIS WRITER TO OTHER SCHOLARS AND HISTORIANS: The writer of this thesis, is indebted to the research scholars of Bengali literature, as because he got some references of the literatures that prevailed and still prevails in the period area under review. He is also indebted to the various scholars who prepared the Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts of the area under review and also other descriptive catalogues of manuscripts found in the rest of Bengal and Assam.

As regards the social, cultural and ethnological sides are concerned, the author of the present thesis is greatly indebted to those eminent scholars like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji., M.A., P.R.S., D. Lit., Dr. Sukumar Sen., M.A. Ph. D., Sri R. Canda, Sri R. D. Bauerjee, Sri S. M. Banerjee and others.

And as regards the growth and development of the language is concerned the present author is greatly indebted to these three eminent scholars viz, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji., M.A., P.R.S., D. Lit., Dr. Sukumar Sen. M.A., Ph. D., and Dr. Bāṇī Kānta Kakatī., M. A., Ph, D.

(F) ORIGINAL MATERIALS USED IN THIS THESIS: So far, the present history of Bengali literature is concerned, we do not get the specimen of the literatures written in the fourteenth century. But in the period and area under review, in the court of Kāmatā-rāj, Mahārājā DURLABHĀNĀRĀYANA, in the fourteenth century, we find that, three great poets have

flourished, viz, HEMA SARASVATĪ HARIHAR VIPRA and KAVIRATNA SARASVATĪ. HEMA SARASVATĪ advocated the BHAKTI-CULT. There is no doubt that the doctrine of bhakti-cult was prevalent in the area under review from a long time² and it was only a bit broad based by Hema Sarasvatī.

Hema Sarasvatī portrayed the character of demon Hiranyakasipu in a different way. We know that Hiranyakasipu never adored Hari or Viṣṇu, but in Hemasarasvatī's PRALHĀD CARIT we find that Hiranyakasipu adored Hari :—

Namō Nārāyana prabhu Deva Jadupati
Tomār carane mor thākak bhakati.

Pralhād also lamented for his father :—

Hā prāṇ pitā mayi ki kām karilo
(O beloved father, what I have done ?)

This, we do not find in other writings on this subject.

In Yogo Kathanam chapter, Hema Sarasvatī advocated for the yogos, and he gave a special stress upon DHARMMA-JÑĀN like that of MAHĀ-JÑĀN as we find in Manasā Maṅgal and Gorksha Vijay. In yogo Kathanam chapter, we find the influence of Carjyāpadas.

HARIHAR VIPRA AND KAVI RATNA SARASVATĪ were pioneer in translating the epic Mahābhārata. They flourished long before Kāśīrāmdās and other poets, who translated the epic Mahābhārata in the rest of Bengal.

ANANTA KANDALĪ, the Kāmatā poet is the first poet, who translated the Gīta-Govinda of JAYDEVĀ.

The discovery of the copy of Virāt Parbba of Vipra Viśārada is certainly a new innovation.

2. Mahābhūtī. Varmā was mentioned as PARAMA BHĀGAVATA (the great follower of Vāsudeva) vide Rock Inscription of Barṅaṅgā dated 554 A.D. in the MIKIR HILLS. Also vide BANAMĀLA'S PLATE.

MĀṆIKYAMITRER KATHĀ, a folk-tale is a new discovery. This folk-tale holds an unique position in the history of the folk literature. The treatment of this folk story, is quite different from all the folk stories. As regards the treatment of this story, only BĀNABHATTA'S KĀDAMBARI may be compared with this story. In Kādambarī, we find that ŚUK PĀKHI is narrating the whole story and the King Śūdraka is listening ; here we find, that VRAMAR is narrating the whole story and the cuckoo is listening.

MĀNKAR and DURGĀBAR'S story of Manasā Maṅgal is different from that of others. In Kāmatā version of Manasā Maṅgal we find that, Śiva is playing flute like Kṛṣṇa.³ And Śiva is making love to Durgā as Kṛṣṇa did to Rādhā. Śiva's hankering for Durgā and calling her to meet him by playing on his flute and Durgā is eager to meet Śiva, is certainly a new innovation.

From the present history of Bengali literature we learn that, the dramas were written in Bengali only in the seventeenth century in Nepāl Rāj-Darbār.⁴ But Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva the two great poets of Kāmatā Rāj-Darbār wrote dramas (One Act Play) in mixed Brajabuli (nor Bengali nor Assamese, with Saṅskrit ś'okas) in the sixteenth century. Uptil now, the dramas written by the Kāmatā poets were not incorporated in the history of Bengali literature on the otherhand the critics of Assamese literature have already included the writings of these poets, in the history of Assamese literature and have demanded that the Kāmatā poets are purely Assamese poets.

3. Like SONARAY, the tiger God of the area under review which is virtually and materially differs form the tiger god Dakṣiṇ Rāy of rest of Bengal.

4. NEPĀL RĀJ-DARBĀRE BĀNGĀLĀ NĀTAK edited by Śri Nani Gopāl Dās.

The PROSE was used in literature by the KĀMATĀ poets, long before the poets of rest of Bengal did. This is a new thing to be added in the history of Bengali literature.

The FOLK-SONGS and FOLK-LORES also differ greatly with that of rest of Bengal and Assam⁵.

As regards the HISTORICAL LITERATURE, the Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār tops the list and holds an unique position in the history of the Bengali literature. The detail of the writings of this class of literatures were not yet been included in the history of Bengali literature. Certainly, the inclusion of these literatures in the history of Bengali literature will enrich the same history.

Besides the writings of the poets mentioned above, the writings of many other new poets have been incorporated in this thesis. Although we will find that the subject matters are the same with the poets of that of rest of Bengal and Assam.

We have also discussed about the Mantra-sahitya in this thesis.

The texts which were written in KĀMATĀ-KOCH-RĀJ-DARBĀR may be classified under the following heads:

(a) Translation of the various Purānas (part or whole in some cases with some principles of Yogo)⁶.

(b) Translation of the epics: Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata.

(c) Translation of the Bhāgavata by promulgating its messages to the common people in verses as well as in drama forms.

5. Sonārāyergān, Hudumergān, kārticpūjārgān, Madan-kāmpūjārgān etc.

6. Yogo Kathanam....by Hema Sarasvati.

(d) Vaiṣṇava literature : Pre-Śaṅkariya and Post-Śaṅkariya.

(c) Maṅgal Kābyas : Manasā Maṅgal, Bhabānī Maṅgal, Caṇḍi maṅgal, (Mārkaṇḍeo Caṇḍi, Caṇḍikār Brata Katha,) Gosānī Maṅgal.

(f) Literature on Śaiva cult : Śiva Rahasya and Śiva Purāṇa.

(g) Literature on Nāth Cult : Maināmatī-Gopicānder gān.

(h) Lyrics : About Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Śiva-Durgā, Kālī-Mahā-deva, Saravatī, Āgamani, Baṛgits, Ghosā, Kīrttaṇas.

(i) Historical literatures : literature dealt with the dynastical and other history of the Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār : Rājbaṃśīvalī, Behārodanta, Rajopokhyān etc. Life sketches of the great religious preceptors.

(j) Books on miscellaneous subjects : Śara Ṛtu Varnaṇa Hitopodeś, etc.

(k) Drama.

(l) Folk-lore : Mānikyamitrer kathā, Upakathā etc.

(m) Folk-songs : sonārāyergān, Trināther-gān Hudumer-gān, Kārtic Pujār gān, etc.

(n) Prose : Vaiṣṇava literature.

Further, in the feast and festivals, arts and crafts coinage some differences are noticed in comparison with that of rest of Bengal.

AREA UNDER REVIEW: Areas under review are North Bengal and Western Assam. The State of Kāmatāpur was comprised of the following districts of present West Bengal, East Bengal and Assam: Kochbihar, Jalpāiguri, a portion of Māldah, Dinājpur of present West Bengal; Rangpur, some portions of Mymansin̄ha and Dinājpur of present East Pākisthan; Goālpārā, Garo Hills, Kāmarūpa and Darrang of present Assam. For sometimes the district of Sylhet and some portions of Jayantiyā Hills, were under Kāmatā-Koachbihār kings.

RESUME OF THE RACIAL ELEMENTS :—

To have a clear conception of the political, social, ethnological, cultural and linguistic history of the area under review, we have to study the history of the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan classes of people. From time immemorial various classes of Mongoloid people came to India¹. After the HIMALAYAN group of the Indo-Mongoloids, there were the Tibetan, another group of Mongoloids whose national name BOD² rose to prominence. They developed the basis of their characteristic culture on the soil of Tibet, where they formed their Pre-Buddhist BON religion, Later on SRONG-BTSAN-SGAM PO, the Tibetan King adopted Buddhism and by matrimonial alliances linked up his country with India (Nepāl). And some groups of Tibetans came south towards and settled in SIKKIM and in BHOTAN. From their centre of dispersion, other Tibeto-Burman tribes took up their trek into India along the Brahmaputra river westwards. Some of them settled in the mountainous tracts to North of Assam. This group of people always remained in a very primitive state, and never had any occasion to advance in civilisation like their other kinsmen.

1. "Racial elements in the population, No. 22 in Oxford pamphlets on Indian Affairs, 1944, Page 8, by Sri B. S. Guha and also vide Linguistic Survey of India Vol. I, Introduction, page 40 ff by Sir G. A. Grierson.

2. Bod now became PO or PHO and BOD has been Indianised as BHOTA.....Kirāta-janakṛti by Dr Suniti Kumār Chatterji., M.A., P.R.S., D. Lit.

The Tibeto-Burman, who came down to Burma and Assam in succeeding waves, became diversified as the common ancestors of the Bodos and Nāgas. These groups had got some common points of linguistic and cultural resemblance among them.

From pre-historic times, the Mongoloids tribes with their Sino-Tibetan speeches were pushing south and west. Linguistically, the Sino-Tibetan languages of the present day have been classified into two groups: TIBETO-BURMAN² and SIAMESE-CHINESE. The Bodo speeches (Bodo, Mech, Gāro, Kachāri and Tiprā) are the branches of the Tibeto-Burman group.

The Aryans with their own language, also came to these tracts from early times. Hence in North and East Bengal and Assam, the Indo-Mongoloid people participated greatly in the history and in the development of the local culture. The Indo-Mongoloid inheritance therefore, belongs in a special manner to the people of these tracts, irrespective of any Aryan language they may speak.

In the tenth century, in an inscription of North Bengal, we find several Tibeto-Burman words. These words refer to place-names and natural topography⁴. So in the development of Aryan Bengali and Aryan Assamese, the influence of the Bodo and Nāgā as well as the late ĀHOM language is noticed. The Austric Khāsī speech of the Khāsīs and Syntengs (Jayantiyās) has similarly influenced the contiguous Aryan.⁵

3. "Non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan" by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, in *Journal of the Greater India-Society*-Vol-III 1936, No. I page 43-49 and also vide *Bengali Dictionary*, second edition, Calcutta 1938 by Jnānendra Mohan Das.

4. *Social History of Kāmarūpa* by N. N. Basu, page 176.

7. *Assamese its formation and development* by Dr B. K. Kākatī M.A., Ph. D. page 32-56.

A close study of the evolution of Bengali and Assamese syntax, in comparison with the Bodo (and Khāsīs) speeches will reveal points of contact between Indo-Aryan Indo-Mongoloid. The Bodo tribes are linguistically connected with the Nāgas⁶. But the Nāgas have always remained isolated. The Bodos spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley and North Bengal as well as East Bengal, forming a solid bloc in North-Eastern India.⁷ And these Bodos have formed one of the main bases of the present-day population of these tracts. They skirted the southern bend of the river Brahmaputra and occupied the Garo Hills, whereas GĀROS they form a block of Bodo group. From the south of the Gāro Hills they spread in the Northern Mymansimha forming the semi-Bengalised HĀJNNG tribe. The Bodo spread upto Cāchār and from Cāchār they extended to Sylhet. Further they extended to the south to Tripurā State, where there is still a Bodo speaking block in the shape of T'iprā tribe, which founded the State and from Tripurā they spread into Coomillā and possibly also Noākhāli district and thus they occupied the mouths of the Ganges by Eastern sea. With the exception of the isolated Khāsī and Jayantiyā Hills and barring the eastern parts, inhabited by the Nāgas and south-eastern parts inhabited by the Kukis-Chins, the whole of Assam and North-East Bengal, was the country of the great Bodo people. But at present, except some islands of Bodo speech, the Bodos have merged into the Bengali and Assamese speaking masses, Hindu as well as Muslim in the area under review.

6. "The Nāgā tribes of Manipur" by T. C. Hodson., and "The Āo Nāgās" by J. P. Mills.

7. History of Assam by Śir. E. Gait, and Hunter's Statistical Accounts of India.

THE NAMES VIZ. KĀMATĀ, KĀMARŪPA, KĀMILLĀ (COMILLĀH), KAWĀCĀ, KAMŌCĀ : The Indo-Mongoloid background of North Bengal and Assam in ethnology, toponomy, history and culture extends from the earliest times. Their contribution in naming the places and rivers is of great importance. The Brahmaputra, in the Hindu world, outside Assam is known as LAUHITYA, which would appear to be an Aryanisation in Sanskrit, of the Indo-Mongoloid (old Bodo) name LUHIT¹ which is still the name of the Easternmost branch of the river, now flanked by Mishmi. The area of the Lohit river appeared to have been inhabited by the Bodo people. The DIHĀNG is the name of the main channel of the Brahmaputra. In DI-BANG, DI-HANG, DI-KHU, we have the common Bodo element for water or river 'TI' or 'DI'. As regards the place names, Kāmarūpa, Kāmatā, Kāmilla it seems more probable that these names are Bodo. There is an element KĀM or KAM which occurs in all these names, which also occurred in the name of the most Western tribe of the Bodos, the Koches (modern Kōc, Kōc, from earlier KAWŌCĀ or KAMŌCĀ², Sanskritised as KAMBŌJA in the tenth century in a North Bengal² inscription.)

Sri R. Chanda suggested, Kāmbōja of the inscription can only mean the Koch people of the period.

1. Even in modern Assamese LUI means river :—we find in modern Assamese song : Luitar pārate ḍhau di uṭhate (in the bank of the river, the waves arose).

2. Kirāta-janakṛti by Dr. S. K. Chatterji., M.A., P.R.S., D. Litt and BĀNĀGAR inscription in Sanskrit form Dinājpur in 880 Śaka (966 A.D.), briefly states the

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, suggested that the present-day Bengali word 'KŪC' rather 'KŌC' and this can well be derived from Middle Indo-Aryan source from *KAWŌCA written* KAMOCĀ, which could be properly Sanskritised as Kāmbuja. A later Sanskritisation of the non-nasalised form of the name, KŌCA occurs in the YOGINI TANTRA as KUVACA. Another sanskritised form of the name KOC viz, KUVACAKA is found in the PADMA-PURĀNA³.

erection of a temple of Śiva by a king of GAUDA who was of the race of the KĀMBOJAS ("KĀMBOJANVAYA GAUDAPATI.....).

3. "Sarva-bhakṣhya-ratā mūdḥā mleccha gōbrahma-ghātaḥ : Kuvacāka pare mleccha etc. kūtayōnayaḥ : tesāṃ paiśāciki bhāṣā lokācāro na vidyate" Padma-purāṇa, Sṛiṣṭhi Khanda. (the mlecchas or barbarians are accustomed to eat everything, they are idiotic and they kill cows and brāhmaṇas, these mlecchas Kuvacakas have their birth place in the hills. Their language is of Piśāca (demon) character and they have no (good) social usages.

HINDUISED BODO STATES :

(a) EARLIER STATES :—(i) Probably during the early days of the Gupta Empire, Kāmarūpa had entered into the comity of the Hindu States with her dynasty of the Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid (probably Bodo) rulers. Vāskaravarmaṇa was un-questionably one of the most remarkable men and rulers of his time. He ruled not only over Western and Northern Assam (the Brahmaputra valley), but also probably over the Surma Valley (Sylhet, where an inscription of his, has been found), and he was able to annex Karna-Suvarna in West Bengal. A Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid Empire was thus achieved during the middle of the seventh century A. D. He visited Harṣa Vardhana in his own realm in North India and fully participated in the cultural and intellectual life of Hindu India of his time. He invited Hiuen-Ts'ang. The latter accepted his invitation. Vāskaravarmaṇa was a neo-Kṣhatriya, a member of a Hinduised mleccha or non-Hindu Indo-Mongoloid family which had been accepted within the Hindu fold.

(ii) After Vāskaravarmaṇa's demise, his line was supplanted by Mleccha (Bodo) dynasty Śāla-stambha.

(iii) Śāla-stambha dynasty was followed by the Prālambha dynasty. The Prālambha dynasty was also an Indo-Mongoloid dynasty.

(iv) The Prālambha dynasty was followed by the Pāla dynasty of Assam. This dynasty was equally Indo-Mongoloid.

Ratna Pāla of this dynasty was a patron of learning. Scholarly Brahmins like Prahāsa from Bālagrām in

Varendra or North Bengal (1050 A. D.) made their home in Assam and Sanskrit culture evidently received a fresh impetus from the Pālas of Assam.

(v) Lunar Dynasty : Towards the end of the eleventh century, the power of Kāmarūpa Pālas waned through the invasion of the Varmana king of East Bengal. Again in the beginning of the twelfth century, Pālas of Bengal interfered in the affairs of Assam and at that time Tiṅgyadeva became the king of Assam with the approval of the Pāla king of GAUṚA. But Tiṅgyadeva rebelled. Kumār Pāla of Bengal sent Vaidyadeva. Vaidyadeva and his brother Buddhadeva defeated and killed Tiṅgyadeva and they began to rule Kāmarūpa as a vassal of the Bengal Pālas.

Vaidyadeva left his Kāmarūpa empire and proceeded west-ward founded the KĀMATĀ KINGDOM. Vaidyadeva probably ruled from 1130 A. D. to 1150 A. D.¹

The Eastern portion of the Empire, which Vaidyadeva neglected, was taken possession of by various feudal rulers and there were uprisings of various races and tribes of which CANDRA-BANŚA (Lunar Dynasty) was noteworthy. Probably the kings of the Lunar Dynasty were Indo-Mongoloid by race.

(b) BODO KOCH TRIBE : During the rule of the Pālas in Bengal, the Koches were gathering strength and like their kinsmen in Assam, had become at least formally Hinduised, and it would appear that by the middle of the tenth century A. D. they ousted the Pāla kings of Gauṛa and established themselves as rulers in North Bengal.²

1. "Back ground of Assamese culture" by Rājmoḥon Nāth, page 48. And "Dynastic History of India" Vol I page 241, by H. C. Ray, Calcutta 1931.

2. The BĀNĀGARĤH inscription of Dinājpur.

The Kāamboja or Koch-Bodo domination, however, did not last long ; The Pāla King Mahīpāla I, drove out the Kāambojas The fact that the Koch-Bodo ruled these areas cannot be denied.³

From the TABQAT-I-NASIRI we learn, that while the Turks led an expedition to conquer these areas in 1205 A. D., these areas were inhabited and ruled by the KWNC, the MYJ and the TH'RW (i.e. the Koch, Mec or Mech and Thāru) peoples.

A number of Koch Chieftainship appear to have been in occupation of the entire country from BHARALI to TISTĀ and KARATOYĀ rivers including Dinājpur district.

DANUJAMARDAN-DEVA (1416 A. D. to 1418 A. D.) was a Hindu prince and his personality and exact position in the history of Bengal still remain a mystery. Some scholars opine that he was also an Indo-Mongoloid.⁴

KHEN DYNASTY: The Khen⁵ or Khyn dynasty

3. Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Roy.

4. "For aught we know, Danuj-mardān may have been just one of the North Bengal Koch Chiefs who with his sturdy Koch pāikes created a diversion in favour of the Hindus by seizing the kingship of Bengal, repeating the feat of the Koch conquerors of the Bengal throne in the tenth century". Kirāta-janakṛti by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

Another striking point is : the style of legend which Danuj-mardān adopted on his coins became the model for the Indo-Mongoloid rulers of North Eastern India after him. "Śrī Danuj-mardān-deva" on the one side and another side "Śrī Caṇḍi-Carana-parāyaṇa" (devoted to the feet of Śrī Caṇḍi). Coins of Naranārāyaṇa :

"Śrī-Śrīmān-Naranārāyaṇasya Śake 1477 (1555 A. D.) reverse : "Śrī Śrī Śiva carāṇa-kamala-madhukarasya". The Āhom kings and the Jayantiyā kings followed the type of Danuj-mardān-deva.

5. The Back ground of Assamese Culture by Rājmoḥon Nath page 52. According to Kāmarūpa Burauji (pg. 99) Niladdhaja was a Koch.

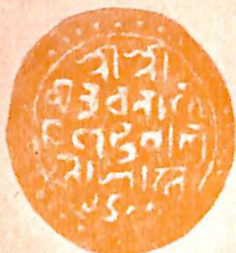
1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



Coins

No. 1. Coin of Hussain Saha (1493, 1509, AD).

Here Hussain Saha described himself as the conqueror of Kāmaru, Kāmātā, Jānagar and Orisā

No. 2. Coin of Naranārāyan

Front—"Śrī Śrī Maunaranārāyan Bhūnāśya Sāke 1477

established itself at Kāmatāpur in the first half of the fifteenth century under a chief Niladdhaja by name. Nilāmbara was the last king of the Khen dynasty.

KOCH DYNASTY: During this time the Bhuyāñs rose to prominence. But the Bhuyāñs were not destined to enjoy peace for long. A great power rose in the North East part of Goālāpārā at Cikinā, under the leadership of Viśva Siṃha, a Bodo chief. And within a very short period he established a vast empire and entitled himself as the KAMATEŚVAR.

Biśva Siṃha was succeeded by his son Nara Siṃha. Nara Siṃha ascended the throne of Kāmatā in 1533 A. D. Nara Siṃha was dethroned by his younger brother Naranārāyaṇa. Naranārāyaṇa became the King of Kāmatā in 1533 A. D. and reigned for fifty-four years from 1533 to 1587 A. D. Naranārāyaṇa with the help of his younger brother Cilā Rāy alias Śukladdhaja the able general, extended his empire far and wide. This Koch dynasty ruled for several centuries. The present Mahārājā is the descendant of the said Koch-rāj family.

NON-BODO RULERS OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW: DEVA DYNASTY: Western Kāmatā kingdom was under the kings of the Deva dynasty. The kings of Deva dynasty were known as the KĀYASTHA KINGS. Sumati, a king of this dynasty, taking the name of SANDHYĀ became the king :—

“Sandhyāt janmilā pade bhailā Sandhyānām

Pāilā manomata bar siddhi bhailā kām.

Jihetu barat bhailā tate ekeśvar

Parama dharmmiṣṭha sito bhailā Gaureśvar”.¹

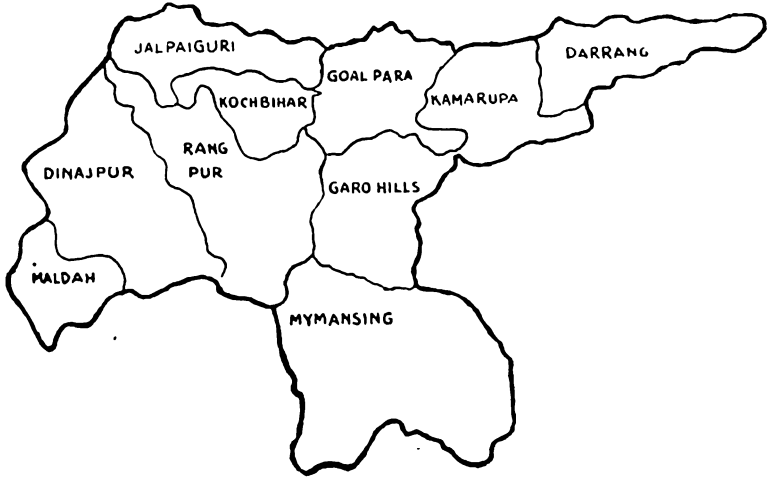
Subsequently Sandhyā shifted his capital city from Kāmarūpa to Kāmatāpur. The last king of this dynasty was Siṃhaddhaja. Siṃhaddhaja was murdered by his minister Pratāpaddhaja and ultimately Pratāpaddhaja became the king of Kāmatāpur. He transferred his capital city of the Kāmatāpur kingdom from Kāmatāpur city to Jalpeśvar in Jalpāiguri and declared himself as GAUREŚVAR. Pratāpaddhaja was followed by Dharmmanārāyaṇa.²

In GURU-CARIT, we find that Dharmapāla's another name was Dharmmanārāyaṇa. Dharmnapāla alias Dharmmanārāyaṇa fought against Durlabhanārāyaṇa, the then king of Kāmatāpur kingdom. Lanḍādeva, the great-grand-father of Śaṅkardeva was one of the generals of Durlabhanārāyaṇa.³

1. GURULILĀ a manuscript by Rām Caraṇ Thākur, lies in the possession of Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti, Gauhāti.

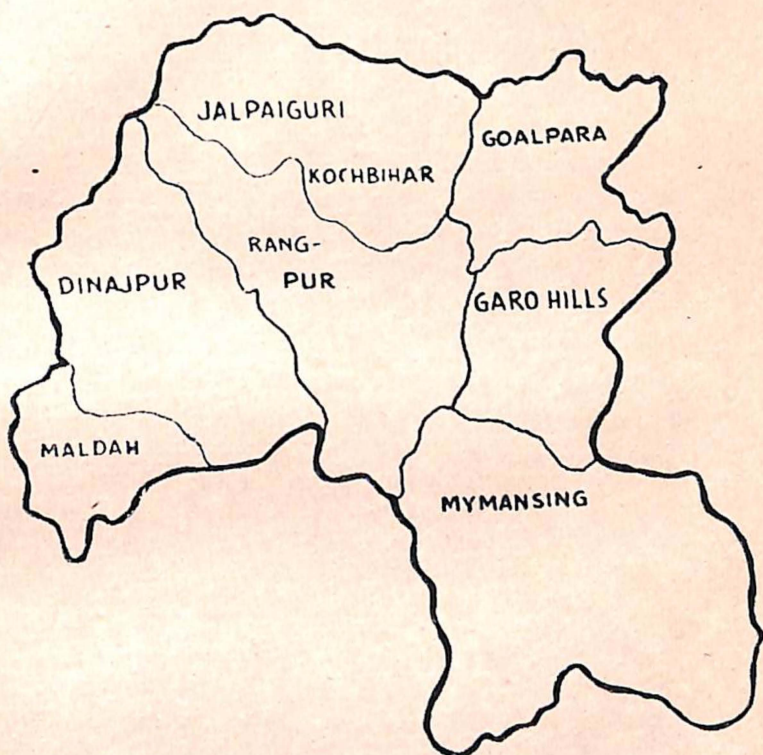
2. The king of Kāmarūpa Empire.

3. Lanḍādeva nām jito puruṣa adbhuta: Astra sastra śāstrat je baṛai pārgat: Parama gambhira dhira buddhit sāgar: Prithibit nāhike samasar.” Śaṅkar Carit by Rām Caraṇ Thākur. (Lanḍādeva, by nature is grave and expert in all śāstras and there is none in this world who may be compared with him).



Kāmatāpur Kingdom at the time of Mahārājā Durlabha-
nārāyaṇa (14th Century)

After division of Kāmatā Kingdom :—Durlabhanārāyan's territory (Western Kāmatā)



Dharmanārāyan became the King of Eastern Kāmatā comprising the districts of Kāmarūpa Darrang and some portions of Nowgong

Dharmmanārāyaṇa was the step brother of Durlabhanārāyaṇa. Durlabhanārāyaṇa was the son of Pratāpaddhaja, the king of Kāmatā.⁴

Dharmmanārāyaṇa tried to disturb the peace of the country, but ultimately he was murdered at the instigation of the queen Maināvati, the wife of king Durlabhanārāyaṇa. Hence forward, Durlabhanārāyaṇa became the supreme monarch of the Kāmatā Kingdom. Durlabhanārāyaṇa ruled about the second quarter of the fourteenth century.⁵

PART VII : SYNTHESIS AND FUSION OF CULTURE : From time immemorial, people of different races with their separate languages and cultures came to India. At the first instance, they were hostile to each other. But ultimately they settled down for a peaceful commingling and cultural as well racial fusion with their predecessors in the area under review.

The intermingling of different races and cultures, gave rise to certain types of more or less common characteristics.

Indian culture, is in fact, Sanskrit culture or Sanskritic culture. But in its evolution on the soil of India, the non-Aryan peoples had a share in its development, in its history, phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary.

4. Pratāpaddhaj nāme tān mahāmantri : Lāhariā nām tān āchilek pitṛ : Kāyastha kulat teha mahā buddhimanta : Siṃhaddhaj māri tān rājyak lailanta : Pratāpaddhaja bhaila sito nagarar rājā : Mahā dharmma pratipāl kare nite prajā : Pārbbati nām āche Pratāpār vārjyā : Durlabhanārāyaṇa bhaila tān garve rājā. (Pratāpaddhaja the son of Lāharia, after murdering the chief minister Siṃhaddhaja took the whole of kingdom. Pratāpaddhaja had a wife Pārvati by name. Durlabhanārāyaṇa was the son was of Pārvati and became the king. Kāyastha Samājar Itibṛtta.

5. Early History of Kāmarūpa by K. L. Baruā. And

The Mongoloids people were confined to Assam, North-East Bengal and North Bihar. And their influence upon the Aryan culture is greatly noticed in these tracts. The Mongoloid people were late comers in India. And at that time, the trend of culture was to make Indianisation or Hinduisation within the fold of SANSKRIT CULTURE. This work of Hinduisation was made by the Brāhmaṇa priests and in some places by the Buddhist monks as well. Hindu military adventurers and merchants also participated. On the other hand Mongoloid speeches, ideologies, cults and customs were taken in the stock of Hindu culture.⁶

The elaborate nature of Vedic sacrifices had got some sort of similarity with that of BULL-KILLING sacrifice and the MITHAN or WILD BISON KILLING by the AO NĀGAS.⁷

Back-ground of Assamese Culture by Rājmoḥan Nāth. And Guru-Carit.

6. The local Śākta, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava development of Hinduism in Assam and Bengal, are due, partly at least to the re-action of the early Mongoloids in North Bihar and to the temperament of the Newāris in Nepal and of the Bodos, the Āhoms and the Khāsīs in Bengal and Assam. Kirāta-janakṛti....Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.....³¹

7. The resemblances between the Vedic ŚULĀ-GAVYA sacrifice and the AO NĀGA MITHAN sacrifice are striking, the animal was killed in each by means of a sharp stake of wood piercing its heart. "The Newaris inspite of their Buddhism, have never abandoned their elaborate and very cruel method of sacrificing buffaloes, and animal sacrifices by the Bodos and other Indo-Mongoloids have continued down to our times. The Hindu Gorkhās in Nepāl, perform hecatombs of buffalo and goat sacrifices before the Śakti Goddess during the second day of the Durgā Pūjā particularly, and similar goat and buffalo sacrifices in Bengal and Assam before Durgā and Kālī have no Aryan basis or background, and these may be an inheritance from the Indo-Mongoloids." Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Kirāta-jana-kṛti.....³⁶.

Similar kinds of FEAST OF MERITS of the Mongoloid people⁸ are current among the Hindus of Bengal in the shape of the Durgā Pujā and Kālī Pujā and other festivals mostly Śākta and Vaiṣṇava, and among the Mussalmans in the form of Milād-sharifs, in which the entire community is asked to participate, in the house of the person who holds these feasts. In the story of five Pāndava brothers having married one wife in common, Draupadī, some have seen an influence of the Indo-Mongoloids, considering the fraternal polyandry which is found among the Tibeto—Mongoloids and among the Hindus claiming to be Kṣatriyas in the Simla Hills. Particularly we are reminded in this connection that the Pāndavas themselves were born in a polyandrous though supernatural atmosphere and they passed their life in the Himalayas in a possible Indo-Mongoloid environment.

The result of the participation of the Mongoloid people in the history and culture of India in these areas has been just their assimilation and absorption in civilisation and language accompanied by mixture in blood with the other peoples. And slowly, the Mongoloid people began to enter within the fold of Sanskrit culture. And ultimately in the beginning of the tenth or eleventh century, the Mongoloids people of the are a under review became Hinduised. and in later period of the Koch-Bodo kings, became the patronisers. of Brāhmanas.⁹

8. Kukis and Nāgās have series of graded feasts of merit.

Dr. J. H. Hutton, in N. E. Parry's work on LAKHERS 1932, p xii, xiii.

9. The Viṣṇu temple of Hayagrīvanārāyaṇa at Hājo was restored by Naranārāyaṇa and the Kāmākṣhyā temple on the old shrine of hoary antiquity and of Mongoloid or possibly even earlier Austric origin, was built by the

Hinduism was the dominant religion, but the aboriginal beliefs and rites were allowed full scope,¹⁰ although these were becoming transformed under the aegis of Hinduism.

The major portion of the Mongoloid people were transformed into Hindu castes of Rājbaṃśīs and Kṣhatrīyas, and had abandoned their original Tibeto-Burman speech and adopted the Northern dialect of Bengali (which has some affinity with Assamese) but the remnants of the race is still Bodo-speaking Rāvās and Meches of North Bengal and Western Assam. And so the local feasts and festivals¹¹ local ways of life, local arts and crafts, with certain modification in different areas, are the result of the special social and mental environment of the Indo-Mongoloid people.¹²

brothers. It witnessed the final Brahmanisation of pre-Aryan cult, and it is so far the most remarkable Hindu religious structure in Assam.

10. Sonārāyergān, Kārtic, pujār-gān, Hudumer-gān and nāc, and the worship of Śibrāī or Burā-bāthau or Ṛṣe.

11. Vāsān-yātrā, kuśān-yātrā.

12. In painting sculpture and in decoration, in the textile arts in both cotton and silk in dress, types and designs of coins deserve special mention.

MUSLIM INVASION :—During the regime of Pṛthu the king of the Deva dynasty, the Muslims first invaded his kingdom. The Turk General Bakhtyar Khalji had to go back by losing a large number of soldiers at North Gauhati in 1206 A.D.¹

The Muslims never forgot the disaster sustained in 1206 A.D. They again led an expedition under Ioāwz Khān in 1223 A.D., and penetrated upto Nowgong district of Assam. But this invasion was also repulsed by Viśva-Sundardeva, the ruler of the Dobok kingdom. In the year 1227 A.D., the Muslims invaded Kāmarūpa under the Generalship of Nasiruddin. Nasiruddin gave a crushing blow to Pṛthudeva. Pṛthu ultimately committed suicide.

The chaotic condition of these areas was further worsened by the Yujbeg, by making a fresh attack in 1245 A.D.

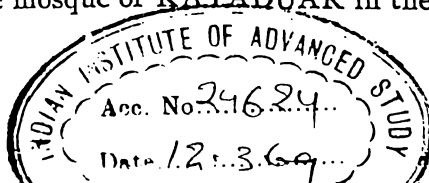
While Nilāmbāra, the Khen king, was in power, the Muslims invaded Kāmatāpur and overthrew him.²

1. The Rock inscription at North Gauhati, records the sad plight of the Turk General.

2. "The Khens ruled for seventyfive years and their last representative Nilāmbara was overthrown and his kingdom was destroyed by Sultan Ālāuddin Hussain Sāha at about the end of the fifteenth century."

Moghul North East frontier Policy by prof. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharjee., M.A., P.R.S. pg 51, Also vide :— "Kāmatā was invaded about 1498 A. D."

Geography and History of Bengal by Blockman. In the silver coins of Hussain Saha, we find about the victory of Kāmatā, Kāmaru etc in 899-919 Hizri Era equivalent to 1493-1513 A.D. This event was also inscribed in the mosque of KĀTADUĀR in the district of Rangpur.



EFFECTS OF THE MUSLIM INVASION :—

Before the advent of the Muslims, the areas under review, were occupied by the Aryans and the descendants of the Mongoloids pure or mixed. The Aryan culture still at that time, was deeply rooted amongst the general mass. And the simplicity of the Islamic creed in front of the complications of Puranic culture combined with the prestige as the faith of a powerful and conquering community and for certain inherent weaknesses of the Hindu social organisation (caste rigidity, discouragement of widow marriage), the masses embraced the Islamic creed. On the other hand those who, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, did not like the Muslim invasion, united in a common platform and out of this unification the present-day Bengali Nation began to grew up.

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE TEXT :—Śaṅkardeva, the court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana of Kochbihār, flourished in the sixteenth century. He was the chief exponent of Kāmatā School of Vaiṣṇavism. He was the contemporary of Caitanyadeva of Bengal. Śaṅkardeva was a great preceptor and he preached his motto through the medium of drama and literature. So Śaṅkardeva occupies a great position in the history of the literature of the areas under review. Host of Koch-rāj-darbār poets followed Śaṅkardeva. So the literatures of the periods under review, may broadly be divided into two groups viz., PRE-ŚAṅKARIYA and POST-ŚAṅKARIYA.

PRE-ŚAṅKARIYA poets translated some portions of the epic Mahābhārata and Puranas. POST-ŚAṅKARIYA poets composed texts on different subjects and those may be classified under the following heads :—

- (a) Translation of the Purāṇas.
- (b) Translation of the epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata.
- (c) Translation of the Bhāgavata by promulgating its messages to the common people.
- (d) Maṅgal Kābyas :—Bhavānīmaṅgal, Gosānīmaṅgal, Caṇḍi maṅgal etc.
- (e) Nāth Literature :—Maināmati-Gopi-Cānder-Gān etc.
- (f) Lyrics :—Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Śiva-Durgā, Kālī-Mahādeva, Sarasvatī bandana, Baṛgīt, Kīrtana etc.
- (g) Historical literature :—History of the ruling house and other contemporary history.
- (h) Carit-Śākhā :—Life sketches of the great preceptors.
- (i) Vaiṣṇava literature in verse, prose and in drama forms.
- (j) Literature on miscellaneous subjects:—Translation of Hitopodeś, Śaṛa Rtu Barnaiā etc.
- (k) Folk-songs, folk-lores, ballads etc,

TEXT

TEXTS : PRE-ŚAÑKARIYA : ŚAÑKARIYA AND
POST ŚAÑKARIYA.

PRE-ŚAÑKARIYA POETS : (POETS OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY) :—

HEMA SARASVATI :—Hema Sarasvatī was the
court poet of Mahārājā Durlabhanārāyaṇa of Kāmatā.
Durlabhanārāyaṇa ruled Kāmatā in the second quarter
of the fourteenth century.¹

The poet gave an account of himself thus :—

Bhupa Durlabhanārāyaṇa	Pātra ² Pasupati suta
Sarbba śāstrat paṇḍit sujān	
Tāhār tanay cāri	Dhanañjay ādi kari
Dhruba bhaila kulat pradhān	
Apar Hemanta Kabi	Hara Gaurī Pada sevi
Hema Sarasvatī bhailām.	

Pasupati was the 'pātra' of Mahārājā Durlabhanārāyaṇa
Hema sarasvatī has got three brothers, of whom Dhruba
is the eldest. Hema Sarasvatī is famous for his
erudition. He is a devotee of Hara-Gaurī. Worshipping the
feet of Hara-Gaurī he became Hemasarasvatī. His another
name is Hemanta).

1. Back ground of Assamese culture....by Rāj Mohon
Nāth, pg. 2. Śrī Nāth says, that Durlabhanārāyaṇa ruled
from 1345 A.D. to 1370 A.D. According to Rāybāhādur
K.L. Baruā, he ruled from 1330 A.D. to 1350 A.D.,
vide Early History of Kāmarūpa....By K.L. Baruā.

2. PĀTRA means, the poet, minister, paṇḍit, advicer
or courtier.

ॐ

वृद्धिनिवादायान्तुदिनिनि । अतस्तजगत्किंवाकिञ्चनकंठमिने ॥२०॥ इन्द्ररुसिपुत्रादुजय । श्री ॥ १०॥
दिनसि०। मृत्युनागिनसर्गाद ॥ तसिश्चरनजानि सुकुंठुंनउमिदि ॥ क्वातनमेयदिवाभंनानयभवति ॥ २० ॥
श्रीसीवठनरदतिकमिराजउ ॥ अतमिनसवसुतिशुभानकंठु ॥ देवुंवेमिवांमसवमतिजयकुंदि ॥ इ
वंनरुश्चिपुत्रनिवारेनात्कःशकवि ॥ २१ ॥ अत्बश्वाठावपुपिमाकउनाकवि ॥ किमरुंवेनिसउंकिंमयजयशदि ।
नानउत्वांमउविश्चशैबभुव ॥ कानामदन्नाकन्वावन्नामादुंमेव ॥ २२ ॥ उन्वा। मिरांमका मवमतिजयकुंदि ।
इवन्कमिपुंवारेनात्कःशकवि ॥ अदिशातेमा विउंमिवाउंशुवाठाव ॥ अदितावरमं। मत्मात् ।
कन्वामाव ॥ २३ ॥ अजावातेनभुविद्याकमुंशुवाउंउ ॥ नमपुंशेनामुंमिवाउंशुंनन्मिपुंदि ॥ अ
गुंमिपुंशेनामुंमिवाउंशुंनन्मिपुंदि ॥ २४ ॥ वाकादन्वात्तमोससुनिमुंमिपुंदि ॥

A page from the manuscript of Virat Parbba by Vipra Visarad

Poet was a brāhmiṇ by caste :—

Vipra kulate jāta ati manoratha

Kāmatā bhuban nij grām.

(By caste, he is brāhmiṇ and he lived in Kāmatāpur).
KĀMATĀ BHŪBAN is an ambiguous term. Because
the word KĀMATĀ BHŪBAN meant the whole of
KĀMATĀ KINGDOM or KĀMATĀ MANDĀL. But
from the writings of the poet, we find that he lived in the
city of KĀMATĀPUR :—

Jate baise Kāli Devī Tāhān caraṇ sevi

Kahi Hara-Gaurī sambād.

(Where, the Goddess, Kāli resides, residing there, I
am saying, rather writing Hara-Gaurī sambād)

The temple of the Goddess Kāli was situated in the
city of Kāmatāpur. And the city of Kāmatāpur was
situated on the bank of the river DHARLĀ.³

Only one manuscript so far has yet been discovered.
This is a copy⁴ and not the original one, The puthi
contains the following chapters :—

- (a) Iti Nara Siṃha purāne Hiraṇyakasipubadh.
- (b) Iti Hara-Gaurī Sambāde Tārak Juddha samāpta.
- (c) Iti Hara-Gaurī Samabāde Manmatha dahan
samāpta.
- (d) Iti Hara-Gaurī sambāde Kartika janma samāpta.
- (e) Iti Hara-Gaurī sambāde yogo kathanam.

The poet took the plot of the first chapter from the
Nara Siṃha Purāṇa. And rest are taken from various
sources. Specially in Kārtika Janma chapter, we find the
influence of Kumār Sambhava of Kālidāsa. The poet was

3. Buchanan Hamiltan's Report.

4. The mss lies in the possession of A.K. chakravartti,
M.A., Dhubri. As it is not the original mss. so we
donot find the real speciman of the language of the
fourteenth century. Still this puthi has got the emmense
value in the history of the language and literature, as
it is a new discovery.

a worshiper of Hara-Gaurī and Hari. In Yogo Kathanam chapter, the poet wrote about the various processes of yogo and even he advocated DHARMMA JÑĀN like that of MAHAJÑĀN found in MANASĀ MĀNGAL and GORKṢHA VIJAY

As regards the process of Yogo the poet said :—

Vāyu maṇḍaḷat vāyu karibā stambhan.
Vāyur āhār bindu karibā bhojan
Vāyuk rākhay binduk rākhay vāyu
Dui same nar haya chirantan āiyu.

Regarding the necklace made of 'BONE', we find :—

Pārvati badati prabhu Śunā prānanāth
Hāramālā dekhi kene tomār gṛbāt.
Hirā maṇi māṇik muktā ratan
esab eṛiā kene hārak jatan.

(Pārvatī is speaking, O Lord, O beloved, why you wear necklace made of bone on your neck and why you preferred the necklace made of bone, leaving aside the valuable jewels ?)*

Mahādeva was unwilling to speak about this, but he was forced to say at the ardent request of Pārvatī :—

Purba janamat tumi Dakṣher duhitā
Sati nāme āchilā āmār bibāhita
Dakṣha jajñā kope tumi erilā prāṇ
Tomār maraṇe mor harila giyān
Tomār sabak mai kāndat karila
Pradakṣhiṇe sasāgarā prithibi phurila
Uru Śir kandā Jihbā karatal
Yoni mudrā stan jugal caraṇa kamal.
Khasi khasi aṅga sabe haila bekat
Kālikā Kāmākṣhyā Ādi Rūpā jat jat
Sari gali gail deha āmār gāyat
Śeṣ hār pāyā pāche pindhilo galat.

* CF Munde ār hāre tumi kene paira māl
Jhalmal kare gāe bhaṣma jhuli chāl.

(In the previous life, you was the daughter of Dakṣha and your name was Satī. You were my wife and you died at the time of JAJÑA celebrated by Dakṣha and I took your dead-body on my shoulder and roamed the whole world, your dead-body began to rot, at one after another, the parts of your body dropped down, only the last bone remained in my neck).

When Hema Sarasvatī flourished in the court of Mahārājā Durlabhauārāyaṇa, that era, was the era under the influence of Tantricism. And the folk songs and the folklores regarding the Śaiva cult and Nāth cult was in vogue. The poet Hema Sarasvatī, though advocated the BHAKTI CULT in Hiraṇyakasipubadh chapter, could not overcome the influence of current culture in which he lived.

In Hiraṇyakasipubadh chapter, the poet paid homage to Hari :—

Jaya jaya Jagarnātha jagata kāran
 Brahmā Maheśvar jār seve caraṇ
 Sriṣṭi sthiti pralayer tumi se kāran
 Tomār caraṇe prabhu pasilo saran.

(I, adore Jagarnātha, whom Brahmā, Maheśvar worships, You are the root of creation, preservation and destruction).

In this chapter, the poet advocated the BHAKTI CULT. The bhakti cult was not a new discovery by this poet. The said cult was fully discussed and adopted in Mahāvāratā, Bhāgavatgītā, Bhāgavat Purāna and Śvetasvatovopaniṣada. The germs of bhakti cult existed in Vedas also. The poet painted the character of demon Hiraṇyakasipu, a bit, in a different way. We find that, Hiraṇyakasipu, the bitterest enemy of Nārāyaṇa, adored Nārāyaṇa thus :—

Dekhiyā Hiraṇya ati bhaila bhaye bhita
 Kampita hṛday ati deha jarjarita.
 Āthe bethe sāvatiyā bule dhaṇya putra
 Ehi khāni kathā bāpu sikhilihi kaita.

Namo·Nārāyaṇa prabhu deva Jadupati
Tomār caraṇe mor·thākuk bhakati.

We also find some sort of human touches in this chapter :—

Pitṛ maran pāche Pralhad dekhilā
Hṛdayat tān mahā santāp·lāgilā
Ha praṇ pitā mayi ki kām karilo

HARIHAR VIPRA AND KAVIRATNA SARASVATI :—These two poets flourished at the royal court of Mahārājā Durlabhanārāyaṇa. Both the poets translated some portions of Mahābhārata. Harihar Vipra in his writing AŚVAMEDH PARBBA, gave an account of himself thus :—

Jaya jaya nṛpati Durlavanārāyaṇa rājā
Kāmatāpur bhaila birabar
Saputra bāndhabe jebhe sukhe rājya karantaka
Jibantaka·sahasra batsar.
Tāhān rājya jata sādhujan manamata
Aśvamedh pada madhye sār
Vipra Harihar Kavi Harir caraṇ sevi
Padabandhe karila pracār.

(Salutation to warrior king Durlabhanārāyaṇa, the poet is praying, that Durlabhanārāyaṇa, may live for thousand years with his friends and relatives. Kavi Harihar, Brāhmin by caste, is writing Aśvamedh Parbba, which is famous among the padas).

KAVIRATNA SARASVATI in DRON PARBBA gave an account of himself thus :—

Nṛpa śiromaṇi deva māja āni
Durlabhanārāyaṇa rājā
Nite putrabate pālila satate
Prithibir jata prajā.

(Durlabhanārāyaṇa is the best of all kings, he behaved all his subjects like his own son).

The poet also spoke about Indranārāyaṇa, the son of Mahārājā Durlabhanārāyaṇa :—

Tāhān tanay nṛpa dharmmamay
Indranārāyaṇa Deva.

Further the poet told :—

Choṭośilā nām ache ek grām
 yata grām madhye sār
Achila tathāt jagata prakṣhāt
 Cakrapāṇi Sikdār
Paṭu narabar Kāyastha prabar
 Dharmmabanta mahā yasi
Paṇḍit tilak ati subhaṇay
 Kabirantna Sarasvatī
Droṇ Parbba pad Jayadratha badh
 Kautuhale niḡadati.

(In the village Choṭośilā by name, there lived the famous Cakrapāṇi Sikdār. Cakrapāṇi was a pious man and was free from vices, Kaviratna is his son and he is narrating the story of Jayadrathabadh of Dron Parbba).

Hema Sarasvatī, Harihar Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvatī, the court poet of Mahārājā Durlabhanārāyaṇa flourished in the fourteenth century. These poets translated some Portions of purānas and the epic Mahābhārata. Whether any poet of Kāmatā of that century translated the epic Rāmāyana, cannot be stated for want of proof. But in translating Purānas and the epic Mahābhārata, the Kāmatā poets were the pioneer. All these poets flourished before Mālādhar Basu, the poet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijay and Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa, the poet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrttanā.

Carjyāpadas are the earliest specimen of Bengali literature. And it was written in the twilight language. It dealt with the various processes of yogo. If anybody practices those yogos he will get salvation or MAHĀ-NIRVĀṆA. In the YOGO-KATHANAM chapter of Hema Sarasvatī, we find the influence of Carjyāpadas. But the language of Hema Sarasvatī is simpler than that of the poets of the Carjyās.¹

1. We have not received the original copy of the writings of the Kāmatā poets, so the specimen of the language of that century is not available.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
RULERS :—KHEN DYNASTY.

NO name of any poet available.

—
KOCH DYNASTY.

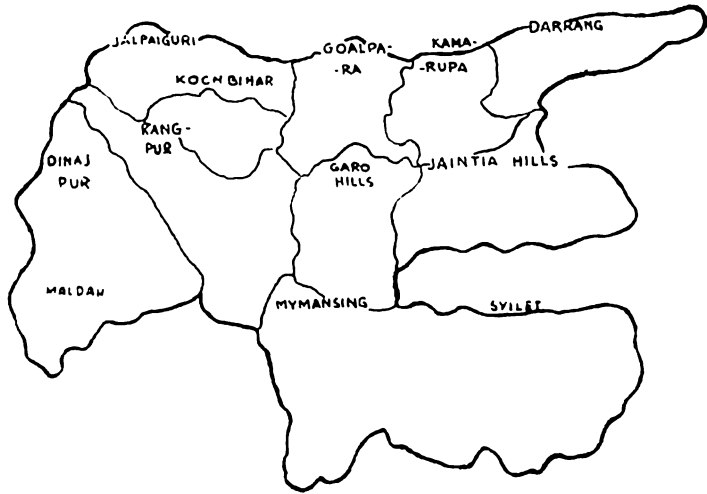
(FROM SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO EIGHTEEN-
NTH CENTURY)

VAIṢṆAVISM AND VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE
IN KĀMATĀ-KOCH-BIHAR-RAJDARBĀRS :—
ŚĀṆKARIYA YUGA :

VAIṢṆAVISM OF ŚĀṆKARDEVA :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana (Rājśaka 24 to 78, Śakābdā 1455 to 1509 equivalent to 1533-4 A.D. to 1587 A.D.)

While Śaṅkardeva flourished in the Kāmatā court, the whole of Kāmatā Kingdom was under the evil influence of Tantricism and Nāthism to some extent. Śaṅkardeva did not support the Tantricism and Nāthism and revolted against the same and advocated the BHAKTI CULT. He decried the supremacy of the brāhmiṇs. So he was not liked by his contemporary brāhmiṇs. Even while he was at Nowgong, he was not liked by the Āham Kings. And for fear of persecution by the brahmiṇs and the kings, he had to leave his homeland Nowgong. He left homeland for Kāmatāpur. He was not cordially received by the Kāmatā brāhmiṇs and the then king Naranārāyaṇa.²

2. Kaibarta Koltā Koch Brāhmaṇ Samaste : Ek lage khāy ciṇā kal yata : Anna rāndhi Jagannāth prasād karay : Igane sigane tāk diyā phurabay : Brāhmaner guru hui



Kāmatā Kingdom at the time of Koch-raj Naranārāyaṇa

But somehow, he got the friendship of Cilā Rāy, the brother of Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa, and somehow saved himself, from the persecution in the hands of the brahmins and the Mahārājā himself. Śaṅkardeva remained in Kāmatā court for two and half years.

ŚĀNKARDEVA'S THEORY :—Śaṅkardeva was the chief exponent of the Kāmatā school, rather the Assam school of Vaiṣṇavism. In preaching Vaiṣṇavism, Śaṅkardeva upheld the theory of Bhakti cult. But this cult was not a new discovery of Śaṅkardeva. It existed from earliest times. The Vaisnavas pay homage to Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva ; but all these are identified with BRAHMA or SUPREME SOUL.

To propagate his theory, Śaṅkardeva adopted ŚRABAṆA, KĪRTTANA, SMARAṆA, PADA SEVANA and ĀTMA NIVEDANA form of Bhakti :—

Kario Harir caraṇe rati

Kalit Harir nāmesē gati.

(Adore the feet of Hari : In Kali yuga there is nothing except the name of Hari).....Kīrttana 5.

Harira bhakati ohi parama sampad

Dahe doṣ sab milābae manorath.

(Adoration of Hari is the only treasure, it will demolish the fault and will fulfill the desire).....Keli-Gopāl-Nāt.

Śrabaṇa kīrttana

smaraṇa Viṣṇur

Arcana pada sevana

Dāsy sakhitya

bandana Viṣṇut

Kariba deha arpaṇa

(Will hear the Kīrttana of Hari, will think about Viṣṇu, will adore his feet as a friend and as a desciple, will adore Viṣṇu and will dedicate the life). Kīrttana 341.

die upadeś : Sayyādān jata labay nişeṣ. (He takes food with the Kaibarttas, Koltās and Koches ; he became the preceptor of Brāhmīns and others) Śaṅkar Carit pg. 185. And also vide ASAMIYĀ SĀHITYA Sri Sudhangṣhu Mohan Banerji pg. 35.

He inaugurated a society of devotees called BHAKATAS and formed the worship called NĀMA KĪRTTANA or congregational worship, where all classes of people irrespective of castes were admitted and with a view to facilitate it, he composed KĪRTTANA-KĀBYAS in verse and as well as in dramas and illustrated the teachings through the stories of Bhāgabata. He regarded Vedas as the fountain-head of his cult. And cited in several places the authority of the Vedānta for exposition of his faith :—

Purāṇa-sūrjya Mahābhāgavata
Vedāntara ito param tattva.

(Bhāgavata is like the sun and it deals with the subject of Vedānta) Kīrttana.

Āpani Kahilā Kṛṣṇa Vedāntar mat.

(Kṛṣṇa himself spoke the theory of Vedānta).

He discarded the theory of "Karmma" and upheld, that everybody should meditate the feet of Hari with great reverence :

Karamate biśvās jār hiyāt thākanta Hari
Atisay dur hanta tār
Dūrata bedura hanta tār ahaṅkār thākanta
Sākṣhāt Kṛṣṇak pāba Śrabaṇa Kīrttana dharmma jār.

(One who adores Kṛṣṇa by means of Kīrttana, leaving aside pride, will get Hari, but one who is full of vanity, Hari will remain apart from him) Ghoṣā.

Salvation cannot be attained without deep and sincere meditation :—

"Saba aparādhaka bādhaka sādharma siddhi karu
Harinām."

(the devotee will be free from all sorts of faults, if he cites the name of Hari) Rāmbijay-nāt.

Debaka upari rājā Mādhava Dharmmaka upari nām
Kauti kalāpak pātaka Dāki bolahu Rāmnām.

(MĀDHAVA is the king of all Gods, NĀM is above all the religion, if one cites NĀM-DHARMMA all evils will go away). Kālidaman-nāt.

The main principle of teachings of Śaṅkaradeva is the doctrine of NON-DUALISM (Advaitabād) :—

Tomār advaita rūpa parama ānanda pada
Tāhe mor magna hok citta.

(my mind may be devoted to your advaita-rūpa).....
Kīrttana.

Caitanya svarūpe byāpi ek nīrañjana
Tomāke bulībe dvaita kon jana.

(In the stage of learning, you are one and only one, who will say, that You are two ?) Kīrttana.

The NON-DUALISTIC theory of God as upheld by Śaṅkaradeva is this :—

God is the supreme soul and one and only, He is the Lord of this Universe. He is the cause and effect of everything like gold and gold-earring, which has no difference in substance. He is real and rest is unreal, He is everything viz, fire, water, air, herbs, trees etc.

Tumi se prathama prabhu dharā bahu rūp
Tumi biṇe bastū nāhi kahilo svarūp.

(You are the first, You take various colours, without You, there is nothing) Ratnākar.

The whole Universe is nothing but the manifestation of Brahma, who exists in the beginning, in the middle in the end. There is nothing real, save except Hari :—

Sehi mate tumi prabhu ito jagatar
Ādi anta madhya thākā sarbbadāi
Tumi byātireke ār ān satya nāi.

This idea of Śaṅkaradeva was expressed by Aruṇi to his son Śvetaketu.

The non-dualistic doctrine is closely connected with the conception of "MĀYĀ" which is expressed in the

Upaniṣada and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, and this theory has been dealt with by Śaṅkarācārjya the great, in his famous treatise BRAHMA SŪTRA.

Śaṅkaradeva taught the conception of MĀYĀ as an important principle of his faith. He said that God is real ; all else is illusionary : there is nothing besides Him : what appears to be real is actually false :—

Tumi se kebal satya sabe māyāmay

Tumi biṅe satya ān bastu nāhi kay.

(You are the truth, rest is false) Ratnākar.

Further he told :—

yata dekha yata śuna yateka manat guṇa
sabe māyāmay svapna sama.

Samasta jagate Hari jānibā nīścay kari
gucāo buddhir ito bhram.

(Everything is illusion, everything is like a dream. You know it for certain, that everything is Hari and overcome this mistake). Kīrtana.

This conception of Śaṅkaradeva is identical with the doctrine of Śāṅḍilya as laid down in CHĀNDYAGYO-UPANIṢADA.

Śaṅkaradeva laid down, that everybody should cultivate BHAKTI or BHĀGAVATA-DHARMA. And he prescribed it as the panacea of all ills :—

Harika bhakati ohi parama sampad

Dahe doṣ sab mitābay manorath.

(Hari bhakti is the main thing : it will destroy the evils and will fulfill the desire) Keligopāl-nāt.

Śaṅkaradeva told, that BHAKTI is necessary because BHAKTI breaks the fetters of MĀYĀ and saves the JĪVA from fear of constant birth and rebirth :—

Yāhe bhakati tāhe mukuti

bhakati e tattva jānā.

(Where there is bhakati, there is salvation : know this theory of bhakati) Kālidaman-nāt.



King of Dvārakā on Charriot



Rāsa Kīṛṇā

Śaṅkardeva did not support the idea of IDOL WORSHIP, but if anybody wanted to worship any idol, he never objected to it, but he raised objection when one wanted to do the said sort of rites by offering sacrifices.³

Śaṅkardeva never followed the RĀGĀNUGA theory of meditation. His theory of meditation was like that of UDDHAVA i.e. PARĀ-BHAKTI theory.⁴ His theory of bhakti is the bhakti of Nārada of Purānas.

BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM AND ITS DIFFERENCES WITH THAT OF ŚAṅKARDEVA OF KĀMATĀ-PUR :—Śaṅkardeva was the contemporary of Caitanyadeva of Bengal. Caitanya-deva was the chief exponent of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The fundamental principle of the doctrine of Bengal-Vaiṣṇavism is quite different from that of Śaṅkardeva. No doubt, the Bhāgavata Purāna is the authority of Vaiṣṇavism, but it differs with the theme of Viṣṇu purāna and Haribaṁśa. In Bhāgavata, we find the love episode of Gopīs or milk-maids with kṛṣṇa, but there is no mention of the premier GOPI RĀDHĀ. In GĀTHĀ, SAPTA ŚĀTI we find some references of Rādhā, also we find the references of Rādhā in PĀHĀRPUR-BAS-RELIEF of North Bengal. In Jaydeva, the premier gopi is established. In Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana, we find the episode of Rādhā. In spite of Kṛṣṇa's divine nature being frequently harped upon, he is in this primitive work of Vaiṣṇavism just a country swain, who makes crude overtures to Rādhā. Vidyāpati's Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are nothing but the reproduction of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana and Gīt-Govinda.

There is a gulf of difference between the pre-Caitanya and post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism.

3. Teō param Vaiṣṇavi Durgā Devir pūjā karāto kāko bādhā nā dichil kintu jīva hīmsā kari teōk pūjā kariba khujile bar āpatti karichil....Dāmodardeva.

4. Asamiyā Sāhitya...Śrī Sudhāngshu Mohon Banerji.

In the primitive stage Kṛṣṇa was looked upon as God and the duty of a man is to respect him from afar. Mālādhār Basu, the writer of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijay brought a new light and preached, that Kṛṣṇa should not be respected from afar. He is our bosom friend and he should be loved as one loves his or her lover. This out-look, we find in a systematic manner in Mādhavendrapurī, the Guru of Advaitācāryyā, Ísvarpurī and other elder contemporaries of Caitanyadeva. So it might be said, that the spirit of Mādhavendrapurī passed into, Caitanyadeva, to be developed into a wonder of the world. The intensity of pain of separation from the beloved which we meet with, only in the later life of Caitanyadeva, was found in the later life of Mādhavendrapurī also.

In modern Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are the idols of love and the Vaiṣṇavas seek to approach them with the offerings of love only. It is no wonder therefore, that they should try to improve upon prevalent conception of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and to heighten the importance of love in the scale of devotion in order to put at the base of a new theological system of their own making.

The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, in spite of all its association of love and erotics is a good poetic conception and a beautiful allegory of the highest truth, the eternal relation between MAN (JIVA) and GOD (BRAHMA). The Vaiṣṇava philosophers did not much use the term BRAHMA and the term JIVA. Instead of using the term BRAHMA they used the term KṚṢṆA and GOPI for JIVA. And sub-sequently the term RĀDHĀ stands for JIVA. Hence RĀDHĀ is the premier GOPI and RĀDHĀ-HOOD is the finality of JIVA.

Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's love is the great exemplar to the exponent of the Parakīyā theory. The intense love between Rādhā and kṛṣṇa was practically demonstrated by Caitanyadeva. Caitanyadeva's love trances, wailing for



BālaKṛṣṇa of Kāmatāpur

union with Kṛṣṇa and the pangs of separation or viraha are nothing but the external manifestations of divine love, which we do not find in Śaṅkaradeva. Śaṅkaradeva adored his deity as strict disciple and mainly promulgated DĀSYA-BHĀVA and VĀTSALYA-BHĀVA.

Caitanyadeva is responsible for a profound religious movement which besides giving Bengali people, its final cast, brought in such magnificent evolution in literature and music, which differs in matter and spirit with that of Śaṅkaradeva.

In Post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇava literature we find the influence of Caitanyadeva and in the Post-Śaṅkariya Vaiṣṇava literature we find the influence of Śaṅkaradeva.

Śaṅkaradeva wrote the following books :—Hariścandra, Uddhava sambād, Chinnyayātrā, Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Kīrtana, Rāmāyaṇa (Uttarakānda), Rukmiṇiharaṇ, Anādi pātan, Utkalmālā, Nimināvasiddha, Vaiṣṇavamṛta, Bhakti-pradīp, Bhakti-ratnākar, Lilāmālā, Ajāmil Upā-khyān, Nāma-mālikā, Ghoṣā, Kurukṣhetra, Balichalan, Kāliyādaman-nāt, Patni-prasād-nat, Rasa-kṛrā-nāt, Rām-vijay-nāt, Keligopāl-nāt, etc.

In writing books, Śaṅkaradeva used prose and verse. In Vaiṣṇava literature, the verses are known as PADAS. And these padas are nothing but the expression of some Rasa. Bengal Vaiṣṇava poets used five classes of RASAS in expressing their thoughts but Śaṅkaradeva mainly used two classes (DĀSYA, VĀTSALYA) of rasa.

ŚAṅKARDEVA'S PADAS AND THE PADAS OF BENGAL, VAIṢṆAVA POETS :—A close study of Śaṅkaradeva's pada along with the padas of Bengal Vaiṣṇava poets will not be out of place.

The padas or the lyrics of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism may be classified roughly under the following heads :—

(1) Odes to Kṛṣṇa and his incarnations or saints and Gurus.

(ii) Padas, which deal with the boyish sports of Kṛṣṇa in herding cattle or of Caitanyadeva with his playmates.

(iii) Padas which narrate the birth and infancy of Kṛṣṇa and Gaurāṅga.

(iv) Love episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and other Gopīs.

Śaṅkaradeva was not only a poet of great repute but was also a musician⁵ and artist.⁶ He composed verses in Sanskrit also. In rhyme and rhythm he followed Jaydeva, the poet of Gīta-Govinda :—

Jaya jaya Yadukula kamala prakāśaka nāsaka Kaṁsaka
prāṇ.

Jaya jaya jagataka bhakataka bhiti nite kuru nirajān.

CF. JAYADEVA :—

Dhīre sāmīre Yamunā tīre basati bane Banamālī.

Śaṅkar's :—

E sakhi katanu kayalo hām dukha rukha cor
Deha dahe kām āngi āliṅgana kor.

Reminds us Vidyāpati :—

E sakhi hāmāri dukhera nāhi or
Ciradine Mādhava mandire mor.

To Śaṅkaradeva, Kṛṣṇa is their own man. Kṛṣṇa, by wiping out the tears of Gopīs by his own yellow cloth, is saying : “He sakhi tomāder premabhakti thāmu parama ākul, bilāp choraha.”

In describing the beauty of Rukmini, in Rukmini-haraṇ-nāt, Śaṅkaradeva may be compared with Vidyāpati :

5. He composed songs in Kānārā, Kedārā, Gori, Suhai etc.

6. In Chinnyayātrā we find that Śaṅkaradeva is painting
“Hingul haritāl tetikṣhaṇe ānilanta : Yatna kari paṭe
Baikuṅṭhaka likhilanta : Tuli hāte laiṅyā Baikuṅṭherpaṭ
ākilā”



Sports of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with the Gopas

1

Isata hasita mukha cānda ūjor
 Dāśana motina yaca nayana cakor
 Māṇika mukuṭa kuṇḍala gaṇḍa dola
 Kaṇaka putali tanu nila nicola
 Kara kaṅkaṇa kejura jhaṅkār
 Māṇika kāñci racita hemahār
 Calaita caraṇa mañjira karu rol
 Rūpe bhubana bhole Śaṅkara bol.

(Her smiling face is more beautiful than the moon, teeth are like pearls, eyes are beautiful, gems are hanging on her neck, body is like a golden doll and are making sweet sound, while walking she is making sounds, world is captivated by her beauty, Śaṅkara is saying this).

Ki kahaba rūpa kumārīka hām
 Kaṇaka putali tanu anupām
 Ratna tilaka leli alaka kapole
 Herie bhṛubhaṅga tṛbhubana bhule
 Herie bhūjayuga milalau saṅka
 Lalita mṛṇāla majala jalapaṅka.

(What shall I speak about her beauty, she is like a golden doll, forehead has been painted like gems, world has been captivated by seeing her frowning, her hands are like the stem of a lotus).

Ki kahaba ramaṅika rūpa pracur
 Badanaka heri Cānda bhela dur
 Nayanaka pekhi pāi bari lāj
 Karala jhampa jalamāj.

(She is exquisitely beautiful, even the moon ran away seeing her facial beauty, seeing, her eyes the lotus jumped into the water through shame).

Vidyāpati in painting the beauty of Rādhā said :—

Baṛa aparūpa āju pekhanu rāi
 Mukha ruci manohara adhara suraṅga
 Phutala bāndhali kamalaka saṅga
 Locana yugala bhṛṅga ākāra
 Madhu mātala kie urai na pāra.



King is listening

eyes are like blue lotus, your teeth are better than the gems, as if vermillion is painted on GAJA-MATI).

Śaṅkardeva, discarded the theory of PARAKIYĀ⁷ ie RĀDHĀ-HOOD as depicted by the Bengal Vaiṣṇava poets and preachers. Śaṅkardeva never depicted "Rajakiṅī rūp kiśori svarūp, Kāma gandha nāhi tāhe". Probably he thought, that it will not be possible on the part of common folk to raise the standard of love to a celestial height by ascribing their lovers as "VEDAMĀTĀ-GĀYĀTRĪ". And so he promulgated, that the devotees should worship Kṛṣṇa as his DĀSA (servant). Śaṅkardeva instead of painting the character of Rādhā and Baṛāi painted the character of Rukmiṅī, Satyabhāmā and Nārada. Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṅī was the wife of Kṛṣṇa. Nārada played an important roll in Kāmatā School of Vaiṣṇavism. He was painted as the mischief-monger.⁸

"He Kṛṣṇa ohi Pārijātak gandha tini paharak path yāi. Ohi pārijāt yāhek gṛhe rahe, dhan, jan bibhab, tāhek charae nehi. Ohi durlava pārijāt ye nāri paridhān kare se puṣpak mahimāye parama saubhāginī hay. Tāhāke chāri svāmi kathāy yāite nāhi pāy, ohi ohi kusunak mahimā ki kahaba."

(O, Kṛṣṇa, the smell of pārijāt, goes to a long distance, in whose house, that pārijāt remains, health wealth and happiness never goes away. And the lady, who wears that pārijāt, becomes good-fortuned, her husband cannot leave her, what shall I say about the importance of that flower ?)

Kṛṣṇa gave this pārijāt to Rukmiṅī. Nārada reported it to Satyabhāmā and said :—

7. To Śāktas.....Śiva-Pārvatī and Bhairaba-Bharabī.

8. In Upaṅiṣada and Mahābhārata, Nārada was out and out devotee. In Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgabata he was a great Pandit, a saint. In Haribaṃśa, he was a devotee and he was deputed as messenger too. But in Vaiṣṇava period in Kāmatā-Kāmarūpa, he was a mischief-monger, messenger. Vide "Assamiyā Vaiṣṇav Kabir Nārada" by prof. T. N. Sharmā.

“Satinak abhyuday dekhi ki nimitta prāṇ dharaha”
(Your co-wife appeared, how do you like to live ?)

Hearing this Satyabhāmā fainted :—

“Munerbacanamākarnya śōka kopa pariplitā
murachita patita bhumau yathā bātāhata latā”

Nārada again reported the state of Satyabhāmā to Kṛṣṇa and said :—

“Satinika udaye hṛdae dahe āgi : adhika milala manatāp
dhik ab jīvan yauvana moha : abhāginī karata bilāp”

(The presence of co-wife wounded the feelings and is lamenting by saying what is the value of life and youth ?).

Satyabhāmā appeared and rebuked Kṛṣṇa :—

“Jānaloha tuā byābahāra : Ata je cāturi coṛi : Calahu
bāhuri Hari : Yāha priyā ramaṇi tohārā”

(O Keśava, I have learnt everything about your wit and stratagem and also learnt, that you left me to meet your other lovers).

Kṛṣṇa had to appease her :—

Śrī Kṛṣṇa tāhe pekhi āliṅgi kole tuli baithāyala : pita
bastre śariraka dhuli jhārāla, Keśa bāndhala, nija haste
karpūra-tāmbula bhujāyala.

(Śrī Kṛṣṇa embraced her, took her to his own lap, rubbed the dust of her body by his yellow cloth, combed her hair, gave her bettlenut and bettle-leaf).

Ultimately Kṛṣṇa had to promise, that he will give pārijāt to Satyabhāmā :—

“He svāmī āmār bahut satinī, ibār pārijāt āni kon strik
deba, tāhe bujhae nāhi hāmi, kadācit tohāri saṅga nāhi
caraba ”

(O, Lord, I have got many co-wives, I donot know whom you shall you give pārijāt, I won't leave your companion).

In the above writings of Śaṅkardeva we find, the absolute human touch which we find in later ages in the writings of Mukundarām in his Kavi-kaṅkan-Canḍi.

Nidhubane ramaṇī rasa raṅge mātalu
tohe bhajaba kon belā.

Bhaṇai Vidyāpati śeṣa samana bhay
tuyā biṇe gati nāhi ārā.

Ādi anādi nātha kahaosi aba
tāraṇa bhār tohārā.

(Friends, relatives and women are like drops of water in the hot sea-shore, forgetting you, I offered myself to them, now what shall I do? O, Mādhava, I am disheartened regarding my future, you are protector, You are kind-hearted, now I am depending upon you. Half the life I spent uselessly by sleeping and playing with women and could not make any time to adore you, now Vidyāpati is saying, that, death is at hand and there is none save except you. You are in-finite, you are the root of all and you should protect me.)

Śaṅkardeva never suported the RADHĀ-HOOD, but sometimes, he painted the characters of the gopis and narrated their love towards Kṛṣṇa. Śaṅkardeva narrated the situation of Gokula when Kṛṣṇa left for Mathurā :—

Kamana bhāgyabati bhayore suparabhāt
āju bhetaba mukha candā

Ugata sur dur geo Govinda

bhaya Gopaur āndhā,

Āju Mathurāpur milaba mahatsaba

Mādhava sādhaba mān

Gokula maṅgala dur geo

nāhi bājata beṇu biṣāṇ

Āju jata nāgari karata nayana bhāri

mukha paṅkaja madhupānā.

Hāmāri baṅka bidhi hāte harala nidhi

Kṛṣṇa kiṅkare rasa bhāṇā.

(O beloved, of the milk-maids, where have you gone ? I am vicious one and so I will not be able to see your

beautiful face. Morning has come, how lucky to-day, I will see that moon-like face, sun rose, Govinda went far away, Gopapura became dark, to-day the people of Mathurā will be delighted at his presence and will adore him. Well wishers of Gokula went far away, so we donot hear the sweet sound of his flute, to-day the women of Mathurā will be much delighted seeing the lotus like lovely face of Kṛṣṇa, my fate is bad, God is displeased).

Suprabhāta Mathurāpurīr

Mukha padma dekhibe svāmir.

(Happy morning for the people of Mathurāpurī, because they will see the face of Lord Kṛṣṇa).

These poems of Śaṅkardeva reminds us Vidyāpati :—

Āba Mathurāpura Mādhava gela

Gokula māñika hari nila

Gokula uchala karuṇār rol

Nayaner jale dekha bahaye hilol

Śuna bhela mandira śuna bhela nagarī

Śuna bhela daśdiśa śuna bhela sagarī.

(Mādhava went to Mathurāpurī, the gem of Gokula has been stolen, the people of Gokula are agrieved for want of Kṛṣṇa.

Further we find :—

Uddhava calahu Gokula lāi

Hāmu biṇe gopir tilek yuga yāi

(Uddhava let us go to Gokula, a moments' absence of mine to Gopis, will be a yuga)

CF. Vidyāpati :—

Sajala nayana kari piyā patha heri heri

Til ek hay yuga cāri.

(Here Rādhā, is looking at the path of Kṛṣṇa, with her eyes:full of tears, a separation for a moment seems to her, four eras).

Śaṅkardeva depicted GOPI-BHĀVA in a different way. There we donot find any unusual philosophical treatment.

When Uddhava went to Br̄ndābana, the Gopīs became anxious to hear the news of Govinda and they began to ask Uddhava :—

Keho Gopī bale bāndhava Uddhava
Brajak āsiba ār prāṇer Govinda.

(Say, Uddhava, whether our beloved Govinda will come to Braja again ?)

Aneka rājār Kaṇyā bihāila Mādhava
Ekhan ār āmā kou kāj.

(Mādhava married the daughters of many kings. now, he has got no necessity of us)

Ki Kahaba Uddhava ki kahaba prāṇ
Govinda biṇe bhaya Gokula uchān

(What shall I speak Uddhava, the situation is heart-rendering, as Govinda is not present, Gokula has become ruined).

Śūṇya bhela āṅginā Birindā bipina
Nā sahe rajanī jaice cānda bihiṇa
Nāhi carāba dheṇu Kālinidī kul
Ār nā śuniba beṇu kadambaka mul
Mathurā rahala sab Gopinika piu
Keśava biṇe kaiche dharaba jiu

(The forest and the court-yard of Brindāban have become deserted, they are as unbecoming as nights are without moon, the cows won't graze on the bank of the river Kālinidī, nobody will hear the sound of flute at the root of kadamba tree, the gopis without their lover how will live ?).

ANANTA KANDALI :—The elevating influence of Śaṅkardeva had inspired a large number of learned people to initiate themselves into his DHARMMA and most of them had translated the old treatises.

Ananta kandali was a true devotee of Śaṅkardeva and was a literary genius. He preached the Vaiṣṇavism of Śaṅkardeva. He translated the Gītā and wrote the following

books, in which he dealt about Vaiṣṇavism Viz, Vaiṣṇavā-amṛta, Gīta Govinda. He is pioneer in translating the Gīta-Govinda of Jaydeva.

Ananta Kandalī was the court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa. He gave an account of himself thus :—

Śrīmanta Śaṅkar āpunī Iśvar
 Nara rūpe jāta bhailā
 Tāhāṅka nā sahi brāhman sakale
 Rāj āge khal dilā
 Jadu kule Hari Janmiyā āsiyā
 Kṣhitibhār dur kailā
 Ehi mane guṇī brāhman saar
 Kichu kop mane railā
 Henay mahanta Naranārāyaṇa
 nṛpati śreṣṭhatara
 Āmāre āniyā ājñā karilek
 Pad kara Bhārater.

(The poet adored Śaṅkardeva and said that the poet was introduced to Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa and was asked by the later to write the padas of Mahābhārata).

MĀDHAVDEVA :—Mādhavdeva was the chief disciple of Śaṅkardeva. Originally, Mādhavdeva was a Tantric by faith, but afterwards he became a devout Vaiṣṇava under the influence of Śaṅkardeva and dedicated his life for the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. Mādhavdeva made a comprehensive collection of the principles of different philosophical treatises and wrote NĀM-GHOṢĀ¹⁰ and

10. This book consists of the metrical rendering of the beautiful passage culled from Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava literature. The book begins with the devotional prayer to the God and narrates in detail the merit of reciting the name of Hari. He also dealt with the philosophy of the religion of devotion and shew how it is superior to

BHAKTI-RATNĀVALI,¹¹ the two best essentials of Vaiṣṇava religion. He also composed BHATTIMĀS and BARGITS. He also wrote a commentary on Śaṅkardeva's BHAKTI-RATNĀKAR. He also wrote some ONE ACT PLAYS. He also wrote NĀM-MĀLIKĀ¹² and AMŪLYA RATAN.¹³

other forms in KALIYUGA :—Rām Kṛṣṇa Hari nām : Sarbba dharmma anūpām. Sakal Nigame tattva sār : Jāt pare dharmma nāhi ār, Hena nām nusumari : kaman bharaśā kari, Raiyācha bhāba taribār. (among all the religion, the name of Rām, Kṛṣṇa is famous, Hari is the root of all tennets, besides this there is no religion, how do you intend to cross the world without citting his name).

11. Jāti kulācār dharmma jñān ādi kari : Isav guṇat baśya hanta Kṛpāmay. (Hari will not be pleased with the caste and creed. He will be pleased if you meditate him with great reverence).

12. This book commented on the attributes of Viṣṇu as depicted in Purāṇas and Saṃhitās : “Tumi se paramor guru Hṛṣikeś : Kṛpā dṛṣṭi cāi mok diyā upadeś : Bāhir bhitarē prabhu tumi se kebal : Dur karā bhṛtter jateka amaṅgal. (You are the best preceptor, O, Hṛṣikeś, give me good counsels).

13. It dealt with the divine origin of Śaṅkardeva and his colleagues and inculcates the religion preached by Śaṅkardeva. It abuses the Dāmodrian sect of Kāmātāpur Vaiṣṇavas. (“This puthi appears have been written by some ardent member of the Mahāpuruṣiyā sect, after the schism that took place subsequent to the death of Śaṅkardeva. The authenticity of this puthi is questioned even by some Mahapuruṣiyās. “Hem Chandra Gosvāmī..... Descriptive catalogue of Assamese Manuscript, pg 4.



Kāmatā After Naranārāyaṇa
(when the Koch dynasty was splitt up into parts)

(Rāj Śak 78 to 118, Śakābdā 1509, to 1549, equivalent to 1587 A. D. to 1627 A. D.)

DĀMODARDEVA :—Dāmodardeva was one of the towers of strength, in the reformatory work of society that was inaugurated by Śaṅkardeva. Dāmodardeva followed Śaṅkardeva in all his actions and established SATRAS for the spread of the new faith. He was not a good writer. He only composed some Baṛgits. ¹

BHAVĀNANDA :—He was the poet of Haribaṁśa. The central theme of Haribaṁśa is nothing but the crude love episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. The poet dealt with the same in a vulgar way. The vaiṣṇavism of pre-Śaṅkariya era and pre-Caitanya era is prominent.

Whether Bhabānanda was a court poet of kāmata-rāj-darbār, it cannot be stated for want of proof. He gave an account of himself thus :—

Ślok bhāṅgi racilek pada-banda

Śivānanda suta adham Bhavānanda.

(Bhavānanda, the unworthy son of Śivānanda translated in verse).²

1. Śunare kubuddhi man : jānā tai nilāja man :
Kene nā balasa Hari : Ābe tor gāye : cetana nāhike
bhāba araṇyat pari. (O, evil mind, why do you not recite
the name of Hari, you have lost your senses deeping
yourself in the wordly affairs).

Colophon :—Kahe Dāmodare : nilāja man-tore :
tathāpita nāhi dhikkār : Kṛṣṇar caraṇa : hṛdaye dhariyā :
bhāba nadī haio pār.

2. Haribaṁśa was published by the University of
Dacca in 1339 B. S. and was edited by Śrī Satish chandra
Rāy. Bhabānanda flourished in the fag end of the sixteenth
century or in the beginning of the seventeenth century.
Satish Chandra got a copy of the original manuscript,

VAIṢṢNAVISM : IN PROSE :—The earliest specimen of Bengali prose which has hitherto been discovered and is known to the readers of the Bengali literature, was the letter written in the sixteenth century by the Koch-rāj Naranārāyaṇa to Āham Rāj.

In this chapter, we will show that the writers of kāmātā-rāj-darbārs used prose not only in writings letters but also in literature. And in this respect, the writers of the Kāmātā-rāj-darbārs were the pioneer. The writers of rest Bengal, used prose later on.

The poet Mādhāvdeva summarised the cardinal doctrine of Kṛṣṇa worship in prose :—

“Ahe lok : torāsabak hāmu ek parama upadeś bolatha, tāhek śraddhāye ādar karaha, torāsabak dukh dekhiyā hāmāk mane khed jānay, ahi gahana bedban mājhe Brahmāk nittante bicār karite, buddhi sahit, sab śarir kṣhiṇ bhaila, ab Ved bacan bicārak chāriyā Gobara Jaśodāk ghare, sab upaniṣad artha, bhagabanta paramātmā Brāhmana urddhasthale niścay bandi hay thik, tāhek dekḥaha cinaha nirantare Hari bol Hari bol”

(O friends, I give you an advice of supreme importance, honour it with theistic enthusiasm, seeing your misery, my mind sinks down, in searching thoroughly for the supreme being (Brahma) in the impenetrable jungle of Veda, your

which was copied out three hundred years ago. He got this copy at Mymansingha. Studying the language Rāybāhādur Jogesh Chandra Rāy Vidyānidhi., M.A., told (in monthly magazine PRABĀSĪ, 1339 B. S.) that the poet must be a man of East Bengal.

The Assamese critics tried to prove that Bhavānanda was a court poet of Darrāṅg-rāj Candranārāyana. But this not the case. The poet Āgamācāryya of Assam copied out the major portion of Haribaṃśa and tried to prove that he was the poet of Haribaṃśa. This is not true.

Sri A. K. Chakravartī., M. A., of Dhubri has got two copies of this puthi. It differs a bit with that of Dacca University edition.

whole body with intellect has grown emaciated. Now giving up the vain search for the teachings of Veda, see and know Brahma, the omnipotent, supreme soul, who is the aim and object of all the Upaniṣadas and who has certainly been kept tied to wooden mortar in the house of the cowherdess Jaśodā, and constantly say Hari, Hari).

DĀMODARDEVA :—Dāmodardeva in explaining the theory of Śaṅkaradeva told :—“Teṃ param vaiṣṇavī Durgā Devīr puṅgava karāto kāko bādhā ni dichil, kintu jīva himsā kari teṃ puṅgava kariba khūjile baṅg apatti karichil” (If any vaiṣṇava wanted to worship the Goddess Durgā, Śaṅkaradeva never objected to it, but he raised his objection when anybody wanted to worship the Goddess by offering a sacrifice).

In the seventeenth century in the rest of Bengal, the Vaiṣṇava Mahājanas began to write, in prose, (sometimes in prose and poetry) the treatise regarding the spiritualism :—

KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA'S...ĀTMA JIJÑĀSĀ :—

“Bṛndāban temate Goloknāther prakās : Śāstek jāni baibhabe Golok” (Bṛndāban is likewise the place of exposition of Goloknāth : know the śāstras : in grandeur Golok).

KṚṢṆADĀSA'S ĀŚRAY NIRṆAY :—“Sei Kṛṣṇalok tṛdhā, Bṛndāban, Dvārakā, Mathurā ihār madhye kār āśray” (that Kṛṣṇa world is of three kinds, Bṛndāban, Dvārakā, Mathurā, whose shelter is there).

RAGHUNĀTH GOSVĀMI...RĀGAMAYĪ KAṆĀ :—“Atha Gosvāmi digeṅ upāsanā, tin mat, tāhār bibaraṅ, pravartta, sādḥaka, siddha, yāge kahi upāsanā siddher lakṣhmaṅ” (then the prayer of Gosvāmis, it is of three kinds, pravarta, sādḥaka, siddha, first of all speaking the signs of siddha).

VAIṢṆAVISM : IN DRAMAS :

Drama plays an important part in the social and political history of a people. And it is no exaggeration to say, that a "Nation is known by its theatre".

A dramatic representation consists mainly of these things :—dialogue, music and dance. The ancient Hindus regarded it as a great medium of religious worship. From the pure standpoint of art, drama and the stage have an ethical and historical value of their own.

Indian drama, is purely of Indian origin, and was developed independantly. It has got no affinity to Greek Drama, either in form or in spirit. The Indian drama can be traced to its origin in the recitation of kābyas. Everywhere, the earliest dramatic representation appears to be associated with the religious observances of the people. Prior to that innovation of the dramas, written by Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva, the people of Kāmatāpur had a drama like pastime of their own, possibly in KUṢĀN-YĀTRĀS.¹¹ The Kuśān Yātrā Party, generally consists of more than three persons, and is divided into groups, each singing in chorus. The leader is known as DOYĀRĪ (master) and he has got some associates. The Doyāries extemporises or recites the song, which is accompanied by his followers, playing on cymbals. The Doyārī not only narrates but also explains (sometimes in vulgar way) the theme to the audiances by rhythmic movements of his body. The party generally adopt their stories from Pauranic legends and folk-tales. The story of Behulā-Lakṣhindar and the legend connected with the

11. Yātrā meant some festivity held in-honour of God viz, ŚNĀN YĀTRĀ, RĀTHA YĀTRĀ etc. and the term "YĀTRĀ" might have been derived from these festivals. In Bhababhūti's Mālati-mādhava, the word "yātrā" was used in the sense of festivity. Gautama Buddha was fond of yātrā (vide Lalita-Viṣṭāra-purāṇa).

Goddess Manasā are popular subjects of recitation in Kuśānyātrās.¹²

The dramas in ancient times were written in Sanskrit and Pāli. Sanskrit drama itself underwent several stages of development.¹³

Sanskrit dramas began to decline with the advent of the Muslims. The muslim rulers did not support the theatre. On the otherhand, the political subjection brought a radical change in the Hindu life. A good deal of artificial restraints were introduced in the society. But Kuśān-yātrā and Vāsān-yātrā survived.

These performances kept the memory of dramatic representation alive.

The yātrā and theatre might have been common origin, but one has not evolved out of the other. On the otherhand two followed two different lines of growth.

The themes of yātrā, that prevailed in Bengal and in Kāmatāpur were about the cult of Śakti worship and dealt mainly with the death of Śumba, Niśumba or of other Asūras. The folk-lores and songs regarding Caṇḍi were greatly regarded as a piece of dramatic literature.

Formerly there was no Kṛṣṇa-yātrā. Kṛṣṇa-yātrā came into being after the rise of Vaiṣṇavism.

In the early stage of yātrā, JAYDEVA'S Gīta-govinda gave sufficient materials for the Kṛṣṇa-yātrā.

The spirit of yātrā differs essentially from that of Drama. The end of yātrā generally is to play upon some popular feelings and emotions such as heroism, devotion and love ; whereas the end of drama is the creation of characters and their delinations with reference to some particular event or situation." Indian Stage Vol I, Pg. 110

12. It resembles with the OJHĀ-PĀLI of Eastern Kāmatā.

13. (i) legendary stage and (ii) historical stage.

The lyrics of Vidyāpati and Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa also gave sufficient materials for the growth and development of Kṛṣṇa-yātrās. Jaydev's Gitā-govinda and Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa's Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana mostly consists of songs with their lyrical genius seem to be united with dramatic spirit.

Amativeness and amorous love were the keynote of Vidyāpati's lyrics and of the other contemporaries of Caṇḍidāsa. These amorous dieties are divided into three parts :—Yearning before the union and separation. Interrogation and replies recorded in these songs have enough dramatic elements in them. Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana was nothing but the JHUMUR of modern Bengal. The subject matter of Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana was arranged like that of Jhumur. In Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana as in Jhumur now-a-days, some relationship was fancifully attributed between the two parties that might consist of two or three or four as between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, as in mythology Nārada often effected union between the devotee and his God.

Kṛṣṇa-yātrā in Bengal reached its fullest development under the influence and patronage of Caitanyadeva and in Kāmata under the influence of Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva. Caitanyadeva himself was a fond of drama and was highly skilled in dramatic performances.¹⁴

During these periods, yātrā was the main sources of public entertainment and national amusement in Bengal ; and drama was driven to the neighbouring provinces.

14. Vṛndāvandāsa, the author of Caitanya-bhāgavata has written that, Caitanyadeva used to perform Kṛṣṇa-yātrā. In Candra Śekhar's house Caitanyadeva made a dramatic performance, where Haridās acted the part of the city police (Kotwāl) officer and Śṛbās Pandit appeared in the role of Nārada, Śrīrām acted the part of snātaka, Nityānanda of Baṛāi, Advaita of a devotee, and Caitanyadeva himself appeared in the role of Rukmiṇī.

Under the influence of Caitanyadeva dramas were composed in Orissa. But all these dramas were written in Sanskrit.

The Bengali dramas which were discovered at Nepal were written in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century. But Kāmatā poets Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva wrote dramas in mixed Brajabuli in sixteenth century. The dramas, those were written in the Kāmatā-Koch-rāj-Darbār were not full length dramas.

In technique, the dramas of Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva follow to a certain extent the texts on Sanskrit dramatic theory, particularly with reference to use of Sanskrit verses and "Nāndī", iutroduction of the role of "Sūtradhara" and performance of the preliminaries (pūrbbarāga). Unlike, in Sanskrit plays, the 'Sūtradhara' is an integral part of a one act play. In Sanskrit dramas, the 'sūtradhara' disappears altogether after the invocation. Here sūtradhara remain all along on the stage and acts as the producer and running commentator like the DOYARIES of Kuśān-yātrā.

This ONE ACT PLAY,¹⁵ originated in Kāmatāpur with the Vaiṣṇavite movement during the sixteenth century. It had therefore a distinctly religious origin, representating as it did scenes and incidents from the life of KRṢṢṢṢNA and RĀMA. The use of painted scenery so early as the sixteenth century is certainly an unique innovation.

Saṅkardeva wrote the following dramas :—Kālidaman-nāt, Keli-gopāl-nāt, Patnīprasād-nāt, Pārijātharaṅ-nāt, Rukminīharaṅ-nāt, and Mādhavdeva wrote the

15. It bears no resemblance to the ANKA TYPE of RŪPAKAS of Sanskrit. The very name "ONE ACT PLAY OR ANKIYĀ-NĀT" was given by the modern critics of Assam. ANKIYĀ-NĀT was edited by Dr. B. Baruā. , M. A., Ph. D.

following dramas :—Arjun-bhañjan-nāt, Bhumilotowā-nāt, Bhojan-byābahār-nāt, Cordharā-nāt, Kotrā-khelā-nāt, Pimpārā-gucuā-nāt and Rāsa Jhumur.

The object of these dramas were mainly to impress on the mind of the people, the wonderful deeds of Kṛṣṇa as described in the Bhāgavata.

In writing these dramas, Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva might be influenced by Jaydeva, the poet of Gīta-govinda. Both the Kāmātā poets followed the rhyme and rhythm of Jaydeva specially in using the Sanskrit ślokas. In Keli-gopāl-nāt we find :—“Śarataśāsāṅkakara komalāsu rikṣhyendumandalamkhandamkunṭha rodho niśāsu śāśvata sahaḡopīkābhiḥ : Vṛndābane sukalabeṅumbādayata jaḡ : Cakāra keliṃ kalagītinṛtaiḥ sammohanāya madhuram Vrajasundarināmasa gopamūrtijayatiḥa Kṛṣṇaḥ : Tam gopabeśa maṅisaṃ praṇatohaṣmi Kṛṣṇam.”

This reminds us the poems of Jaydeva.

In CORDHARĀ-NĀT we find, that Kṛṣṇa was caught redhanded while he was stealing butter :—

Āju kaha yāsi bolaye govāli
Pekhiye ākhi tarala Banamāli
Dvāra beḡhāla gopī bāhu prasāri
Labanu cori kaice kabasi murāri.

(While Kṛṣṇa was stealing butter, he was caught redhanded by the gopis. Kṛṣṇa began to shed tears, the milk-maids encircled the door).

Dharala sabahi mili Harika cor
Mādhava kaha gati Govinda mor.

(all of them caught Hari, now what will be the fate. Some how Kṛṣṇa managed to fly, then the Gopīs began to cry :—

Hāmāku māri cor pālai.

(the thief left, after beating us).

All these scenes are full of human touches, nothing unnatural is found.

In PIMPĀRĀGUCUĀ-NĀT we find :—

“Ahe govāli tohe baṛi nidārūn hṛday āpun jibhā rākhite nā pāri āpun ḡṛhe dadhi-dugdha-labani khāli, ā bhātārer bhaye hāmāk apajas deos, āmāk ghare labanu ke puchata ? Khāibar nā pāi tohāri ghare cur kaye labanu khāvalo

(O milk-maid, you are hard-hearted, being unable to restrain yourselves, you took card, milk, butter in your own house and now for fear of your husbands, you are giving me ill-names, there is no derth of curd, butter, milk in my house, then why shall I go to steal the same from your house ?).

In KĀLIDAMAN-NĀT, Śaṅkardeva narrated the events how kālī-nāga, the king of the snakes was subjugated and driven away to the lake Rāmanuka by Kṛṣṇa :—

“Sūtra....Ahe savāsad lok, ye jagatak parama gūru parama puruṣ puruṣattama Sanātana Brahmā Maheś sevita caraṇa-paṅkaj Nārāyaṇa Śrī Śrī Kṛṣṇa uhi savā-madhye Kālidaman-nāt-lilā yātrā kautuke karaba, tāhe sābadhāne dekhaha śunaha, nirantare Hari bol, Hari bol”

(O courtier, that he who is the great preceptor and He who is the best of all men and whose feet are adored by Brahmā and Maheś is Kṛṣṇa, and in this court I will perform the yātrā of Kālidaman-nāma-lilā you people listen and see attentively).

(Ākāśak karṇa diyā Sūtra bol) :—Ahe sangi, kon bādya śunie” (minutely hearing as if, some body is speaking from the sky, Sūtradhara is speaking, O companion, you are hearing what music ?)

In dramas, Śaṅkardeva and Mādhavdeva depicted the boyish sports of Kṛṣṇa very prominently. Mādhavdeva

further depicted the character of Rādhā. The character of Rādhā which was depicted by Mādhavdeva greatly differs from that of Bengal Vaisnavas. The Bengal Vaisnavas followed the Rāgānuga theory, but Mādhavdeva depicted the 'Vātsalya Rasa' very prominently.

(MAHĀRĀJĀ VIŚVA SIṂHA.....RĀJ ŚAKA 24.
Śakābdā 1418 to 1455 ; 1496 A. D. to 1533 A. D.)

MĀNKAR :—The poet Mānkar was the court poet of Mahā-rājā Viśva Siṃha of Koch-rāj-darbār.

Mānkar's Manasā Maṅgal is not a complete one.

DURGĀBAR :—He was also a poet of Manasā Maṅgal. He flourished at the court of Mahārājā Viśva Siṃha.

Mānkar's story comes upto Manasā's first arrival at her father's residence and DURGĀBAR'S story starts with the description of Cānda's town Campāli and runs upto the end. MĀNKAR and DURGĀBAR both of them referred to King Viśva Siṃha of Kāmatā and almost in identical terms. Dr. Sukumer Sen., M.A., Ph. D., in the introduction of Vipra Dāsa's Manasā² Vijay remarked about Mānkar "The name is very unusual one, and it is possible that Mānkar is a corruption of MANAHAR (MANOHAR). The signature of the poet Manohar probably appears once in the Manasāmaṅgal of Jīvan Kṛṣṇa Maitra.³

"Manasāmaṅgal kavi Manahar biracila."

Mānkar's story of creation is different.⁴

1. Edited by Dr. B. Barua and prof. S. N. Sarma, published in 1952.

2. published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

3. As in Assamese version of Manasāmaṅgal of "Sukavi Nārāyaṇadeva" was mis-spelt and wrongly interpreted as "SUK NĀMNI NĀRĀYANDEVA".

4. The contemporary of Mānkar and Durgābar was Vipra Dāsa (later part of the fifteenth century). Vipradāsa's Manasā Vijay differs greatly from that of

In the beginning, God created one pair of birds.⁵ and in this creation story some Mongoloid influence is noticed.

Mānkar pleaded for BIṢAHARI PŪJĀ. Biṣahari pūjā, in the area under review is otherwise known as MĀRĀI-PŪJĀ. And this word "MĀRĀI" has got two meanings viz, EPIDEMIC and the CHIEF OF THE HOUSE. In many places in the area under review, the Mārāi-pūjā is performed at the time of epidemic or at the fear of snake. Otherwise Mārāi Pūjā or the Biṣahari Puja is performed in the month of Śrābāṇa. The procedure of Mārāi Pūjā of the Rājbaṃśīs-Kṣhatriyas and the BODOS is the same, only difference is noticed, that the Bodos never perform this pūjā by making any idol of Biṣahari or Manasā.

The poet Mānkar used the word 'MĀRĀIYĀ' to mean Manasā (Mārāiyā māḍali jāgok jāteka barāti'....ie let all the devotees be ready in the pavillion of the Goddess). Mānkar also pleaded for the SIJU PLANT.⁶

The word "BIṢAHARI" means, one who steals pain or poison. Now the question is; who steals the poison ? And is he or she a man or a woman or God or Goddess ?

Mānkār and Durgābar. In Vipradāsa's Manasā Vijay all episodes were included but not in the versions of Mānkar and Durgābar.

5. BARANI-MADĀI, an article written by Śrī Birendra Nārāyan Brahma Pātḡiri, published in the JUGER ALOE in 1360 B. S.

6. The siju tree is highly regarded by the Bodo-Kachāri "Of these household Gods by far the most important is the BĀTHAU, who pre-eminently the guardian of the family interest and the family honour. He is never represented in idol form but is well in evidence through his living symbol the Siju tree, which is often to be seen in Kachāri homestead surrounded by a circular fence of split bamboo." J. D. Anderson, "The Kachāries" (pg. 36) We find a link between the siju-cult and the cult of Manasā in DHARMMA PŪJĀ BIDHĀN (pg. 98) "Āvāhitāsi

In SĀDHAN-MĀLIKĀ we find the name of the Goddess JĀGALI and she is described as KIRĀTA GIRL (mongoloid). The concept of KĀMBOJA GIRL, from the hill appears in the late Vedic and herein we find a connection with the North Eastern hill tract of the area under review the land of KŌC, MEC, and other Bodo tribes.

In Mānkar's book we find the following characteristics :—

(a) That Śiva plays flute like Kṛṣṇa.⁷ Śiva made love to Durgā as Kṛṣṇa did to Rādhā in the writings of Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa. Śiva's hankering for Durgā and calling her to meet him by playing on his flute and Durgā being eager to meet him, is also modelled after the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story. The father of Durgā too behaved like the relatives of Rādhā. Nārada informed Gaṅgā that Śiva was regularly meeting Durgā in the flower garden. Gaṅgā became annoyed and asked her son DĀNGUR⁸ and MAHĀNANDĀ.

devī tvam snuhīvrkṣastheta athirātyantaṃ sadā gr̥he kāmāprada bhava" (O, Goddess, you are invoked, staying in SNUHI (ŚIJU) plant, be thou very permanent in my house and always be granting desires).

"In the district of Burdwan in the West Bengal where the worship of Manasā as JĀGAT-GAURI is prevalent an annul commity (ie village) worship of the deity of the hearth and home (Vāstu Devatā) is worshiped under a Siju tree, standing near a tank. This practice confirms the connection of the plant with Manasā who partially represents the Vedic Vāstospati." Introduction of Manasā Vija.....Dr. Sukumer Sen., M. A., Ph. D.

7. SONARĀY, the tiger God of the area under review, also plays flute and also takes stramonium and hemp like Śiva. BURĀ-BĀTHAU or ŚIBRĀI (ŚIVA) also plays flute in the Bodo folk-lores in the area under review.

8. In Jagat Jīvan Ghoṣāl's Manasā Maṅgal, we get DAMBUR as the son of Gaṅga. DĀNGUR SANI is the deity of the boat-men. Whether DĀNGUR, JĀNGUR or

(b) PŌNĀ (PADUMĀ), the tadbhava form of the name PADMA occurs in the poems of Mānkar and Durgābar.

(c) BĀHUṚĀ (BĀHURĀ) BRĀHMAṆĪ or simply BĀHURA⁹ (BAHURA) is also peculiar to these poets.

The name of TOTALĀ is also there. MĀNKAR called Manasā as DIGAMBARĪ (naked)¹⁰

Another contemporary poet of Manasā Maṅgal, was Nārāyandeva. Whether Nārāyandeva was the court poet of any kings of Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār, it cannot be stated for want of proof, Nārāyandeva was a man village Borgram in the sub-division of Kisoregange in the district of Mymansimha.¹¹

DAMBUR is the same it cannot be stated. Near Gauripur (Assam) there is a big tank named DUMURDAHA. The villagers of these localities worship DUMUR.

9. The name BYĀRI occurring in the BYĀRI-BHAKTI-TARANGINĪ by Vidyāpati seems to be variant of BĀHUṚĀ. BĀHOṚĀ probably meant, unattached, husbandless and in the saga, the Goddess often appears a Brāhmin widow (BIDHOYĀ BRĀHMAṆĪ).

10. Equivalent to Vipradasa's....NIRVĀSANĪ.

11. One considerable authentic copy (complete) of Manasā Maṅgal, written by Nārāyan Deva lies in the possession of Sri Ajay Kumār Chakravarttī M.A., of Dhubri, Assam.

Cāṇḍo worships her, but her father refused to do so. Manasā requested Cāṇḍo, But Cāṇḍo chased her with his HEMTAL STAFF. Manasā fled away. When six sons of Cāṇḍo died, Cāṇḍo ordered cremation of the bodies, the young widows were ready to become suttee, Manasā commanded the demoness Tārakā to steal the bodies and it was done. Lakṣhindara's mother did not like to marry his son who was destined to die on the bridal night. Manasā grew impatient and at the advice of Netā sent the nymph KĀMA SONĀ disguised as Lakṣihindara's maternal aunt Kauśalyā and excited his sexual desire. When Dhanvantari died, Yama came to take possession of his body, but Manasā faught him off.

In the seventeenth century outside Kāmatā kingdom, the following poets of Manasā Maṅgal flourished :—

(i) Viṣṇupāla (ii) Ketakādās Kṣhemānanda I (iii) Kṣhemānanda II (iv) Kṣhemānanda III (v) Śītārām Dās. In the writings of these poets, some variations from the version of Jagat Jīvan are noticed.

Viṣṇupāla :—Manasā turned herself into a spider and was brought home by Śiva in his flower basket. She was left out in the forest by Brahmā and Neto was born out of the sweat wrung out by Brahmā from his napkin. Manasā and Neto established themselves in Siju hills. Śiva turned himself into a Musalman soldier and took his station in a shanty that stood ahead on Durgā's way :—

Nil dhari pare kibā dostar māthāy
 Khārā churi nila yauvana avatār
 Cirā sandeś nila bockā bāndiyā
 Pārvatīr āge pathe rahila dārāyā,

(he wore a blue cloth and a turban on the head, he held a sword and a knife, a Yauvana incarnate, he took flattened rice and sweets and made a bundle of them and stood waiting ahead on the way of Pārvatī)

To separate, the Goddess from her two sons Śiva brought down a rain storm. The boys ran one way and Pārvatī another. He ravished her and the result was the birth of the brothers of Hāsān-Husen.

Baruṇa was practising penance at the sea-coast from a very long time. To entice him home, his wife Moitra came there and tried all her charms on her husband. Baruṇa spilled his seeds and Agastya was born. Agastya commissioned a parrot to bring tamarind, which fell down into the sea and turned its milk water into curd.

TRANSLATION OF THE EPIC MAHĀBHĀRATA.

MAHĀRĀJĀ VIŚVA SIṂHA.

(1418 Śakābdā to 1455 Śakābdā)

PITĀMBARA :—The poet Pītāmbara was the contemporary of Mahārājā Viśva Siṃha and the poet wrote the book NAL-DAMAYANTI-KĀHINI at the order of Samar Siṃha, who was one of the sons of Mahārājā Viśva Siṃha. The poet gave an account of himself thus :—

“Kāmatā nagare Viśva Siṃha nareśvar
Pratāpe pracanda rājā bhoge purandar
Tāhār tanay se Samar Siṃha nām
Mahāmāyā caraṇe bhakati anupām
Mahāpuṇya kathā tār ājñā paramāne
Payār prabandhe śīśu Pītāambar bhāṇe.

(Viśva Siṃha, the king-of Kāmatā is very powerful and luxurious, he has got one son Samar Siṃha by name, Poet Pītāambar is writing this sacred book at his suggestion).

The date of composition :—

Ras ṛtu Ved Candra Śāker pramāṇe
Kahe Pītāambar Nārāyana parasane.

(the poet wrote this book in the Śaka 1466 ie in 1544-45 A.D.)

In the language of Kavindra Mahābhārata, we find the influence of the dialect of North Bengal and the colophon of Kavindra resembles the colophons of other writers of Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār :—

Śuna savāsad pad Bhārater kāhinī
Kavindre racila dāki bolā Rām bāṇī

o o o o

Kavindre racilo dāki bolā Rām bāṇī.

The use of "RĀM RĀM" is very common amongst the (amongst) writers of Kāmatā court :—

Śaṅkare racilo dāki bolā Rām bāṇī,

o o o o

Śaṅkare racila dāki bolā Rām Rām.

o o o o

Badati Kalāp Candra bolā Rām Rām

o o o o

Gopāl Candra Dviṇa kahe bolā Rām Rām.

o c o o

Kahe Rāmsarasvatī dāki bolā Rām Rām.

KĀMSĀRĪ :—The poet Kāmsārī, flourished at the court of Mahārājā Naranārāyana. The poet Kāmsārī, translated some portions of Birāt Parbba and Kirāt Parbba of Mahābhārata.

MAHĀRĀJĀ LĀKṢHMĪNĀRĀYANA

(Rāj Śak 88 to 118 : Śakābdā 1509 to 1549 :

1587 A.D. to 1627 A. D).

VIPRA VIŚĀRAD :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Lakṣhminārāyana. He wrote the following books :—Virāt parbba, Bana Parbba, and Karṇa Parbba.

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o o o o

Badati Kalāp Candra bolā Rām Rām
o o o o

Gopāl Candra Dvija kahe bolā Rām Rām.
o c o o

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Except the copy of Birāt Parbba,¹ the others are not available now.

DATE OF WRITING OF VIRĀT PARBBA :—

Virāt Parbber kathā śrabhaṇa raman
Buddhi anusāre tāk kariba racan
Ved baṇhi bāṇ śāke pramāne
Caitra Guru dine pad Biśārade bhāṇe.

(The story of Birāt Parbba is interesting and sweet, the poet is writing the same in 1534 Śakābdā in the month of Caitra on Thursday).

The poet gave an account of himself thus :—

Ratnapīṭhe Lakṣmīnārāyana nṛpabar
Bihār Kāmatā nām tāhār nagar.
Bijña vipra ek sehi nagarat bās
Viśārad Chakravartti gāy upanyās.
Virāter pad sehi kaila loka base
Ved baṇhi bān Candra Śāke Caitra māse.

(Lakṣmīnārāyana was the king of Kāmatā-Bihār of Ratna-pīṭh. A wise brāhmiṇ, Viśārada Chakravartti by name, lived in that city. He wrote the Birāt Parbba in 1534 Śaka in the month of Caitra.)

In the sixteenth century outside Kāmatā, the following poets translated the epic Mahābhārata :—

(i) Śrīkar Nandī, (ii) Rām Chandra Khān (iii) Dvija Raghunāth of Orissa.

ŚRIKAR NANDĪ only translated the AŚVAMEDH PARBBA. He was the court poet of Nasarat Khān alias Chuti Khān.

1. The complete copy of Birāt Parbba of Vipra Viśārad, lies in the possession of Sri Ajay Kumār Chakravartti., M. A., Dhubri, Assam. This is the only copy of Birāt Parbba is available now.

No other institution possesses the copy or the original one.

RĀM CANDRA also translated the AŚVAMEDH PARBBA. His version was based upon the Jaiminī Saṃhitā. This puṭhi is a descriptive one and sometimes gives a vivid picture of the Bengali society which we do not find in Kāmatā versions.

Yaubanāśva told his mother, to witness the sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira like a good child of a Bengali mother :—

Gaṅgā snān karibe mātā habe bara dharinma
Govinda dekhibe mātā habe bara Karmma.

(by bathing in the river Gaṅgā, you will earn virtue and by seeing Govinda you will perform a great work).

Mother replied like a Bengali mother :—

Buṛi bole kibā kāryya Govinda sebiyā
Kibā kāryya Gaṅgā snāne yajñasthale giyā
Dharmma kārjya gṛha kāryya sab naṣṭa pāiba
Dhāṇya godhum śasya kebā sambāriba,
Dadhi dugdha gṛta tail sab naṣṭa haiba
Dāsigaṇ badhugaṇ sab bhṛaṣṭa haiba.
Sakal sampad yābe kathāy man deha
Nā pāro yāite putā ār nā baliha.

(the old lady is saying, what is use of bathing in the river Gaṅgā ? And what is use of serving Govinda ? If I go to perform these religious works, the household works will suffer much. Who will take care of the paddy and other corns, milk, curd, ghee etc and these will be destroyed for want of care ; the maid-servants and the wives will be morally degraded, so I do not like to go ; don't request me my son).

MAHĀRĀJĀ BIRNĀRĀYANA.

(1627 A. D. to 1632 A.D. ; 1549 Śakābdā to 1554 Śak)

ŚRĪ KAVI ŚEKHAR :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Bīrnārāyana. He translated the Kirāt Parbba of Mahābhārata.

Except the copy of Birāt Parbba, ¹ the others are not available now.

DATE OF WRITING OF VIRĀT PARBBA :—

Virāt Parbber kathā śrabāṇa raman
Buddhi anusāre tāk kariba racan
Ved baṇhi bāṇ śāke pramāne
Caitra Guru dine pad Biśārade bhāṇe.

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The poet gave an account of himself thus :—

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Bihār Kāmatā nām tāhār nagar.
Bijūa vipra ek sehi nagarat bās
Viśārad Chakravartti gāy upanyās.
Virāter pad sehi kaila loka base
Ved baṇhi bāṇ Candra Śāke Caitra māse.

(Lakṣmīnārāyana was the king of Kāmatā-Bihār of Ratna-pīṭh. A wise brāhmiṇ, Viśārada Chakravartti by name, lived in that city. He wrote the Birāt Parbba in 1534 Śaka in the month of Caitra.)

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Sakal sampad yābe kathāy man deha
Nā pāro yāite putā ār nā baliha.

(the old lady is saying, what is use of bathing in the river Gaṅgā ? And what is use of serving Govinda ? If I go to perform these religious works, the household works will suffer much. Who will take care of the paddy and other corns, milk, curd, ghee etc and these will be destroyed for want of care ; the maid-servants and the wives will be morally degraded, so I do not like to go ; don't request me my son).

MAHĀRĀJĀ BIRNĀRĀYANA.

(1627 A. D. to 1632 A.D. ; 1549 Śakābdā to 1554 Śak)

ŚRĪ KAVI ŚEKHAR :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Birnārāyana. He translated the Kirāt Parbba of Mahābhārata.

DATE OF COMPOSITION :—

Sindhu pakṣha bāṇ bidhu śāker samay
 Makarata deva dinākarer uday
 Guru dinasaya pañcamī pakṣha paradhān
 Kānane kusumkar karila prasthān.

(the poet wrote the book in 1527 Śakābdā on Thursday
 on the fifth tithi in the month of Māgh).

COLOPHON :—

Daśaratha Rām prāy Bīrnārāyana rāy
 jaśa kīrtti guṇer nidhān
 Tār ājjā paramāne bhāsābandhe subandhane
 Kavi Śekhar Niramān.

(Bīrnārāyana is like Daśaratha and Rāma, he is famous
 for many good qualities, Kavi Śekhar wrote this book at
 his order).

MAHĀRĀJĀ PRĀNNĀRĀYANA.

(1554 Saka to 1587 Saka ; 1632 to 1665 V.D.)

ŚRINĀTH BRĀHMIṆ :—He was the court poet of
 Mahārāja Prāñnārāyana. Śrīnāth Brāhmiṇ translated the
 following cantos of Mahābhārata—Ādi Parbba, Dron
 Parbba, and wrote Draupadīr Svayambar Kābya.¹

COLOPHON : ĀDI PARBBA²

Prāñnārāyana deva ājjā paramāne
 Bhārater payār racilo subandhane.
 Ādi Parbba Mahābhārater kathācy
 Śrīnāth Brāhmaṇe padabandhe biracay.

(the poet wrote the Ādi parbba of Mahābhārata at the
 order of Prāñnārāyaṇa).

1. Kochbihār Sāhitya Savā Manuscript, copied by Śiva
 Prasād Dākuā in 1269 B. S.

2. This manuscript lies in the possession of Sri Ajay
 Kumār Chakravartti., M. A., of Dhubri. This is a copy.
 The copy was made by R. Choudhury in 1727 Śaka.

COLOPHON : DROṆ PARBBA³ :—

Payār karite Prāṇ bhupe ājñā dila
Droṇ Parbba Bhārater pad biracila.

(at the order of Mahārājā Prānnārāyana, he wrote the Droṇ Parbba of Mahābhārata).

RĀMEŚVAR :—He was also a court poet of Mahārājā Prānnārāyana. He translated some cantos of Mahābhārata.

MAHĀRĀJĀ MODNĀRĀYANA.

(1587 Śaka to 1602 Śaka ; 1665 A. D. to 1680 A. D.)

DVIJA KAVIRĀJ :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Modnārāyana. Poet Śrīnāth Brāhmiṇ could not finish the translation of Droṇ Parbba of Mahābhārata and the said was completed by Dviija Kavirāj. Out of 208 folios, Śrīnāth Brāhmiṇ wrote upto 114 folios and the rest were written by Dviija Kavirāj.

MAHĀRĀJĀ MAHĪNDRA NĀRĀYANA

(1604 Saka to 1615 Śaka ; 1682 A.D. to 1693 A. D.)

DVIJA RĀM :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Mahīndranārāyana. He translated the Viṣma Parbba⁴ of Mahābhārata.

COLOPHON :—

Madhura Bhārata pad śune sabe savāsad

Āpader tāraṇa tāriṇi.

Nigadati Dviija Rām akapate bolā Rām

Cintā kara citte Cintāmaṇi.

3. Manuscript lies in the possession of Kochbihār Sāhitya Savā.

4. Manuscript lies in the possession of Kochbihār State Library.

(the courtiers used to listen the sweet padas of Mahābhārata, it will remove all the evils, the poet Dvija Rām is speaking, that you all recite the name of Rāma sincerely and think about God).

Outside Kāmatā during the seventeenth century, the following poets translated some portions of Mahābhārata :—

(i) Kāśīrām Dās (ii) Nandarām (iii) Nityānanda Ghoṣ (iv) Kṛṣṇānanda Basu (v) Rāmnārāyana Dutta (vi) Anant Miśra (vii) Dvija Haridās (viii) Ghanashyām Dās (ix) Dvija Premānanda (x) Dvija Abhirām (xi) Kṛṣṇarām Dās.

Amongst the poets mentioned above, Kāśīrām Dās holds an unique position in the history of the Bengali literature. He was a poet of great repute. He could not complete the translation of entire Mahābhārata. Nandarām a relation of his, wrote some portions of the same. Kāśīrām did not follow the original Mahābhārata faithfully, still his translation is of high merit. Although we do not find in Kāśīrām's writings, the heroic spirit and the epic grandeur, still, in simplicity, sweetness and fluency, in a lucid narration and in inexhaustible flow of verse, Kāśīrām remains unsurpassed and unequalled in Bengali literature.

NITYĀNANDA GHOṢ translated the Savā Parbba, Viṣṇa Parbba, Śailya Parbba and Nārī Parbba.

KṚṢṆĀNANDA BASU, translated the Śāntī Parbba and Svargārohaṇ Parbba.

RĀMNĀRĀYANA wrote the Droṇ Parbba of Mahābhārata.

Materially no differences are noticed in all these versions of the translations of the epic Mahābhārata.

(1705 Śaka to 1761 Śaka ; 1783 A.D, to 1839 A.D.)

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the reign of Māhārājā Harendranārāyana marks a chapter in the history of the Bengali literature of late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. He himself, was a poet of great repute and was a voluminous writer. Further, his court was shinning with a galaxy of poets, artists, scholars, historians. No Rāj-Darbār of the rest of Bengal and Assam can claim, that their courts were adored by so many jems. Only his predecessor Mahārājā Naranārāyana can claim this glory. Uptil now, no writer or compiler of the history of literature of Bengal, paid any heed to this effect. Mahārājā Harendra Nārāyana himself translated the following cantos of epīc Mahābhārata :—

Aiśik Parbba' Savā Parbba, Śailya Parbba, Śānti Parbba.

DATE OF COMPOSITION :—AIŚIK PARBBA :—

Iti Aiśik Parbba haila birām
 Jīva Sīva bala cala mahāmukṣhadhām
 Gela din haila hīṇ antare man
 Tathāca Śrī Haripada nā kaila smaran
 Āśvin māsat śuklā dvādaśī dinat
 Prahar madhyat Śaśī-suta bāsarat
 Pustak samāpta cāru kusum kānane
 Sarobar tīre mallaśālā suśobhane.

(here ends the Aiśik Parbba, O people, let us go to the celestial city, where one gets salvation, the days are passing away and the longivity of man is decaying, still you are not thinking Śrī Hari. The text ends in the month of Āśvin on the twelfth day of moon and it was completed in the Royal House, situated on the bank of a pond).

COLOPHON : HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Bhāṣābandhe prabandhe karila biracan
Mukti hetu Śrīla Śrī Harendranārāyana.

(for his own salvation, Harendra nārāyana wrote this).

DVIJA RAGHURĀM :—He was the court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He translated the following cantos of Mahābhārata :—Viṣṇa Parbba¹ some pages of Bana Parbba² and Ādi Parbba³, Śānti Parbba.⁴

COLOPHON :

Behār nagara pati Rāj Rājeśvar
Śrī Harendranārāyana nām guṇākar
Dviya Raghurām tār ājñā anukrame
Biracila pad Viṣṇa Parbba pariśrame.

(Harendranārāyana is the king of Behār, he is a talented one, at his order Dviya Raghurām wrote the Viṣṇa Parbba).

DATE OF COMPOSITION OF ŚĀNTI PARBBA :—

Behār nagar Kāmarūpa madhye sār
Śrī Harendranārāyana bhupati tāhār.
Śivabaṃśe jāta mahimandal Iśvar
Tār nija deśabāsi Raghurām nām
Dviya jār nivās Maynaguṇi grām
Ārambhīla Bhārater Śānti parbba pad
Rājār nideś rājdharmma savāsad
Gaja gagan hutās śāsamite
Biśva Śiṃha uṛpateh Śakābde
Śrī Harendrānṛpateranuggāyā
Kṛtamidam Raghu Śarmaṇa mayā.

Harendranārāyana's Aiśik Parbba vide Kochbihār state manuscript No. 73, Sava Parbba manuscript No. 76. And Saily Parbba mss No. 80.

1. Kochbihār Sāhitya Savā Mss No. 05, 79.
2. Kochbihār State Library Mss. No. 99.
3. Kochbihār State Library Mss No. 66.
4. Kochbihār State Library manuscript No. 83.

(In Kāmarūpa, the Bihār city is the best, Śrī Harendranārāyana is the king of that city ; he hailed from Śiva baṃśa and is the descendant of Viśva Siṃha ; he is a powerful king, Raghurām is, his countryman and he is an inhabitant of the village Maynāguṛī, he began the writing of this text in 308 Rāj Śaka equivalent to 1739 Śakābdā ie in 1817 A.D.).

BRAJASUNDAR :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He translated some portions of Savā Parbba¹

LAKṢHMIRĀM :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He translated the Karṇa Parbba² of Mahābhārata

VAIDYANĀTH :—He was also a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He wrote the following cantos of Mahābhārata :—Muṣal Parbba³, Śānti Parbba⁴ and some portions of Bana Parbba.

Śānti Parbba was composed in 1734 Śāka :—
“Ved baṃhi ṛṣi bidhu parimiti śāke”

RUDRADEVA :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Harendtanārāyana. He translated the Adī Parbba⁵ of Mahābhārata.

MAHINĀTH, a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana translated the Prasthānic parbba⁶ of Mahābhārata. He also translated some portions of Bana Parbba.⁷

MANOHAR DĀS, the court of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana wrote the Karṇa Parbba⁷ of Mahābhārata.

1. Manuscript No. 76 Kochbihār state Library.
2. do 79 do
3. do 71 do
4. do 96 do
5. Manuscript No. 92 Kochbihār, state Library
6. do 70 do
7. do 99 do.

BALARĀM, RĀMNĀTH, PARAMĀNANDA. RAGHU-RĀM and MĀDHAVĀNANDA the court poets of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana combinedly translated the Bana Parbba of Mahābhārata.

“Ādeś Pāiyā pūrbe sehi narapatir
 Rājsavāsad pañca vipra mahādhīr
 Balarām Rāmnāth ār Raghurām
 Apar Paramānanda dvija guṇadhām
 Pāndit Mādhavānanda ei pañcajan
 Pañca kānda Bana parbba kariche racan.
 Bipade pariyā dvijagaṇ guṇadhām
 Samuday pad nāhi pāre karibār
 Sehi abāśeṣe pad Karite nṛpati
 More ādeśīla āmi alpamati.
 Bhupāler kāryya ār bipader bhay
 Tathāpi Bhabānī pad kariyā āśray
 Kariche sāhas pad karite racan.
 Nṛper alaṅgha ājjnā kariyā pālan
 Bhūparūpi bhaba yadi kṛpā mukta hay
 Nā habe bipad nā rahibe daiṇya bhay.
 Dvija Mahīnāth ehi āśā kariyā mane
 Svadeś bhāṣāy Bhārater pad bhaṇe.

(after receiving the order of the king, Balarām, Rāmnātha, Raghurām, Paramānanda and Mādhavānanda, these five poets began to compose this text and they composed the five chapters of Bana Parbba, but facing some difficulties, those five poets became unable to complete the text, at that moment Mahīnāth was ordered by the king to complete the text, at the order of the king and adoring the feet of Bhabānī, the poet Mahīnāth ventured to complete the text, if the poet can complete the text, he will be rewarded by the king, thinking likewise he began to write the text in his own language).

The poet Mahīnāth also translated the Aśvamedh Parbba :—

DATE OF COMPOSITION :—

Juga sar nag bhabaleś parimita
 Śāke sehi Surapati sama subinita
 Mahārāj āmāk karila nidesān
 Aśvamedh Prabba racite padagaṇ.

(In 1754 Śaks, the king asked me to write Aśvamedh Parbba).

DVIJA KĪRTTI CANDRA :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He translated the Āśramic Parbba of Mahābhārata.

DATE OF COMPOSITION :—

Ved bāṇ ṛṣi śāśi śāker Jaiṣṭhate
 Āranbha haiyāche pad bhuper āgete.
 Ṣaṛa bhūta naga mahī śāker Jaiṣṭhate
 Haila samāpta pad gurur kripāte.

(the text was began in 1754 Śaka and was completed in 1755 Śaka).

JAYDEVA a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana composed some portions of Savā Parbba.

DVIJA RĀMNANDAN :—A court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana compoeed the Śaily Parbba.

In the eighteenth century in the rest of Bengal the following poets translated the epic Mahābhārat :—

Aśvamedh Parbba by Candidās Datta.
 Ādi Parbba by Rājendra Nāth Dās.
 Aśvamedh Parbba and Ādi Parbba by Gaṅgādās Sen.
 Svargārohaṇ Parbba by Ṣaṣṭhibar.
 Ādi Parbba by Rāmeśvar Nandī.
 Nārī Parbba by Rāmlocan.

The contents of the texts of rest of Bengal in comparision with that of Kāmatā texts are, more or less the same.

EPIC RĀMĀYAṆA
(NARANĀRĀYANA)

ŚĀṆKARDEVA, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Kāmatāpur and the court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana, translated the UTTARĀKĀṆDA of Rāmāyaṇa.

ANANTAKANDALĪ, a court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana wrote ŚRIRĀM KIRTTANA, Ananta Kandali narrated the story of Rāmāyaṇa in Kirttana form.

KALĀPA CANDRA DVIJA, the court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana wrote ahe RĀMĀYAṆA CANDRIKĀ. It is also written in Kirttana form.

MAHĀRĀJĀ HARENDRANĀRĀYANA

No poet translated Rāmāyana in the Koch-rāj-darbār in between Mahārājā Naranārāyana and Harendranārāyana.

HARENDRANĀRYANA himself wrote the SUNDARĀ KĀṆDA¹ of Rāmāyaṇa.

DVIJA RAGHURĀM, DEVINANDAN, ŚRINĀTH DVIJA the three court poets of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana combinedly translated the KIṢKINDHYĀ KĀṆDA of Rāmāyaṇa.

DVIJA RAGHURĀM SĀRADĀNANA and SATĀNĀDA the three court poets of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana, composed combinedly the UTTARĀ KĀṆDA of Rāmāyaṇa.

1. Edited by S. C. Ghoṣāl and published by the Kochbihār Sāhitya savā.

COLOPHON :—

Śrī Harendranārāyana nṛpa pritikām
Pada chande bhāṣā biracīla Raghurām.

(to appease the king Harendranārāyana, Raghurām wrote this, in verse).

Yāhār ādeś pāi śes Rāmāyaṇa.
Bhaṇay Sāradānanda bada Nārāyaṇa,

(Poet Sāradānanda wrote the last canto of Rāmāyaṇa recite the name of Nārāyaṇa).

DVIJA RAGHURĀM also composed the AJODHYĀ-KĀNDA of Rāmāyaṇa.

BRAJASUNDAR, the court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyaṇa wrote the LAŅKĀ KĀNDA.

DVIJA RUDRADEVA, the court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana wrote the Araṇyakānda of Rāmāyaṇa.

RAGHUNANDAN a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyaṇa wrote RĀMRASĀYANA.

KṚTTIBĀS, the great poet of Rāmāyaṇa flourished in the fifteenth century. Kṛttibās did not made the faithful translation of the sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa. His narration is fluent and easy and often sparkles with richest humour. The simplicity of Kṛttibāsa's style and the great circulation of his work among the lower as well as upper classes, has led to the frequent tampering of his text by successive editors, no other pāñcālī kābya appealed to the general mass, centuries after centuries as did the pāñcālī of Kṛttibās. In this respect Kṛttibās is unparallel. In the sixteenth century only Mādhav Kandalī and Śaṅkardeva got some prominence. Mādhav Kandalī wrote the six cantos of Rāmāyaṇa and Śaṅkardeva by writing the Uttarākānda completed the versions. The writings of these poets got prominence in a limited area.

A few versions of Bengali Rāmāyaṇa were written in the seventeenth century and eighteenth century outside Kāmatā. And those versions were not at all popular like Kṛttibās or Śaṅkardeva or Mādhav Kandalī. A big numbers of poets in the court of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana wrote, several cantos of Rāmāyaṇa. But all these versions got no publicity and the fame of these poets was eclipsed by the fame of Kṛttibās.

MAṄGAL KĀBYA (BHABĀNI MAṄGAL)

DVIJA RĀMNĀRĀYANA :—He was the poet of Bhabānī maṅgal. Whether he was a court poet of any Kāmatā kings, it cannot be stated for want of proof. The poet also never told that he was a court poet of Kāmatā-rāj-darbār. But as his language has got closer affinity with that of the Kāmatā poets, so we can assume that the poet of Bhabānīmaṅgal must have flourished during the regime of Kāmatā Kings.

The puthi deals with the episode of King Suratha o Moon Dynasty and narrated the story how the Goddess Durgā herself killed the demon Madhukaitava and Mahiṣāsūr. The most noticing factor of this text, is this, that the poet never dealt with any folk-episode in his book, like other poets of Maṅgal Kābyas. For this reason, this book holds an unique position in the history of the Maṅgal Kābyas ¹

Colophon :—

Bhabānī maṅgal gāy Rāmnārāyana.

o o o o

Rāmnārāyana bole bandiyā Bhabānī.

Kahiba Ambikā gīt apūrba kāhinī

1. Edited and printed by Sri A. K. Chakravartti., M.A. Dhubri. Two copies of manuscripts lies in his possession.

(Rāmnārāyana by adoring the Goddess Bhābāni, is saying the beautiful story).

Aliteration is also praiseworthy :—

Pracañda Caṇḍika Caṇḍamunda bināśiṇī
Bhabānī Bhairabī bhaba bhaya nipatīnī.

Form the linguistic standpoint of view, we can presume, that poet flourished in the later part of the seventeenth century.

Outside Kāmātā Gaṅgānārāyana Mukhuti wrote, Bhabānīmaṅgal. Gaṅgānārāyana was a man of Hātikāndā in the district of Birbhum. His version totally differs from that of Rāmnārāyana.

CANḌĪ MAṄGAL (MĀRKAṆḌEO CAṆḌĪ)

MAHINĀTH, the court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyan also adored the court of Mahārājā Śivendranārāyana. The poet made a free translation of Sanskrit Mārkaṇḍeo Caṇḍī.

Colophon :—

Śrīla Śrī Śivendranārāyana narasvāmī
Tār guṇ ek mukhe ki kahiba āmi.
Ye Mahārāj haiyā kṛpā ṇidesīta
Akāṅkhā kariyā mane karuṇā kiñcita.
Mahīnāth Sarmā biracila ei pad
Śiva Śiva Śiva bala sādhu savāsad,¹

(what I will speak about the good qualities of Mahārājā Śibendranārāyana, I wrote this text at the kind order of the king and I expect some sort of kindness from him, O, saint courtiers, speak Śiva, Śiva).

MĀDHV CANDRA :—He wrote the CAṆḌĪKĀR BRATA KATHĀ²

1. Mss No. 14 Kochbihār State Library.

2. Mss No. 29 do

Outside kāmātā, in the sixteenth century, the following poets of Caṇḍīmaṅgal flourished :—

(i) Māṅik Datta, (ii) Mādhava Ācārjya, (iii) Mukundarām Chakravartti.

And in the seventeenth century the following poets of Caṇḍīmaṅgal flourished :—

(i) Kamal locan (ii) Dvija Harirām (iii) Dvija Janārdan.

Out of the three poets of Caṇḍīmaṅgal of the sixteenth century, Mukundarām was the greatest poet. His narration is interesting. He left us some account of himself and of his time. The most remarkable feature of Mukundarāma's writing, is this, that it has got intense realistic value. Many of the incidents are supernatural and miraculous, but the thoughts and feelings and saying of his men and women are perfectly natural.³ recorded with a fidelity which has no parallel.

The characters of Mukundarām too are not princess and princesses, but men and women with ordinary ranks of life. All pictures he has drawn from life, Kālketu is a

3. Śiva after marrying Parvātī remained in her father-in-laws house. The burden of daughter, son-in-law, became unbearable to Menakā, the mother-in-law of Śiva. One day she told to Pārvatī :—“Michā kaje phere svāmi nāhi cāṣbās : Anna bastra katek yogāiba bāro māś”.

(Your husband is roaming uselessly and he does not engage himself in the work of cultivation, how long I will arrange his food and clothings). Pārvatī replied like a Bengali woman :—Jāmātāre bāp mor dila bhūmi dān : Tathi phale masur kāpās dhān : Rāndhye bārye deo balye kata deo khōtā :

Taba ghare āsite duāre dio kātā
Maināk Tanayā laiṅā sukhe kara ghar
Kata bā sahiba nindā yāba deśāntar.

(My father, gave to his son-in-law enough land, there grows paddy and other corns, you prepare the food yourself and so you are rebuking me, I will leave this place and you remain with the son of Maināka).

boorish, strong, brave and simple minded hunter. Phullarā a poor dutiful wife ; Murārī Sil a pretending imposter, Dhanapati an easy-going elderly well-to-do trader ; Lahanā and Khullanā are rival wives and Durbalā is a scheming old maid servant with all her mischievousness. No poet of Caṇḍīmaṅgal of Kāmatā can be compared with Mukundarām in this respect.

TRANSLATION OF THE VARIOUS PURĀNAS

MAHĀRĀJĀ VIŚVA SIMHA.

PITĀMBARA a court poet of Mahārājā Viśva Siṃha, translated the tenth canto of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa at the request of Kumār Samar Siṃha, a son of Mahārājā Viśva Siṃha :—

Kumār Samar Siṃha ājñā paramāne
Haridās śikhā-kavi Pitāmbare bhāṇe.

PITĀMBARĀ also translated the MĀRKAṆDEO PURĀṆA.

Date of composition :—

Pakṣha bāṇ Ved ār Śaśāṅka śakat
Ārambha karilo Mārkaṇdeo kathā yata.

(The poet began to write in 1452 Śaka equivalent to 1530—31 A. D.).

SĀRBBABHAUMA BHATTĀCHARJEE a court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana translated the BHABIṢYA PURĀṆA.

KALĀP CANDRA DVIJA, a court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyāṇa translated the fourth canto and sixth canto of Bhāgavatapurāṇa.

नदिशाम्भानः । चरनमोक्षनीयमेवमपमान । नादिनमुत्तरविक्रमनाश्रितः । आननारममभयानरुदयथागतः । दिने
 वेरुयथाप्राप्तमालागतः । अन्तराश्रयकेतुद्विआश्रयविकारः । अनापीर्यद्विभक्तविकारानः । विनकरिहृदयनिर्घमसमान
 आदिशिविपिदिआननरमासादः । आश्रित्यमभयानरुदयथागतः । अनापीर्यद्विभक्तविकारानः । विनकरिहृदयनिर्घमसमान
 नदिशाम्भानः । चरनमोक्षनीयमेवमपमान । नादिनमुत्तरविक्रमनाश्रितः । आननारममभयानरुदयथागतः । दिने
 वेरुयथाप्राप्तमालागतः । अन्तराश्रयकेतुद्विआश्रयविकारः । अनापीर्यद्विभक्तविकारानः । विनकरिहृदयनिर्घमसमान
 आदिशिविपिदिआननरमासादः । आश्रित्यमभयानरुदयथागतः । अनापीर्यद्विभक्तविकारानः । विनकरिहृदयनिर्घमसमान

A page from the manuscript of Aṣṭādaś Parbba of Bhāgavat Gītā by Govinda Misra (Coloured mss.)

Date of composition :—

Iti Śrī Nārādīya purāṇe Gaṅgā māhātme puṇyā
saṃhitā samāptaḥ : Śāke 1723 : Javan nṛpate Śakābdā
1208, Ratnapīṭhasya nṛpate śakābdā 292¹

MAHĀRĀJĀ HARENDRANĀRĀYANA

(1783 A. D. to 1839 A. D.)

Mahārājā Harendranārāyana himself wrote the
BRAHMATTAR KHANDA of SKANDA PURĀṆA.²

MAHĀRĀJĀ HARENDRANĀRĀYANA and with
two other court poets viz, RIPUÑJAY and RAGHURĀM
have translated the KRIYĀYOGOSĀR (PADMA
PURĀṆA).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA himself translated the
UTTARĀKHĀNDA of BRIHAT DHARMA
PURĀṆA.³

RIPUÑJAY, the court poet of Mahārājā Hendra-
nārāyan translated the BRAHMABAIBARTA
PURĀṆA.⁴

BRAJASUNDAR and RĀMNANDAN the two court
poets of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana translated the
NṚSIMHA PURĀṆA.⁵

Date of composition :—

Muṇi baṇhi śāila śāśī śake suśobhaṇ
Śrī Nṛsiṃha purāner kathā manoram.

(the text was composed in 1737 Śakābdā equivalent to
1815 A. D.).

1.	Manuscript No.	28	Kochbihār State Library.
2.	do	23	do.
3.	do	22	do.
4.	do	12	do.
5.	do	7	do.

BAIDYANĀTH a court poet of Mahārājā Harendra nārāyana translated the BRAHMA BAIBARTA PURĀNA.

RĀMNANDAN a court poet of Mahārājā Harendra nārāyana translated the DHARMMA PURĀNA. The text was composed in 1719 Śakābda :—

“Graha-bidhuṣiraśī Śāker kālat”

Colphon :—

Dharmma purāner pad ati suśobhan
Yathā śakti biracila Śai Rāmnandan.

(the verses of DHARMMA PURĀNA is good and Śrī Rāmnandan wrote in verse).⁶

MĀDHAVA a court poet of Mahārājā Harendra nārāyana translated the VIṢṆU PURĀNA.⁷

SĀRADĀNANDA the court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana translated the Kāśī-khanda of Brahmabaibarta Purāna.⁸

DVIJA JAGANNĀTH a court poet of Mahārājā Harendra Nārāyana translated some portions of Bhāgavata.

MANIRĀM DĀS a court poet of Mahārājā Harendra nārāyana translated the GARURA PUĀNA.⁹

DHARMMESVAR a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana translated the Mārkaṇdeo Purāna.

Date of composition :—

Śāk sindhu maṇidhar bidhu parimāṇe
Samāpan haila puthi birām likhane.

In other parts of Bengal, similar classes of texts were composed by several poets. Virtually, no differences are noticed in the subject matter of the texts.

6. Manuscript No. 57 Kochbihār State Library.

7. do 21 do.

8. do 25 do.

9. Manuscript No. 3 Kochbihār State Library Also vide PARICĀRIKĀ 2nd year 4th issue 1324 B. S.

DVIJA VAIDYANĀTH a court poet of Mahārāja Śibendra Nārāyana translated the Śiva Purāna.¹ This is the only text about the Śaiva cult found in Kāmata-Rāj-Darbār.

SONGS

MAHĀRAJĀ PRĀṆNĀRĀYANA :—He was an erudite scholar. He was well versed in grammer and music. He composed many songs. But now-a-days no trace of the manuscript or a copy of the same is available. A copy was preserved in the Kochbihār State Mahāfejkhānā, but subsequently along with many other valuable documents it was burnt in a great incendiary. A court poet, Śrīnāth Brāhmiṇ by name, spoke about Mahārāja Prāṇnārāyana :—

“Kabitā amṛta bṛṣṭi kare anukṣhaṇ
Sakal Kālay alaṅkṛta bicakṣhaṇ.”

MAHĀRAJĀ HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

SONGS³ :—This is a printed book in the preface of the printed edition, we find that list of 178 songs, but from the 10th to 15th songs are missing. And out of 172 songs, we find the colophon of one Durgā prasād in the following numbers :—66, 164, 169.

The songs composed by Mahārāja Harendranārāyana may be classified as follows :—

(a)	ĀGOMANI	13.
(b)	DURGĀSTAB	3.
(c)	ŚIVASTUTI	2.

1. Manuscript No. 54 Kochbihār State Library.

2. Vide Ādi Parbba of Mahābhārata written by Śrīnāth Brāhmiṇ.

3. Edited and printed by S.C. Ghoṣāl and published by the Kochbihār Sāhitya Savā.

- (d) SARASVATI
BANDANA 2.
- (e) LAKṢHMĪ-
BANDANA 3.
- (f) KṚṢṢNA-KĀLI 1.
- (g) NĀRADA-
HIMĀLAY-SAMBĀD 1.
- (h) REST :—ŚYĀMĀ-
SĀNGĪT.

ĀGOMANĪ songs deal with the coming of GAURĪ-DEVĪ to her paternal house from her father-in-law's house. These songs appeal to all the Bengali mothers. These songs reveals the heart of mothers for their beloved daughters who are in their father-in-law's house :—

Byākulita hiyā nāthe sambodiyā
kahiche kāndiyā Nagendra rāṇī
Ājir svapane deikhyāchi nayāne
āmār bhabane āila Bhabānī.

(wife of Himālay, is speaking to her husband, that to-day she dreamt, that Bhabānī has come to her house).

CF "Umā āmār asechila.....RĀMPRASĀD.

Amāra jāmātā bihiṇa mamatā
Sarbatra samatā dekhen tini
Āhār tāhār curṇa dhuturār
siddhi ghotā ār nagamaṇi.

(My son-in-law has got no mercy, he looks everybody in the same eye, and takes stramonium and hemp).

In Durgāstab. Śivastuti, Sarasvatībandana and Lakṣhmī bandana, the poet adored the Goddess Durgā, Sarasvatī and Lakṣhmī and the God Śiva.

Harendranārāyana's SYĀMĀ-SĀNGĪT is of high repute. It has got a great philosophical value and also got its asthetic beauty :—

Āmār yata dharmma yata karmma yata abhiprāy
 Tomār caraṇe samarpan samudāy.
 Tomār nām laiṃyā āmāre ye prāṇ yāy
 Tabe ki karibe Veda Śāstre Gāya ār Gaṅgāy.
 Śuna re man barbar ihāi bhāla kar deṛ
 Tabe ki nā habe kahe Śrī Harendra Rāy.

(I have submitted all my wish, work, religion, and desire to your feet, if I die taking your name, what can do Vedas, Gaṅgā and Gayā ; O my mind, do this with a strong conviction, eveything will be settle, Śrī Harendra Rāy is saying),

O man kāl yakhan jijñāsibe takhan tāre ki balibe
 Kaha tār ki karttabya Kāl āila sannidhāne
 O man kām ādi chay jane yāre bandhu mānya māne
 Tār mata abirata ācara āpane.

(O mind, when the end will come, what you will say to him, O mind you are thinking, that the six senses are your best friends and you are working at their sweet will).
Song No. 134.

As a poet of Syāmā-saṅgīt, Harendranārāyana may be compared with Rāmprasād, the Śākta Kavi of rest of Bengali.

HAREṆDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Āmār yata dharmma yata karmma yata abhiprāy
 Tomār caraṇe samarppan samudāy.
 Tomār nām laiṃyā yadi āmār e ye prāṇ yāy
 Tabe ki karibe Veda Śāstre Gayā ār Gaṅgāy.

May be compared with that of RĀMPRASĀD :—

Ār kāj ki āmār kāśī
 Māyer padatale pare āche
 Gayā Gaṅgā Bārāṇasī.

(What is the use of Kāśī ? Gaya, Gaṅgā and Bārānasi are lying at the feet of the mother).

- (d) SARASVATI
BANDANA 2.
- (e) LAKṢHMĪ-
BANDANA 3.
- (f) KṚṢṆA-KĀLI 1.
- (g) NĀRADA-
HIMĀLAY-SAMBĀD 1.
- (h) REST :—ŚYĀMĀ-
SAṄGIT.

ĀGOMANĪ songs deal with the coming of GAURĪ-DEVĪ to her paternal house from her father-in-law's house. These songs appeal to all the Bengali mothers. These songs reveals the heart of mothers for their beloved daughters who are in their father-in-law's house :—

Byākulita hiyā nāthe sambodiyā
kahiche kāndiyā Nagendra rāṇī
Ājir svapane deikhyāchi nayāne
āmār bhabane āila Bhabānī.

(wife of Himālay, is speaking to her husband, that to-day she dreamt, that Bhabānī has come to her house).

CF "Umā āmār asechila.....RĀMPRASĀD.

Amāra jāmātā bihiṇa mamatā
Sarbatra samatā dekhen tini
Āhār tāhār curṇa dhuturār
siddhi ghotā ār nagamaṇī.

(My son-in-law has got no mercy, he looks everybody in the same eye, and takes stramonium and hemp).

In Durgāstab. Śivastuti, Sarasvatībandana and Lakṣhmī bandana, the poet adored the Goddess Durgā, Sarasvatī and Lakṣhmī and the God Śiva.

Harendranārāyana's SYĀMĀ-SAṄGIT is of high repute. It has got a great philosophical value and also got its asthetic beauty :—

Āmār yata dharmma yata karmma yata abhiprāy
 Tomār caraṇe samarpan samudāy.
 Tomār nām laiṃyā āmāre ye prāṇ yāy
 Tabe ki karibe Veda Śāstre Gāya ār Gaṅgāy.
 Śuna re man barbar ihāi bhāla kar deṛ
 Tabe ki nā habe kahe Śrī Harendra Rāy.

(I have submitted all my wish, work, religion, and desire to your feet, if I die taking your name, what can do Vedas, Gaṅgā and Gayā ; O my mind, do this with a strong conviction, eveything will be settle, Śrī Harendra Rāy is saying),

O man kāl yakhan jijñāsibe takhan tāre ki balibe
 Kaha tār ki karttabya Kāl āila sannidhāne
 O man kām ādi chay jane yāre bandhu mānya māne
 Tār mata abirata ācara āpane.

(O mind, when the end will come, what you will say to him, O mind you are thinking, that the six senses are your best friends and you are working at their sweet will).
Song No. 134.

As a poet of Syāmā-saṅgīt, Harendranārāyana may be compared with Rāmprasād, the Śākta Kavi of rest of Bengali.

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Āmār yata dharmma yata karmma yata abhiprāy
 Tomār caraṇe samarppan samudāy.
 Tomār nām laiṃyā yadi āmār e ye prāṇ yāy
 Tabe ki karibe Veda Śāstre Gayā ār Gaṅgāy.

May be compared with that of RĀMPRASĀD :—

Ār kāj ki āmār kāśī
 Māyer padatale pare āche
 Gayā Gaṅgā Bārāṇasī.

(What is the use of Kāśī ? Gaya, Gaṅgā and Bārānasi are lying at the feet of the mother).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Miche bhābnā kene asār bhābanā
Yadi bhabe habe pār nitānta antare bhāba Karāla-
badanā.

(Why should we think what is fruitless, if we want to cross the world ie if we want salvation, we should think in our mind, about KARĀLA-BADANĀ ie Goddess Kāli).

RĀMPRASĀD :—

Bhābna mā Kāli bhābnā kibā
(What is the necessity of thinking, O, mother Kāli).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Ebār Tārā bailyā sārā hao rākhyā ghoṣaṇā
Ebār eman habenā,
edin rabenā

Acire pañcatta pābe

Saman kāche dekhicha nā.

(Leaving aside all other things, meditate the name of Tārā, this day will remain no longer and one day you will die, death is at hand, are you not seeing this ?)

RĀMPRASĀD :—

Man jānanā ki ghatbe lethā

Yakhan urddja bāhu ruddha kare pather

Āmi din thākite upāy bali diner sudin yata
tomār dibe kata

Ore Śyāmā māyer Śrī caraṇe mane mane haore rata.

(O mind, you do not know what will give you trouble ? When the uplifted hand by fastening, give you odstruction, I am giving you good advice recite the name of Syāmā mother).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Cal man muktidhāme mokṣakāme

Ihā āmār loāiteche ātmārāme

Jiver ki āche kathā O man maraṇ maṅgal yathā

Ornā man cal tathā Kāli bailyā Kālidhāme.

(O mind, let us go to that world, where we will get salvation, my mind is dragging there, what about living ? Death is good, O flickering mind let us go to Kālidhām).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Ebār laite habe Tārā āmār pāper bhārā
Tumi ādyā śakti bhakti-mukti-pradā bhayahārā.

(O Tārā, this time You shall have to take the burden of my evil, You are the root of all, You are the main source of power, You are the reliever of all the fears and You are the giver of salvation).

Calre mau Kāli bailye subātase bādam tulye
Parile tuphāne tari taire yābe abahele.

(O mind row, reciting the name of Kāli by hanging the the sail in the fovourable wind, if your boat faces storm, surely it will cross the same).

RĀMPRASĀD :—

Tārā nāme pāl khātāe tvarāy tari cal beye

(hanging the sail in the name of “TĀRĀ” by rowing the boat let us hastily go).

Tumi bhāla bāsa bā nā bāsa ehi durātmāy
Āmi bhālabāsi yena sadākāl mā tomāy.

(Whether you love or donot love this devil but I will love you always).

CF. Nidhu Bābu :—

Bhālbāsibe bale bhāla bāsine
Āmār svabhāb ei tomā bine ār jānīne.

(I donot love, so that you will love me, but my habit is that, I donot know anybody except you).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Mā haiyā niṣṭhur eta kata duṣkha dica ār
Kuputra saṁsāre hay kumātā kothāy kār,

(being the mother, you are so unkind, that you are giving me various troubles, bad son may be seen in this world but where is bad mother available ?)

RĀMPRASĀD :—

Mā hoā ki mukher kathā

• Kebal prasab kare hay nā mātā

Yadi nā bujhe santāner byāthā.

(to become a mother is not a trifling thing, by only giving birth to a child is not the mother-hood, unless she feels for the child).

Harendranārāyana was a poet of great repute. He wrote Syāmā saṅgīt, he translated some portions of epic Rāmāyana and translated some portions of Purāṇas. He was also a follower of the Goddess Kāli. As he was a Mahārājā, he was rich enough, and was careful about him and his subjects. On the otherhand Rāmprasād was very poor. And he was out and out devotee of the Goddess Kāli. In his life acts no less than in his songs, the poet predominated over the man. He was careless of this world and lived in his faith in Kāli. Kāli is the ideal of a Hindu mother, tender and loving beyond expression. ministering to every want and helpful in every difficulty. In her illimitable love, she must put up even with the reproaches of her wayward sons and the songs to Kāli are oftener complaints of her cruelty than thanks givings for her mercy.

The great charm of the poetry of Rāmprasād, is that the words and the similies are so simple and so homely that it touches the heart of one and all. But the writings of Harendranārāyana are not so homely and simple. His songs are the songs written by a great paṇḍit.

Rāmprasād quarelled with his mother, Goddess Kāli and rebuked her from his core of heart in most homely and simple words, whereas Harendranārāyana did so in some artificial and polished manner :—

RĀMPRASAD :—

Āmāy dāo mā tabildāri
Āmi nemakhārām nai Śaūkari.

(O mother, give me you purse, I am not ingratitude).

Āmi kṣhepār khās tāluker prajā
Oiye Kṣhemaūkari āmār rājā.

(I am a subject of Kṣhepā ie the Goddess Kālī and the Goddess Kālī is my King).

Kālī go kene neṃtā phira
Chi Chi kichu lājya nāi mā tomār.

(O goddess Kālī, why do you roam naked, don't You feel shame ?).

HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—

Kālī ki sāmānya meyā
Kālī bhulāile Mahesē muhinī haiyā.

(Kālī is not an ordinary woman, she charmed Mahes by her beauty).

Karuṇāmayī kara kṛpā dīnahiṇe
Ke tāre edener tumi Tārā biṇe

Bibek bihin man pāpe mati anukṣhaṇ
Ajñānamohita citta bijñānbihine.

Ṣararpu baś haiyā nij karmaphal laiya
Śrī Harendra kahe dubitechī dine dine.

(O kindhearted, be merciful towards this wretched without you, who will protect and help me, I am devoid of sense, and absorbed in vices for want of education, becoming the slave of the six senses and getting much troubles, Śrī Harendranārāyana is saying this).

Muktakesī śasī bhāle nara śiramālā gale
Prāṇ kāpe nirakhile grās kare karibare

(I have never seen, such a dreadful woman, while she moves, the earth trembles, that lady is dreadful and is

like "KĀLA," her hairs are loose, moon in the forehead, wears a necklace made of heads of men, if we see, we tremble, she devours the elephant).⁴

Mahārājā Śibendranārāyana was a poet. He also wrote Syāmā saṅgīta :—

Nīla nīrada baraṇi go Śyāmā Haramanamohini
 Kāli Kapālini Kapāla bhāle aparūpamaṇi.
 Kāli bailā dākare rasanā
 Alas kaira nā yadi bhāba habe pā
 Nānā duṣkhe din gela pāpe tanu sār haila
 Bhābitechiki habe ebār mā.
 Śrī Harendra sute kay kāli padatale āśray
 Laore man bhāb ki āmār.

(ador the Goddess Kāli, don't neglect, days have passed away uselessly and the body became full of sins, the poet is thinking, O, mother, what will be the consequence. Son of Harendra is saying, take shelter at the feet of Kāli and give up thinking.)

LIFE SKETCHES

GURU CARIT :—⁵ BHUṢAṆ DVIJA :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana, Bhūṣaṇ Dvija's Guru was Śaṅkardeva. From this book we get a brief history of the period, in which the poet was present, also he gave an ancestral history of Śaṅkardeva.

GURU LILĀ :—RĀM RĀY :—Rām Rāy alias Jagatānanda was the cousin of Śaṅkardeva. He had a daughter Bhubaneśvari by name, Sukladdhaja, the brother of Mahārājā, Naranārāyana, married Bhubaneśvari

4. Mahārājā Harendranārāyan graṇṭhābalī Ist part, edited by S. C. Ghoṣāl and published by the Kochbihār Sāhitya Savā.

5. Edited and published by Durgādhar Barkatakī.

forcibly. But later on, to appease the wrath of Rām Rāy, Sukladdhaja established a monastery under the name and style of "Rāmraṅgerkuṭhi" or Chatrachāl. This Rām Rāy was a devotee of Dāmodardeva. Rām Rāy wrote the life sketch of his great master Dāmodardeva under the name and style of GURU LILĀ.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

VIŚVA SIMHA CARITAM : ŚRINĀTH BRĀHMIṆ :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Prāṇnārāyana. This text was written in Sanskrit. The complete text is not available. In this book, we find a short history of the period and of the ruling house of Kāmatā.

RĀJKHANDA : KAVIRĀTNA :—He was also a court poet of Mahārājā Prāṇnārāyana. We get the reference of this text in many other manuscripts but the original manuscript or a copy of the same is not available now.

RĀJBAMŚĀVALI : RIPUṆJAY :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana and Mahārājā Śibendranārāyana. The poet wrote this text at the order of the queen of Śibendranārāyana. This text was written in prose. The text describes the geneology of the ruling house of Kāmatā. The treatment is more mythological than historical, and the origin of the ruling house is traced from Bhagavān Brahma :—

"Ādyā Sanātaniṁ Brahmamāi Rādhārūpā Lakṣmīrūpā Bākrūpā Sāvitrīrūpā tāhār pādapadme praṇām kari bhabasamudragambīrtarantarānirūpa Vipra pādapadme praṇata pūrbbak bali Śrī Śrī Kāmeśvarī Kamateśvariti nāme Śibendra ṛṣṭpabanitā mahāmantri sthāne jijñāsā kariyāche ye āmār śvaśur baṁṣer ādi anta tārā sakaler baṁśasya kīrtti ki prakār tāhā bala emat ādeś kariyā Śrī Bhagabān Brahmā haite sūtra laiyā Mahārājā baṁśā o

tāhār baṃśasya sukṛti histārita rūp ye baliyāche tāhā padabande likhiba.”

The original Goddess Brahmayī is like that of Rādhā Sāvitrī and I adore the feet of that Goddess. I salute the Brāhmins who are like the sailor of a boat of this great world, Śrī Kāmeśvarī Devī, the queen of Mahārājā Śibendra asked me how she shall be able to know the geneology of her father-in-law's ancestors and how she shall be able to know what they did, hearing this, I begun the writing of this text and begun that the origin of this Rājbaṃśa was begun from Bhagabān Brahmā).

BEHĀRODANTA ¹: BṚNDEŚVARI :—The text was composed by Mahārāṇī Bṛndeśvarī, the wife of Mahārājā Śibendra Nārāyana.

The text deals with the geneology of the ruling house of Kochbihār. Also it gives a vivid picture of the court of Mahārājā Śibendranārāyana before and after his death.

Colophon :—

Śrī Śrī Bṛndeśvarī bale śun sarbbajanā
Ye prakāre nagarete doleka ghoṣaṇā.

(Śrī Bṛndeśvarī is speaking, hear you all, how the trumpet is given in the city).

RAJOPAKHYAN : MUNSI JAYNĀTH GHOṢ :—Jaynāth was a “copyist” in the court of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. He served, under Mahārājā Śibendranārāyana and Narendranārāyana. Jaynāth wrote the history of the ruling house at the order of Dewān Kāli Candra Lāhirī. The text was begun at the time of Harendranārāyana and it was completed at the time of Śibendra. Harendranārāyana read upto 18th chapter of PRATTAKṢHA KHANDA. Harendranārāyana was much pleased and gave rent-free five villages to Jaynath.

1. Edited by Nirupamā Devī and was published by the Kochbihār Sāhitya Śabha.

“subhalagne subhakṣhāṇe Śrī Śrī bhupatir vidyārbmbha haiyā ślokādi abhyās karā kāran Hari saṅkar Chakravarttī nijukta hailen. Kichu dibasāntar Pārsī Bāṅgālā śikshā nimitta bahubettā bahudarsī Nṛsiṃha Munsī nijukta hailen “PRATTAKṢHA KHANDA sixth Chapter. (In auspicious moment, Śrī Hariśaṅkar Chakravarttī was appointed to teach Harendranārāyana. After a few days, Nṛsiṃha Munsī who was well versed in different subjects was appointed to teach Bengali and Persian to Harendranārāyana).

SĀNGIT ŚĀNKAR :—JAGAT DURLABHA BIŚVĀS :—The text was composed at the order of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana. The text deals with the history of the ruling dynasty of Kochbihār and the special stress was given upon the history of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana and his regime.

HARA-BHAKTI-TARAṄGA : DURGĀDĀS :—The text was composed at the time of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana and it deals with the history of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana and his ancestors.

Two classes of historical literatures are available in Kāmatā-Koch-Rāj-Darbār. Out of two, one is life sketches of the great religious preceptors.

At the time of Caitanyadeva and after his demise a host of his followers wrote his life sketches. Even many devotees wrote their respective preceptors life. But as regards the historical literature, Koch-rāj.darbār deserves special mention. In the rest of Bengal we find only a few books like this viz, MAHARĀṢṬRA PURĀNA by GAṄGARAM, PRATĀP-CANDRA-LILĀ-RASA SĀNGIT by ANUP CANDRA, KĀNTANAMĀ by DEWĀN MĀNULLAH MANDAL. But in Kāmatā-Koch-Rāj-Darbār, we find lots of books dealing with the history of the Koch-rāj dynasty. In Eastern Kāmarūpa State, we find similar classes of literatures viz, DARRAṄG-RĀJ-BAMŚĀVALI, KHARGANĀRAYA-

NER-BAMŚĀVALI GANDHARVANĀRĀYANER
BAMŚĀBALI etc.

Even in GOSĀNI MAṄGAL, the poet RĀDHĀ KRṢṢNA KAVI, dealt with the history of the ruling dynasty of Kochbihār. Besides writing the ancestral history of the ruling dynasty, the poet gave many other historical events. According to this poet, the Moghuls invaded the city of Kāmatāpur and the Goddess Kāli was drowned in the tank of Kājalikurā by name. Mahārājā Prāṇnārāyana rescued the Goddess from the said tank and constructed a new temple in 1587 Śaka. It is written in the gateway of the temple :—

“Sammatya dvisadek jittvar bhūja daṇḍapratāparjyām
Eprā kanduka bega barddhita jasaḥ Śrī Prāṇ Bhumipateḥ
Śakābde naganāga mārganasita jyotirmmite nirmmitaḥ
Śrī Bhaja Kavimandalena bhabata bhabya Bhabānīmaṭhaḥ.

MISCELLANEOUS

MAHĀRĀJĀ NARANĀRĀYANA

KĀNKHOWĀ : ŚRIDHAR KANDALĪ :—The text is a cradle song sung by Yaśodā to lull her child Kṛṣṇa to sleep in the lap of his mother. She frightens the little child, with the story of demon, who, the song says, would eat the ear of a child if the child does not lie down and get into sleep. The song runs thus :—

“Ghumati yāore Kānāi huro kānkhowā āse
Sakala śīsur kān khāi phure āsai tomār pāse.”

(O Kānāi, lie down and sleep, ear-eater is coming, after eating the ears of other children he is coming to you).

GUPTA MAṄI : MĀDHAVDEVA :—In this text we find the theory of MIND, in relation to one's environments. This has been expounded by Mādhavdeva, a court poet of Mahārājā Naranārāyana.

ŚARA ṚTU BARṆANA¹ : DVIJA BHŪTNĀTH :—He composed this text, under the patronage of Mahārājā Harendranārāyan. The text is nothing but the Bengali version of ṚTU SAMHĀR of Mahākavi Kālidāsa.

HITOPODEŚ² : BRAJASUNDAR :—This text is a Bengali version of Sanskrit Hitopodeś. The poet composed this text under the royal patronage of Mahārājā Harendranārāyana.

FOLK LITERATURE

MĀṆIKYAMITRER KATHĀ³ : DVIJA UMĀNĀTH :—He was a court poet of Mahārājā Upendranārāyana. Māṅikyamitrekathā holds an unique position in the history of the folk literature. The treatment of this story is quite different from all other folk stories of Kāmatāpur and rest of Bengal. As regards the treatment of the story, only KĀDAMBARĪ of BĀNA BHATṬA may be compared. In Kādambarī, we find that ŚUK-PAKHI (a kind of bird) is narrating the whole story and the king Sūdraka is listening, here we find that VRAMAR is narrating the whole story and the cuckoo is listening.

UPAKATHĀ IST PART⁴

UPAKATHĀ : ND PART

MAHĀRĀJĀ HARENDRANĀRĀYANA :—These two volumes were written by Mahārājā Harendranārāyana.

Mahārājā heard the story of 1st part of Upakathā from Jaynāth Munsī and then begun the writing :—

1. Manuscript No. 1 Kochbihār State Library.

2. do 24 do

3. Edited By Ajay Kumār Chakravartī and published by the Cotton Library, Dhubri. The mss lies with Śrī Chakravartī.

4. Edited by S. C. Ghosāl and published by the Kochbihār Sāhitya Sabhā.

As regards the Kṛṣṇa Gīti, in Kāmatāpur, we find two classes of songs sung by the village bards viz, KṚṢṆA DHĀMALI and ŚUKLA DHĀMALI. In these songs Kṛṣṇa as a rustic cowherd in clownish humour overtures Rādhā for an embrace or a kiss.²

This is so happened as the Buddhists of the later-day MAHĀYĀNA school and amongst their BHIKṢHUS and BHIKṢHUNIS, the Sahajīyā cult became associated with illicit love. And thus the Tantrics drifted the mass and addicted them to vices.

2. "Sakhī ghātāy ghātāy śaisyār phul, Kālā māirlek jāti kul "(mustered flowers are lying in the way and Kṛṣṇa spoiled our caste and creed) "Okī Kālāre path chāriyā de jal bhariyā āmi āsi" (O Kṛṣṇa give me the way, let me go to bring water). "Tomrāy āmrāy kairlaṃ pīriti oki tumi āmi jāni : ekhan kene se sab kathā loka mukhe śuni" (We are in secret love, but now I hear, that the said secrecy has been leaked out and the people are in the know of it). "Khiral nadīr pāre pāre, bandhu jāy bāśī hāte : Nā dekhe mor bārīr dike cāiyā : Okī khōpār phul mor jhariyā pail : gāthā mālā jhāmar hail : śukāil re bāṭār pān guā" (my beloved is passing by the bank of the Khiral river, taking flute in his hand, he is not looking to my house, flower from my combed hair has fallen down, garland has been dried out and the bettlenut and bettle-leaf also dried out).

Mor bandhu gān gāy : māthā tuli nācāy : mui nārī yāo jaler ghāte. Thamaki thamaki hātom : cokher isārā karaṃ : tabu bandhu nā dekhe more : O Sajani, bandhu pāgal karila more. Nindera ālise : hāt pare bālise : mane karaṃ bandhu bujhi āche : Cetan hayā dekhaṃ bandu nāi bagale : Gāokhān mor chemchemgā haiche. Sajani e dukha kaba kāṛ āge."

(my beloved is singing, he is not looking towards me. I am going to the ghāt for bringing water, I am walking by making a sound and I am calling him by making signs by my eyes, still he is not looking at me, O friend, you made me mad, while sleeping I placed my hand on the pillow, thinking that you are in my side, but awoking, I have seen, that you are not by my side and my whole body became cool, O, friend to whom shall I speak about my grief ?)

In earliest times, even in the writings of Kālidāsa Bhaṭṭhari, Manobinad, Narasiṃha, Rājasekhar, Dharmakīrtti, we find the desires of sexual apitite.

Probably the trend of writings of these poets inspired Jaydeva. And at the same time, the SAHAJIYAS gave more inspirations to the general mass.

The Śaivas are otherwise known as NĀTHAS. NĀTHISM contributed largely to our vernacular literature. In its primitive stages among the chief contribution of the Nāth literature are the stories of Gorkṣhviḃa and Maināmatī-Gopi-Cānder-gān. And these songs are prevalent in the area under review.

Besides, the folk-songs mentioned above, sometimes we find, that the songs are narrative as well dramatic :—

Yuvatī (Girl) is saying :—

Hastī nārān hasti carān
 hastir galāy darī
 satya kariyā kaore māhut
 kon bā deśe bārī.

(the girl is asking to her lover that you drive the elephant, rope is hanging on the neck of the elephant. O elephant-rider, speak where is your home ?)

The elephant-rider is saying :—

Hastī narāoṃ hastī carāoṃ
 hastir galāy darī
 Satya kariyā kailām kathā
 Kochbihāre bārī.

(the elephant-rider replied, that he is speaking the truth, that he is an inhabitant of Kochbihār).

The girl is again asking the elephant-rider :—

Khāto khuta māhutre
 tor mukhe chāp dārī
 Satya kariyā kaore kathā
 ghare kayjan nārī,

(O elephant rider, you are short in stature and your mouth is full of beard, please tell me, how many lovers you have got in your house ?)

The elephant-rider is saying :—

Hastī narāoṃ hastī carāoṃ
hastir pāye berī
Satya kariyā kailām kathā
biyāo nāhi karire.

(I am driving the elephant and fastening the feet of the elephant, I am speaking trully that, I have not yet married.)

Similar is the case with a buffalo-rider :—

The lover is asking her buffalo-rider friend :—

O ki maiṣāl bandhu re maiṣ carān re bandhu
kon carer mājhe

(O my friend, tell me where you drive the buffaloes).
The buffalo-rider friend is replying to his lover :—

Maiṣ carāi ohe kaṇyā ghāter ujane
Ghāntir dāng ki sōnen nāi kāne
Sandhyākāle āisen kaṇyā jal nibār chale

(I drive the buffaloes on the up of the ghāt, have you not heard the sound of the bell ? Please come in the evening at the ghāt, taking the plea, that you are coming to take water).

In Kālidasa's MEGHDŪT, we find that YAKṢHA engaged the CLOUD as messenger, in order to give message to her lover. Yakṣha gave a vivid description of the way to his messenger. Similarly the lady-lover is engaging the crane to convey her news to her lover :—

O ki bagilāre
Jhāke Jhāke uri yāore ujāni deśe

(O crane you fly towards the up)

Gadādharer ujāuete
 Devadharimmār pāṭer kāche
 Patidhan mor geichere paradeśe.

(On the up of Gadādhār, near the palace of Devadhar-
 mma, my husband has gone for business).

Dekhā haile kabu tāre
 Abhāginī bāce nāre
 Āulāiche māthār kāla keś.

(If you see him, please tell him that her lover is about
 to die and her black hair has been dis-arranged.)

The trainer of the wild elephant sings this song
 while he trains the wild elephant :—

Hastī kaṇyā hastī kaṇyā bāmuner nārī
 Māthāy niyā tām kalasi O sakhī hāte sonār jhārī O
 O mor hastī kanyā khānik dayā
 nāi mahutak lāgiyā re
 Pāttirā kariyā hastī
 bāreyā dilam pāo
 Māthār upar Kāla jethī
 sakhī kare pañca rāo.
 Phānd lādilām phārā lādilām
 lādilām bhāter hārī
 Māhut phāndī yukti kariyā O
 geilām śikār bārī
 Āio chārilām bāio chārilām
 chārilām souārpurī
 Biyāo kariyā chāriyā āsilām O
 alpa bayaser nārī.
 Bālu til paūkhī kānde bālute pariyā
 Gauripurīyā (Coochbehāriyā) māhut kānde O Sakhī
 ghar bārī chāriyā.
 Āgāri pichāri hastīr phelailam bāudhiyā
 Harinām niyā sakhī basilam bhiriya.

as if, the elephant is a daughter of a Brahmin, she is
 going, taking a pitcher made of bronze and a pot made

of gold in her hand, O the daughter of the elephant, be merciful towards the trainer, on an auspicious day I have come to train you, but the lizard is crying, as if something ominous will happen, I have arranged the trap and have fastened a rope on your waist and also preparing rice ; the rider and the trainer have gone to Śikār bārī, I left my father brother and also I left my sweet dwelling house, I left my lover of young age, the bird are chirping, the rider of Gaurīpur (Coochbihār) is crying, I have fastened the front and back of the elephant and have mounted upon the elephant reciting the name of Hari).

FEAST AND FESTIVAL

The feast and festivals of the people of the area under review, were greatly influenced by the Mongoloid elements.

HUDUMER NĀC :—The women folk of Kāmatāpur used to sing and even now-a-days are singing and praying to God Hudum, by performing naked dances in a secret place in the dead of night, in order to bring rain at the time of draught. Hudum is represented in a phallus and a banana tree is placed by the side of the phallus.¹

1 In Śrī Sūryya Pāhār in the district of Goalpara there are 7 to 8 hundred Śiva lingas, cut out of the granite stone arranged through out the hill. Hearsay, has it that these lingas were constructed in order to creat the second city of Benaras. There is row of five Viṣṇu images cut out of rock, but these images do not possess four hands. In the midst of the Śiva lingas in the upper stratum there stands in high relief the most prominent figure of 12 armed Goddess Durgā, cut out of a single rock. Further on the circular slate of stone, measuring 4½' in circumference there are engraved figures of the various planetory gods with figures of Śūryya.

NAULĀ-GĀN of East Bengal is quite different from that of Hudumer-gān, although the idea of both these songs is to bring rain at the time of draught.

KĀRTIC PŪJĀR GĀN O NĀC (KĀTI PŪJĀ) :— In Kārtic pūjā, the women folk of the area under review, perform the naked dance in secret place, in the dead of night, to propagate the wrath of God. And one who gets his desired fruits, out of gratitude performs the Kārtic Pūjā.

MADANKĀM PŪJĀ :—This festival is performed by the Rājbaṅśis and the Kshatrīyas of the area under review during the spring season. Madan is nothing but CUPID. In this song we find how the bamboo and the cotton yarn and cloth were created by the God Madan.

SONĀRĀYERGĀN :—Sonārāy, is the tiger God of Kāmatāpur. And it differs from DAKṢHIN RĀY, the tiger God of rest of Bengal.

In Kāmatāpur (even now-a-days), in the month of PAUṢA this festival takes place. The cow-boys are the main enterprisers of this pūjā. The cowboys and others will beg alms from door to door and will perform the Pūjā in the last day of Pouṣa by way of picnic. While the cow-boys will beg alms from door to door, they will sing :—

Sonārāyer dakṣhinā nāge purṇa kulā dhān
Tāhār upar nāge jor guā pān.

(at the pūjā of Sonārāy, one requires rice and above that requires one pair of betel-nut and one pair of betel-leaf).

And to those who are unwilling to give alms to God Sonārāy, the cow-boys say :—

Sonārāyer dakṣhinā dite yay karibe helā
Tār bhātārak nāgāl pāmu garu carābār belā.

(if, any women neglect to pay alms for Sonārāy, the cow-boys will catch her husband when he will go to the fields with cows).

And those who will pay alms to the God, the cowboys will pray to God by saying :—

Satya thākur Sonārāy gāirhastak de tui bar
Dhane baṃṣe bāruk giri Candra dibāṃkar.

(O Sonārāy, please give boon to the hounseholders, so that, they may become rich and their descendants may increase).

Sonārāy's mother is Jaśodā, the cow-maid. Sonārāy is the incarnation of Dharmma Thākur. Ās Kṛṣṇa, in his childhood, has stolen curd, butter so also did Sonārāy. Kṛṣṇa played with the cow-boys so also did Sonārāy. Only difference is this that Sonārāy takes hemp stramonium but kṛṣṇa never took those. Śiva is habituated in taking these.

In Bāṇikantha's ŚRĪ KRṢṂA CARIT, we find that Balarām, the brother of Kṛṣṇa is taking wine (BĀRŪṂI) and in SŪRYYA MAṄGAL PĀṄCĀLI we find that, SŪRYYA alias Śiva is taking stramonium and his companions are 16 hundred gopis :—

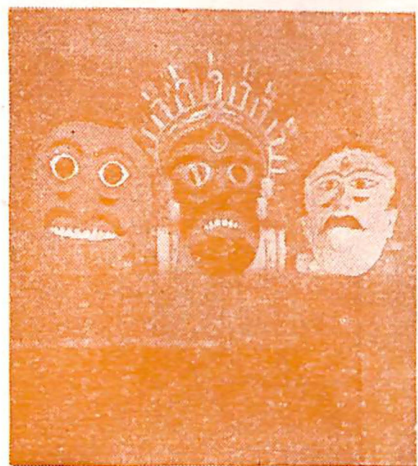
Śibāi thākur yātrā kare dui kāne dhuturā
Ṣolaśata gopinī laye caliche Mathurā.

Thus we find, that Sonārāy is the admixture of Dharmma thākur, Sūryya and Śiva.

Amongst the Meches (Mongoloid people) of these areas we find that they have got the tiger God. The process of begging alms is the same with the process of Sonārāy. The Meches of these areas sing :—

Mausā rājā aruāi nañā : Chāimā hāgrā aruāi nañā :
Jāñan khindā harblā : masau dāmrā beher jāgon dāmbia
jalai pheher gan : laukher gathjaṃ gungau beṃgan :
jāñan khindā harblā.

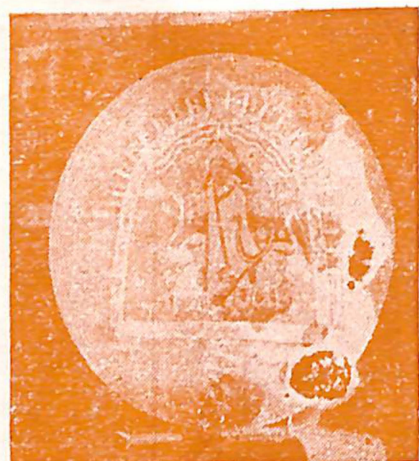
(Mausā....tiger, rājā,....king, aruāi....won't bite, chāimā hāgrā....jackal, jāñan....us, khindā....alms, harblā....if you pay, masau....cow, dāmrā....bull, jalai....descendant, phehergan....will increase, laukher gath...cowboy, gungau....domestic animal, beṃgan....will watch, ie we the cow-boys will see, so that the tiger and the jackal cannot do any



Masks of :—
Mask Dances in Kāmatāpur



Votive images of Manasā (done in wicker work and cane) of
Kāmatā Kingdom (Dhubri, & Kochbihār & Rangpur)



harm to the domestic animal and if you pay alms, the number of the domestic animal will be increased.

The Mech Cow-boys held similar sort of performances at the end of the Bengali month of PAUṢA like the Rājbaṃśī-Kṣhatriya cow-boys hold.

VASĀN-YĀTRĀ :—Among the Rājbaṃśī-Kṣhatriyas of the area under review, MANASĀ PUJĀ is known as the BIṢAHARI PUJĀ or MĀRAI PUJĀ.

The word "MĀRĀI" has got two meanings viz. EPI-DEMIC and CHIEF OF THE HOUSE. Mārāi pūjā is the chief pūjā of the Bodos, as well as of the Rājbaṃśī-Kṣhatriyas. In many places in the area under review, the Mārāi pūjā is performed at the time of epidemic or at the fear of the snake, otherwise Mārāipūjā or Biṣahari Pūjā is performed in the month of Śrābaṇa. The Rājbaṃśī and the Kṣhatriyas and other classes of Hindus perform this pūjā by making an idol of Manasā but the Bodos never worship by placing any idol of the Goddess.¹

1 The main God of the Bodos is Śibrāi or Bāthau. "Of these household Gods by far the most important is the Bāthau, who is pre-eminently the guardian of the family interest and the family honour. He is never represented in idol form but is well in evidence through his living symbol the Siju tree, which is often to be seen in the Kachāri homestead surrounded by a circular fence of split bamboo." By J. D. Anderson. The Kacharies p 36.

Poet Mānkar, of Mauasā Mangal, has used the word MĀRĀIYĀ to mean Manasā. This may be compared with MATTUVA (MANDUVA ?) inscribed as the name of Manasā in a stone image of the Goddess, in North Bengal.

Biṣahari, means one who cures the poison. In SĀDHANMĀLĀ (edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharji, p. 106, 117, 118, 120-22) we find the name of the Goddess JĀGALĪ and she is described as KIRĀTA-GIRL.

"The savara or Kirāt girl phase of Manasā appears in the Bengali. saga momentarily, when the Goddess is approached at her hill station by Nārada on behalf of Caṇḍi. In Bengali incantations against snake poison

LANGUAGE :—The language of the texts may be classified under the following heads :—

(a) KĀMARŪPI (a dialect of old Bengali).

(b) Mixture of KĀMARŪPI and BRAJABULI.

(c) Purely BRAJABULI.

(d) MIDDLE BENGALI and LATE MIDDLE BENGALI.

WHAT IS KĀMARŪPI LANGUAGE :—A classification of the Bengali dialects is to be, in the first instance, from the stand-point of MODERN BENGALI. The composite nature of literary speech does not make the early literature which is written in it very helpful in this matter. In reconstructing the history of the dialects, what help can be obtained from the forms in MIDDLE BENGALI literature is to be taken, but the basis of the dialectal division must be the living dialects themselves.

The dialects of Bengali fall into four main classes, agreeing with the four ancient divisions of the country RĀRHA : PUNḌRA or VARENDRA : VĀNGA and KĀMARŪPA. Rāṛha and Varendra, and to some extent

Manasā (and often Caṇḍi too) is mentioned as HĀRIJHI, the daughter of a man of the sweeper-caste. This reminds us of the poison cure deity mentioned in ṚTHARVA VEDA (5. 13. 8) as the daughter of the black barbarian urugula."

By Dr. Sukumar sen, Introduction of Vipradāsa's Manasā Vijay.

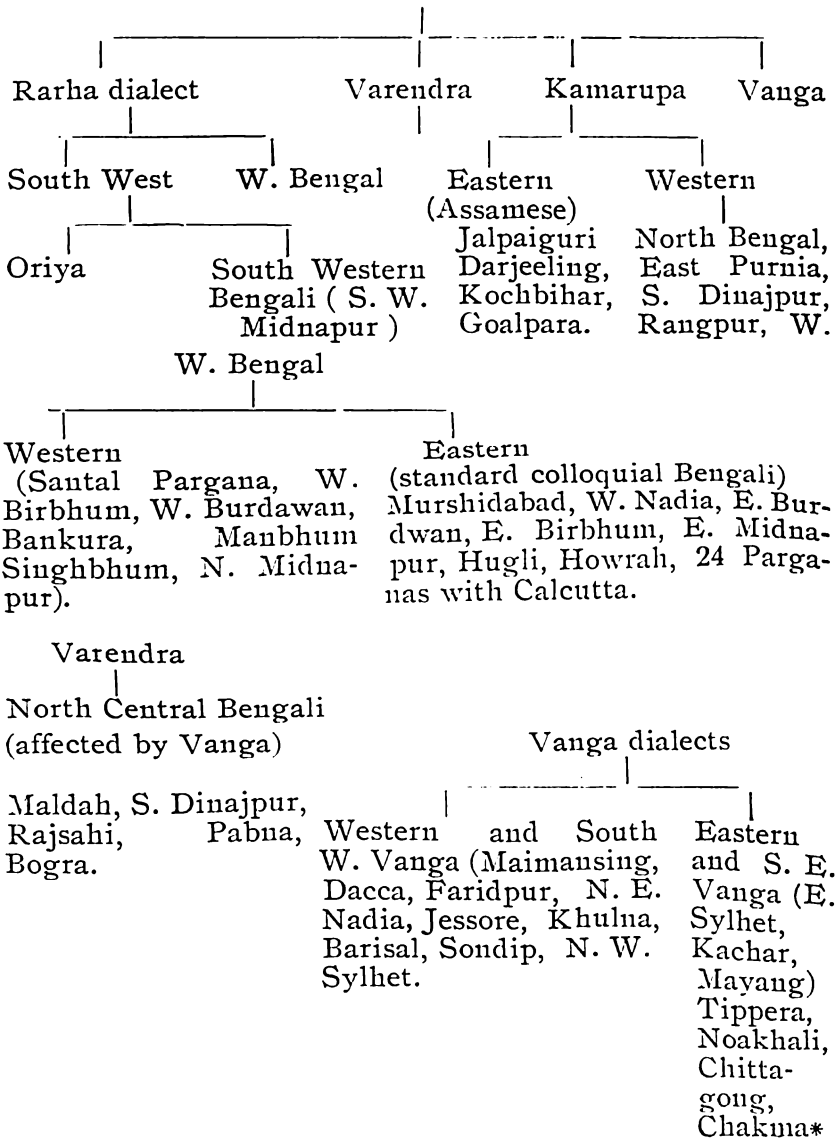
As regards the SIJU CULT, we find a link between the siju-cult and the cult of Manasā in Dharmma pūjā-bidhan (p 98) as "Āvāhitāsi devi tvam snuhirvṛkṣastheta sthiratyantam sadā grhe kāmaprada bhava". (O goddess you are invoked, staying in SNUHI (SIJU) plant, be thou permanent in my house and always be granting desires).

Kāmarūpa, have points of similarity which are absent in Vanga ; and the extreme Eastern forms of the Vanga speech in Sylhet, Kāchār, Tipperā, Noākhāli and Chittāgong have developed some phonetic and morphological characteristics which are foreign to the other groups. A great deal of these have unquestionably an ethnic basis. The differences in pronunciation and stress, as well as in general enunciation and grammar, which are observable in the Bengali of a Mānbhum peasant, and in that of one from Maimansingha, are certainly connected with the fact that one is mainly KOL (or mixed KOL and DRAVIDIAN) and the other modified BODO (TIBĒTO-BURMAN), by origin.¹

1. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji., M. A., P. R. S., D. Litt. page 138.

TABLE OF LANGUAGES (DIALECT)

Forms of Magadhi Prakrit and Apabhraṅsa as brought to Bengal, Assam and Orissa.



*Chakma is the dialect of the hill people of Chittagong.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE KĀMARŪPI DIALECT AND ITS CLOSER AFFINITY WITH BENGALI :—The Kāmarūpī language in an other sense may be called the TRANSITIONAL MIDDLE BENGALI (1200 to 1300 A. C.). These are the following peculiarities of the transitional Middle Bengali :—

(i) The language had all its Bengali characteristics which were fully established. From CARJYĀS it was transformed into that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana at one end and in the other end Hemasarasvatī, Harihar Vipra and Kabiratna Sarasvatī's writings.

(ii) The post positions in declension were fully established.

(iii) The conjugation became active in past and future forms of the transitive verbs of the system of pronominal affixation to the past and future bases came in.

(iv) More simplification of the Mātrā-ṛtta metre is found.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF KĀMARŪPI DIALECT :—The locative affix is 'T' viz., 'Nāhike JALAT mṛttu nāhike THALAT.'

(b) A used as 'H' viz., Āmār (our) Hāmār.

(c) 'R' is used as 'A' and 'A' is used as 'R' viz.,

Rāmer bāṛī (Ram's house) Āmer bāṛī.

Ām khāba (will take mango) Rām khāba.

Mayang or Visnupuriya is spoken by a few people in Manipur ; it is much mixed up with Tibeto-Burman, and in the LSI, it is regarded as a dialect of Assamese, but its forms show unquestionably a greater affinity with Eastern Vanga.

Origin and Development of Bengali Language....page 140, By Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji., M. A., P. R. S., D. Litt.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE TEXTS OF HEMA SARASVATĪ, HARIHAR VIPRA and KAVIRATNA SARASVATĪ :—The vowels were not always equally accentuated. 'A' sometimes used as 'I' viz.,

Saṃsār sāgare dukha sopana parāi
Iki māyāmoha mok laite juāi.

CF Duli duli pithā dharana na jāi
Rukhera tenteli kumbhire khāi. Carjyā.

Vowels were used lavishly viz., 'PAÑCA' used as PĀÑCA 'ANAL' used as ĀNAL'.

Uses of dīp̄thongs were noticed viz., Vaila, gaila, laila, Use of 'ILA' in the past tense and the use of 'IBA' in the future tense (Sanskrit Tabya > 'IBA' ; (Sanskrit 'ILLA' > 'ILA').

Use of compound verbs is noticed viz., 'Kamal kumud fuli āche jatjat'.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE KĀMARŪPI AND ASSAMESE :—

Assamese follows the Pan-Indian system of penultimate stress ; Bengali has an initial stress and Kāmarūpi has got the initial stress.¹

(b) Plural affixes in Kāmarūpi are different from that of Assamese and have got closer affinity with Bengali. The Kāmarūpi does not use the Assamese forms viz., bor, bilāk, hāt, lok, etc.

1. "Anderson supposes (Accent and prosody in Bengali, J. R. A. Society 1913 pg. 865) that the Bengali initial stress can have come from one of the three following sources :—(i) Parent Māgadhi Prākṛit, (ii) Some Dravidian tongue, (iii) Some Tibeto-Burman language. He considers the third as the most likely source as most of Bengal was once included in the Koch Kingdom and effect of the Koch accent may be presumed on Kāmarūpi dialect". Assamese its Formation and Development by Dr. Bāni Kānta Kākati. M. A. Ph. D.

(c) Assamese devised from earliest times a symbol (ৱ) for the W glide, Kāmarūpī and Bengali has no distinct symbol.

(b) As regards the pronominal derivatives Kāmarūpī has got the closer affinity with Bengali than Assamese viz., hena, jena, tena, ehena, but in Assamese we find enekuwā, tenekuwā.

(e) In Assamese whenever the vowel 'A' finds itself in the antepenultimate or in any anterior syllable, it is shortened to 'A' when in any part of the succeeding syllable it is followed by the vowel 'Ā'.

Nālā (Bengali and Kāmarūpī)	Nalā (Assamese)	drain.
Tārā	do	tarā do star.
Rājā	do	rajā do king.
Kāṇā	do	kaṇā do blind.

but in Kāmarūpī, rather in Bengali this sort of change is not effected.....Rājā bole śunioko (Hear, the king is saying).

(f) Sometimes in Assamese anterior 'A' is changed to 'Ē' but not in Kāmarūpī :—

Ādā (Kāmarūpī and Bengali)	Ēdā (Assamese)	jinger.
Ādhā	do	Ēdhā do half.

In this connection Oriya has got affinity with Assamese :—

Chatā (Oriya)	Chatā (Assamese)	Chātā (Kāmarūpī and Bengali)
Camarā (do)	camarā (do)	cāmṛā (do) leather.

BRAJABULI :—Brajabuli is a MISCHSPRACHE. Maithili is the basic part, while Bengali, with oddments of Hindi and BRAJA-BHĀKHĀ¹ forms the superstructure.

1. Braja-bhākhā is spoken language and form of Western Hindi of the district round about Muthrā. History of Brajabuli literature by Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.

Translation of Rāmāyaṇa Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata begun.

The following points are noticeable in the language of the period :—

(i) the use of diphthongs :—ai, āi, ou, au, viz., Jaisana anuparamāṇi.

(ii) the use of 'ITA' and 'ILA'...Āmi biracila.

(iii) the loss of aspirant of the nasal :—

mh (ऋ = म्), nh (ॠ = न्) āmhi > ami (আক্ষি > আমি)

(iv) conjugation of the verb in active in the past tense.

(v) compound tenses came into being :—

Dhulāe dhular pari āche sthāne sthāne (lying hither and thither being dusty).

(vi) the use of strong form of the genitive 'RĀ' for the plural :—Āmarā, Tāhārā.

All these salient features of the early Middle Bengali are found in the writings of the poets of that period.

LATE MIDDLE BENGALI :—(1500 A. C. to 1800 A. C.) :—

The sixteenth century witnessed the development of Vaiṣṇava literature in Bengal under the influence of Caitanyadeva and in Kāmatāpur under the influence of Śaṅkaradeva. The artificial literary dialect Brajabuli grew up.

Chief characteristic of the period :—

(i) Epenthetic....U....became I.

(ii) Affixes 'IĀ' (ইয়া) verbal or nominal were contracted and were gradually turned to the monophthong 'ĀYĀ' (ঞা), 'E' (এ) eg., Kariā > Kairyā > Kare.

Kariā prahār kāro munde...Vipra Viśārad. (beating upon any one's head).

Khāi khāi karyyā (great desire for eating) by Harendra Nārāyaṇa.

Ālo kare ṛbhuvan (giving light in the three world)...
Harendranārāyaṇa.

(iii) The aspiration of ṚH (ॠ) is continued for some-time and then gradually lost :—Paṛhe (ॠॢ) Paṛhati > pare, viz., “Ē baṛh āscarjya prabhu dekhilo nayāne (seen with great astonishment) Pitāmbar. “Asaṃkha” parilā” (many fell down) Vipra viśārad.

(iv) Great influence of Persian words :—In the literature of Kāmatāpur, it has got less influence. Only in the later part of the period, we find some Persian words were used by the poets :—Sacib jāhārā dandve matta tārā (those who are ministers were engaged in quarrel) Beharodanta.

“Hājir thākay dvāre haye joṛ hāt (waiting at the gate with folded hands) Harendranārāyaṇa.

(v) Loss of final ‘A’ ‘bhāt’ (ॠॢ > ॠॢ)

(vi) Sometimes A > O > U eg.. Jiba > Jiu (life)

(vii) ‘A’ used as ‘O’ kār (kāro)

(viii) Use of diphthong words eg., Kaila, Gaila, Bhaila.
Mauna, hauk.

(ix) Simplification of dual consonant :—

Karmma > kamma > kām ; Sarbba > sabba > sab.

(x) ‘L’ is transformed to ‘R’, viz., Karatala, Karatara.

DIFFERENCE OF KĀMARŪPI LANGUAGE WITH THAT OF ASSAMESE :—

(i) Assamese words for FIRE and WATER are from the earliest period ZUI and PĀNI, as opposed to Bengali ĀGUṆ and JAL. Assamese PĀNI for WATER is common to all dialects of Bihari and Eastern Hindi, but ZUI for fire has parallels only in JOY and JWE of the BHĀTRI dialect of Oriya and in the BHULĪĀ dialect of Eastern Hindi respectively.¹

1. Assamese its formation and development.... Introduction page 7. By B. K. Kākatī, M. A., Ph. D.

The people of Western Kāmatā, even the common folk never use the word ZUI for FIRE. They always use the Bengali word ĀGUṄ. Of course the words PĀNI and JAL are used by the people of Western Kāmatāpur.

(ii) As regards accentuation Kāmarūpī differs from Assamese. Bengali has an initial stress, but not in all cases, so is the case of Kāmarūpī. Probably this is due to the Bodo influence. The Bodo language has got the initial stress. But Assamese follows the Pan-Indian system of penultimate stress.

(iii) The genitive case affix in Bengali 'ER'; in Assamese 'AR'; but 'er' survives in Assamese instrumental case affix 'ERE'. Conversely also, in early Assamese 'ERA' was pleonastic conjunctive affix as opposed to early Bengali 'RA'. But almost in all the writings in Kāmatāpuri dialect (specimen given in the text portion), the genitive case affix is 'ER' like Bengali:—"Se je Rāvaner purbbe (before Ravana). "Dukher kāhini" (story of sadness), "Nriper nimate" (before the king).

(iv) The locative affix in Assamese is '-T' from the earliest times and the Bengali 'E', 'TE' (ta e), but in Kāmarūpī we find both the uses:—

"Henate Arjun bīr...." (at that time warrior Arjun)
 "Jenamate Sairindrī āmāt kare man (as Sairindrī is fascinated towards me) Vipra Viśārad.

"Tathāte dekhāba tār pūrbba pitāmaha" (I will show there, his grand-father).

(v) Present participle in Assamese is ÖT (anta), Bengali has got ANTA, AT, ATA, AIT, ITA (these suffixes were derived from the Sanskrit word ANTA).

In Assamese we find:—KARÖTĀ, KARANTĀ (a doer);

RĀKHÖTĀ, RĀKHANTĀ (a preserver) but in Kāmarūpī we do not find RĀKHÖTĀ or RĀKHANTĀ,

but on the other hand, the Bengali forms are used profusely.

In Bengali we find CALANTA, KARANTA, so is in Kāmarūpī :—"Karanta yogo dhiān (performing yogo and meditation). Hema Sarasvatī.

This ANTA is used largely in Brajabuli dialect. In Brajabuli we find other forms also viz., ANTA Ā (ALA) A(LA).....DELA (gave) NELA (took) BHELA (happened)

(vi) The past conditional in Assamese is expressed by the post position HETEN, HĀTE, HĀNTE, after fully conjugated verbal root in the past. Bengali express the past conditional with the present participle base ITA, ITE, with personal conjugational affixes. In Kāmarūpī we find the use of the same as in Bengali viz., "Cintite cintite path nā dekhe nayāne" (due to deep meditation cannot see the way).

"Sājite sujite tār bilamba nā sahe ār (he cannot wait for his dressing).

The use of HETEN is not found in Western Kāmatāpur.

(vii) "The infinitive sense is conveyed in Assamese by forms in IB, in Bengali IT." Dr. B. Kākati.

But Dr. Banikanta Kākati, again writes in article No. 810 page 345 "The infinitive in IB is common to other Māgadhīān dialects and the Western languages. It is much used in North Bengal. It occurs also in Oriya, Bihari and in Western languages like Rajasthan."

Further Dr. Kākati writes in article No. 813 page 346 "The infinitive in IT (ITA and (ITE) is found in Eastern Assam, but its use does not seem to be very popular." "The infinitive in ITA, could not establish itself as a literary favourite nor did it catch on in popular use. It became the infinitive proper in Bengali in the locative ITE. The East Bengal dialects form inf.

IT, ITĀM, cf (L. S. I. V. I pp 210, 240), BARAT (to fill), KAITĀM (to say)."

The examples given below will justify that IBA and ITA both are used in Kāmarūpī dialect and IBA is not at all a peculiar symptom of the Assamese language.

ITE :—Hemabanta śikhar dekhete manoram (the peak of Himalaya is beautiful to look at)...Hema Sarasvatī. "Karite nā jāna cātu" (do not know how to flatter)...Vipra Viśārad.

"Parilā mahite lāgilā kahite" (fell down on the earth and began to say)—Vipra Viśārad.

ITA (IT) :—Bhumit pariā bīr (warrior falling down on the earth) Hema Sarasvatī. "Tathāpita Judhiṣṭhir...." (still Judhiṣṭhir) Vipra Viśārad.

"Patir bimat dekhi" (Seeing the adverse mind of the husband) Harendranārāyaṇa.

IBA :—"Bhay nā khandiba" (fear will not go away) "Harise cintiba" (will think about Hari) Hema Sarasvatī.

Amār jeman man kariba ki bijñāpan" (my mind is in such a position what shall I say) Harendranārāyaṇa.

(viii) "Assamese has a complete set of negative conjugation with negative NA placed before the verb root. Oriya has a negative conjugation with the verb substantive only. Bengali has no negative conjugation". Dr. B. K. Kākati.

The use of negative as stated above, has been influenced by the Tibeto-Burman language of Eastern India. There are two-fold uses of the negative. In some, the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies, while in others it precedes the root. The Bodo negative follows the root of the verb.

The whole of Assam, Bengal and some portions of Bihar was once ruled by the Bodos and the influence of

the language of the Bodos upon the Bengali, Assamese, Oriyā and Bihāri is greatly noticed.

Further it can be stated that this negative NAHO, NAHA, has been derived from Sanskrit NA+BHU (AS) or earlier Apabhraṃsa NAHU (Sanskrit NATU)+HO (AS-BHU).

In Middle Bengali, we find all the tenses save except the compound tense viz., NAHE (present), NAHIL (future), NAHIBA (habitual past) etc.

In Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana we find, the negative particle NA before the conjugated verbal roots, eg., NĀCI, NĀTE, (NĀ+ĀTE), NĀDE (NĀ+DE), NĀSITA (NĀ+ĀSITĀ), NĀSIBA (NĀ+ĀSIBA), but this sort of use is, not because of the negative particle NA but is, due to negative compound verbs.¹

In Kāmarūpī dialect rather in the text portion we find :—

“Na vāsen” (not floating) Hema Sarasvatī.

“Nede paricay” (not giving identity) Hema Sarasvatī.

“Kirtti bole mor śīśu tomār nahay” (Kirtti, is saying that, this boy is mine and not yours).

“Gaṅgā bole mor hay tomār nahay” (Gaṅgā is saying, that this is mine and not yours).

“Tathāpita śānta nahe nidārūṇa raṇ” (still the fierce war is not stopped) Vipra Viśārad.

(ix) “The plural suffixes in Assamese are entirely different from those of Bengali. Some Assamese plural suffixes have affinities in the Western languages”.²

Early Assamese suffixes as per Dr. Kākati :—Gaṇ, samūha, cay, sab, melā, bistar, jāk, māne, sār.

Modern Assamese :—bor, bilāk, hāt, lok.

1. Vāṣār Itibṛtta....by Dr. Sukumar Sen., M.A. Ph. D.

2. Assamese its formation and development....by D1. Bāṇikānta Kākati., M.A., Ph. D.

List of plural suffixes given by Dr. Kākati is not at all a genuine proof that all those suffixes were only used in Assamese. One thing is to be remembered, that if those suffixes were purely Assamese then why in Modern Assamese the uses of those suffixes were abandoned? It is to be remembered that Assamese, Bengali, Oriya dialects cannot be referred to a single primitive speech but these dialects are from various sources (Aryan and non-Aryan).

GAṄ :—This form was used in Early Bengali and at present this word is still being used in Modern Bengali.

SAMŪHA :—do as GAṄ (Samūha bipad....great trouble)

CAY :— do

SAB :— do (SAB is derived from the Sanskrit SARBBĀ) Sarbba>sabba>sab...
Pākhī sab kare rab (birds are chirping)

MELĀ :— do as Gaṅ (Melā mānuṣ) Men.

BISTAR :— do (Bistar lok, bistar jamā-jami) Men,
big properties.

Jāk (JHĀK) do (this is a Bodo word) ek jhāk pākhī (a flock of birds).

MĀNE and SĀR used in early Assamese and early Bengali.

Plural suffixes of Modern Assamese are not used in Kāmarūpī and Modern Bengali.

(x) "Assamese pronominal derivatives of time and place seem to have no parallel formation in Bengali" eg., ENE, TENE, KENE, JENE (earlier Assamese ENAY, EHANAY, HENAY, TENAY, etc).¹

These sorts of pronominal derivatives of time and place are not used in Kāmarūpī dialect. We find in Kāmarūpī dialect :—

1. Assamese its formation and development by Dr. B. K. Kākati., M. A., Ph. D.

Hena dekhi (seeing thus) Hema Sarasvati.

Tena vaila (become thus) do

Oṣṭādhar jena bimbafal. (lips as if bimbafal)

Jalanta agni jena (like burning fire) Vipra Viśārad.

Further it can be stated that in Assamese pronominal adjective of quantity and number is used as :—

(a) etek, tetek, ketek, jetek.

(b) eti, teti, keti, jeti.

(c) imān, timān, kimān, jimān, simān.

(d) sakalo, keto (bor) bhāle (mān).

In Bengali, we find these :—ata, eta, tata, kata, jata.

In Kāmarūpī, only the use of ETEK is found and all other Bengali forms are used :—

JATA —Kamal kumud fuli āche jata jata (lotus have bloomed in abundance) Hema Sarasvatī.

KATA —Kata ākarsan (how much attraction).

TATAKṢHAṆE :—Tatakṣhaṇe uṭhila jalanta agni jena (at that time arose like a burning fire) Vipra Viśārad.

The rural folk of Goālpārā district specially Dhubri Sub-division, Kochbihār and Rangpur only uses :—ETTI (here) etti āisa (come here) ; JETTI (anywhere).

The writings of the poets under the Mahārājās of Kochbihār in later ages, are purely Bengali.

In Assamese, we do not find the use of the the script 'D', but in Bengali and Kāmarūpī we find :—Baḍu (Baḍu), Baḍuā (Baḍuā) in Assamese it is used as Baru, Baruā.

(ii) Bengali and Kāmarūpī have got separate pronunciation of 'C' and 'CH', 'J' and 'JH', but in Assamese, we do not find the uses of them :—

Chātā (umbrella) Bengali and Kāmarūpī, Catā (Assamese) Jhāl (pungent, in Bengali and Kāmarūpī ; Jāl (Assamese), Jhāk (flock, Bengali and Kāmarūpī) Jāk (Assamese), (iii) In Bengali and Kāmarūpī 'S', 'Ś', 'Ṣ', are never pronounced as 'H' or 'KH' :—

DAŚ (Bengali and Kāmarūpī) DAH (Dakh) in Assamese
 ŚEṢ (finish, Bengali and Kāmarūpī) ŚEKH (hekh) in
 Assamese. But in Assamese in pronouncing the name of
 persons and places the usual Assamese pronunciation is
 never followed. On the other hand the Assamese people
 pronounced those names like the Bengalees :—

Śāntipur (Bengali and Kāmarūpī) Śāntipur (Assamese)
 but never pronounced as Hāntipur or Khāntipur.

Śaśī Bābu (Bengali and Kāmarūpi) Śaśī Bābu
 (Assamese).

While practising music, Assamese people never
 pronoun as Sā (স়া) as Hā (khā).

The area under review, was the connecting link of the two cultural areas viz., REST of BENGAL and the KĀMARŪPA KINGDOM. We have dealt in this thesis, the racial, social, cultural and literary history of the area under review, from the fourteenth century down to the eighteenth century.

Different group of people came to area under review, in different periods. At the first instance, they were hostile to each other, but ultimately all of them settled down. The intermingling of the different races and cultures, ultimately led to the growth of, more or less a common culture, common language.

Literatures written during the period under review in Kāmatā-Koch-rāj-darbār are also more or less the same, which were written in the adjoining two kingdoms.

Rabindra Nath Tagore in his BHARAT-TIRTHA says :—

Keha nāhi jāne kār āhwāne kato mānuṣer dhārā
 durvār śrote elo kothā ha'te samudre Ha'lo hārā
 hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethāy Drāviḍa Cin
 Śak-Hūṇ-dal Pāṭhān-Mogal ek dehe ha'lo līṅ
 paścim āji khuliāche dwār sethā ha'te sabe āne upahār
 dibe ār nibe, miliābe milibe, jābe nā phire
 ei Bhārater mahāmānauver sāgar-tīre.

("No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea : here Aryan and Non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese the bands of Śakas and Hunas, and Pathan and Mogal, have become combined in one body : the door to the west has also been opened, and they bring presents from

there, they will give and they will take, they will unite and be united, and will never go away.—in this ocean-shore of great Humanity of Bhārata or India).

Similar is the case, in the area under review. Here we also find unity in diversity.

The Vaiṣṇavism and Vaiṣṇava literature of Kāmatā-Koch-Rāj-Darbār differs from that of Bengal. In the fourteenth century we find, that the Kāmatā Court was adored by the poets viz , Hemasarasvatī, Harihar Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvatī. All these poets translated some portions of Purāṇas and epic Mahābhārata and advocated the BHAKTI CULT. In advocating Bhakti cult, the poet Hemasarasvatī painted the character of Demon Hiraṇy-akasipu a bit in different way. From Hemasarasvatī's writing we find, that although Hiraṇyakasipu was killed by Hari, still he adored Hari.¹ After the death of Hiraṇyakasipu, his son Pralhād, the ardhent devotee of Hari began to lament.² His lamentation is natural and we find the human touch. This is something new. Further, it is also noteworthy as we do not find any contemporary poets in rest of Bengal.

1. Dekhiyā Hiraṇya ati bhaila bhaye bhita

Kampilā hṛday ati deha jarjarita.
 Athe bethe sābatiyā bule dhanya putra
 Ehi khāni kathā bāpu śikiliha kaita.
 Namō Nārāyaṇa prabhu deva Yadupati
 Tomār caraṇe mor thākak bhakati.

(Seeing Nārāyaṇa, Hiraṇyakasipu became great nervous, he embraced his son and said, from where you have learned these things? Then Hiraṇyakasipu adored Nārāyaṇa).

2. Pitrir maran pāche Pralhād dekhilā

Hṛdayat tān mahā santāp lāgilā
 Hā prāṇ pitā mayi ki kām karilo.

(Pralhād was much agrieved at his father's death, and he began to lament by saying that what I have done?)

Of course, it is true, that we do not find the specimen of language of the fourteenth century as we have not got the original manuscripts written by those poets.

From the sixteenth down to eighteenth century, host of poets flourished in Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār. Specially a galaxy of poets flourished in the court of Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa and Mahārājā Harendranārāyaṇa. No Rāj-darbār of Kāmarūpa and rest of Bengal can claim this glory. As regards the history of literature of the period under review, we can divide the same under two groups viz., Pre-Saṅkariya and Post-Saṅkariya poets. These are the following poets flourished in the Pre-Saṅkariya period:-

Hemasarasvatī, Harihar Vipra, Kaviratana Sarasvatī, Mānkar, Durgābar. Pitāambar, Ananta Kandali, Rām Sarasvatī, Kaiāp Candra Dviya were the contemporary poet of Saṅkardeva.

At that period, in the Kāmarūpa kingdom, we find that only Mādhav Kandali flourished. Mādhav Kandali translated some portions of the epic Rāmāyana. In rest of Bengal after Carjyāpadas, we find the following poets in Pre-Saṅkariya era rather in Pre-Caitanya era:—Baṛu Caṅḍidasa, Māiādhār Basu, Jaśorāj Khān, Kavi Śekhar Vidyapati and vidyāpati.

Saṅkardeva was the chief exponent of Kāmatā Vaiṣṇavism. He began to preach his motto while he was at Nowgong. But his preachings were not liked by the then Āham King as well as the Brāhmins. He was persecuted by the Āham King and the Brāhmins. And out of fear he left Nowgong and settled at Kochbihār. At Kochbihār also, he was not liked by the Brāhmins and Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa. Somehow, he gained the friendship of Cilā Rāy, the able general and brother of Mahārājā Naranārāyaṇa. And through the efforts of Cilā Rāy he was allowed to remain at Kochbihār and was also allowed to preach his doctrine.

Śaṅkardeva revolted against the evils of Tantricism.

He based his theory upon Gīta and Bhāgavata and denounced the "Karmabād." He also denounced the supremacy of the Brāhmins. He preached, that if anybody wants salvation, he should recite the name of Hari and will think the feet of Hari. Śaṅkardeva. adored Hari or Kṛṣṇa as his DĀSA. And so the "Dāsva-bhāva" is prominent in his writings and teachings. He discarded the theory of "Rādhā-hood." To Śaṅkardeva and to his followers KṚṢṆA was BOY-KṚṢṆA ie. BĀLA-GOPĀLA. Śaṅkardeva and his devout followers depicted the childish pranks of boy Kṛṣṇa. The gopis are the playmates of boy Kṛṣṇa and not his lovers. So wailing for union with Kṛṣṇa and pangs of separation (with one's lover) is not at all prominent in Śaṅkardeva. And to his followers like that of Caitanyadeva and his followers. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, we find Rādhā and Baṛāi. Baṛāi was introduced as the intermedicator between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. But Śaṅkardeva instead of adopting Rādhā-hood, depicted the characters of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. And Nārada was shown as the intermedicator between Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and Kṛṣṇa. Śaṅkardeva and his followers, in literature painted the character of Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and Kṛṣṇa with full of human touches.

Śaṅkardeva's love to Kṛṣṇa is deep no doubt, but not so immotional, not so intense, as it was to Caitanyadeva and to his followers. Rādhā-hood, rather, the love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, which has a higher spiritual significance has been interpreted on the PARAKIYĀ ideal. The intense love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was practically demonstrated by Caitanyadeva.

Bengal Vaiṣṇavism upheld the theory of DVAITABĀD but Śaṅkardeva upheld the theory of ADAITABĀD rather MONISTIC DOCTRINE. Śaṅkardeva preached his motto in dramas and in other writings. He also held dramatic performances, used painted scenes. His followers

also followed his path. Some of these are new innovations and are not seen in toto in the adjoining areas.

Vidyāpati, Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa, flourished before Śaṅkardeva. Both are poets of high order. Both sang of the amorous of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Vidyāpati, excels in richness of his imagery and ransacked the store of nature to embellish his writings. In Baṛu Caṇḍidāsa's writing, we find the crude form of love with some dramatic element. Though these poets, flourished before Śaṅkardeva still Śaṅkardeva was not inspired by their writings and mottos. In writing dramas, he wrote some Sanskrit verses. In this respect he was inspired by Jaydeva the poet of Gīta Govinda, Śaṅkardeva used prose in writings dramas. Mādhavdeva an ardent disciple of Śaṅkardeva wrote drama in prose. Mādhavdeva, Dāmodardeva used prose in writing commentaries on Śaṅkardeva's theory of Vaiṣṇavism.

In using prose in drama and in other writings, even in writing letters, Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār is the pioneer. The language of these proses are nothing but the Western Kāmarūpī dialect, which is more akin to the Bengali language than the Assamese.

Manasāmaṅgal¹ and Bhabānīmaṅgal² as written by the Kāmatā poets, differ from the texts of rest of Bengal.

A host of poets of Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār, translated various cantos of Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Bhāgavata and other Purānas. The poets of rest of Bengal also did the same. But the most noteworthy is that, in some cases the Kāmatā poets were pioneer in this line.

As regards the historical literature, Kāmatā-Koch-Rāj-Darbār tops the list.

In the history of Bengali Folk literature, Dvija Umānātha's Māṅikyamitrerkathā is a new addition. The treatment of this story is unique. This may only be compared with Bāṇa Bhatta's Kādambarī.

1. Mānkar and Durgābar.

2. Rāmnārāyaṇa.

In the folk songs, we find that the predilection for sensuous life is manifested specially in Kṛṣṇa-gīti and Śaiva-gīti. In Kṛṣṇa-gītikā, Kṛṣṇa was painted as a rustic cowherd in clownish humour who overtures Rādhā for an embrace or a kiss. And in Śaiva-gītikas, we find that Śiva plays flute, takes hemp and stramonium, makes crude love with the Kucni girl and Dom girl. In folk song Sonārāyergān, we find that Sonārāy, the tiger God, is nothing but the admixture of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva. Sonārāy plays flute, takes hemp and stramonium, plays with the gopis. This was mainly due to the influence of Tantricism and Sahajiyā cult. Both of them advocated PARAKIYĀ companion for mystic practices “Binā śaktiṃ nā pujāsti matsya māṃsa binā priye : Binā parakīyā devī japed yadi tu sādhaḥ śatakoti japaṇaiba tasya siddhi na yāote”.

(No worship is valid without women, fish and meat, and if anybody worships without these, his worship will not be fruitful).¹

Both the sections held that the union with woman need not be of physical character :—

“Svakiyāṃ parakīyāṃ bā māśantu romet sthriam
Sarbbanthu manasāṃ kuryyāttena sādhaḥ”

(everything should be practiced, in the mind, then success can be attained).²

All these ideals were in vogue amongst the general illiterate mass. And the village bards sang songs on these ideals.³

1. Bengal Vaiṣṇavas hold :—

Mañjari anugā bhīṣayer jñāne : Nā pāibe bhajiyā
Śrī Rādhā-ramaṇe. (if you donot submit to a mañjari ie
to a woman, you won't get Kṛṣṇa) Rāgamayī kaṇā.

2. Manate karaha rati śrī rūpa parāṇa pati
Śrī Kṛṣṇa bhojan kara sār.

(Amritaratnāvalī....P. 8)

3. Opārete bāniyā bandhu mātḥār tickli yācelo
mātḥār tickli yāce.

Even after Śaṅkardeva, these ideals were never removed from the minds of the illiterate mass. In other form, we can say, that the motto and theory of Śaṅkardeva was never deeprooted in the minds of the general mass. On the otherhand the influence of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism both Pre-Caitanya and Post-Caitanya were adopted by the general mass of Kāmatāpur. And the same was manifested in popular folk songs and folk tales.

In the eighteenth century, in rest of Bengal, we find in Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carit, that Balarām, the brother of Kṛṣṇa is taking wine (Bāruṇi) and in Sūryyamaṅgal pāñcāli, we find that Sūrjya alias Śiva is taking stramonium and his companions were sixteen hundred gopinis. Souārāy, the tiger God of the area under review, did the same long before. So, we can summarise, that poets of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carit and Sūrjya Maṅgal Pāñcāli were influenced by the folk song and folk literature of Kāmatāpur.

In describing BĀRAMĀSYĀ and in showing its reflections upon the mind of the heroines, no difference is noticed between Kāmatā poets and the poets of rest of Bengal.

Kāmatāpur kingdom and Kāmarūpa kingdom were famous for its MANTRĀ⁴ and TANTRA. And these mantras and tantras were written in book forms. And all these texts were written in prose as well as in verse.

(the goldsmith friend of the other bank is willing to give her lover gold ornaments).

o o o o o o o
Mor prāñdhan anyer bārī yāy
mor āñginā diyā ghātā.

(my lover is going to another lover's house and he is passing through my way).

CF. Āmāra badhuā ānbārī yāy
āmāra āñginā diyā

Sai kemane dhariba hiyā...Vidyāpati.

o o o o

Ore geile ki āsiben O mor māhut bandhu re.

4. According to Dr. B. Barua, the MĀNTRĀ

Though these writings strictly speaking cannot be attributed as the piece of literary activities, still in the realm of literature it has got certain value, specially in the history of language⁵ as well as in social ethnological and cultural history of the period.

The physicians of Kāmatāpura-Kāmarūpa, in earliest times wrote books about the treatment of horses,⁶ elephants.

From the earliest times, the area under review, was full of jungles. Now-a-days too many parts of the area under review, are covered by dense forests. Many wild animals live in those jungles. The hunters used to catch the wild elephants. Now-a-days, the hunters also catches the wild elephants. These wildelephants are trained and in course of time, the wild elephants become tame. At the time of training the wild elephants, the trainer and

LITERATURE of Kāmatāpur-Kāmarūpa may be divided into five heads :—

(i) MAHĀPRATISĀR.....treatment of vice and diseases.

(ii) MAHĀ SAHASRA PRAMARDINI...to drive away the evil spirit.

(iii) MAHĀMĀYURI...to get relief from any poison.

(iv) MAHĀSITAVATĪ...to drive away the evil influence of the plannets and to save one from the fear of animal.

(v) MAHĀMANTRANUSĀRI...for various other reasons. Besides these, there are several other classes of Mantras :—marriage, birth, love, (Baṣīkaraṇa) Plantation of tree, construction of house, thrashing paddy, thrashing fower etc. In Sūdarśan Cakra, a book for various treatment, we find :—“prithibi larilā merugiri talilek : Sāgar talilā mandār larilā: kampilā svarga mandāl.” Though it is a Mantra-Puthi still it resembles like a literature.

5. Ananta sayyāt Gosāi suti āchilanta. Rāj bhailā cāri Ved, Niḥśvās kārante Atharba Vedar araṇya karati kahe, karati mantra jagatate rahe.

6. Ghorār-nidān.

the māhut sing songs in order to appease the wrath of the wild elephant.⁷

As regards the language of the literatures, written in Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Dardār, specially from the fourteenth to sixteenth century were written in KĀMARŪPI dialect. At thattimethe Bengali language andthe Assamese languagehad not taken definite shape. These two languages have taken definite shape from the eighteenth century.

Judging from the pure linguistic standpoint (as dicussed in the language chapter), it is clear, that the Kāmarūpi dialect has got closer affinity with the Bengali language, than the Assamese language. And the demands of the Assamese critics, that the language of the literatures written in Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār are purely Assamese. is not at all acceptable. On the otherhand we like to say that ihe literatures which were written from fourteenth to seventeenth century, were nothing but EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI and LATE MIDDLE BENGALI. And the literatures written in the eighteenth century is purely Bengali.⁸

7. Hastī kanyā hastī kanyā bāmuner nārī
māthāy niyā tām kalasī O sakhī hāte
Sonār jhāri Sakhī O.

8. Pracaṇḍa Caṇḍikā Caṇḍamunḍa bināśinī
Bhabānī Bhairabī bhāba bhaya nipātinī.

o o o o
Ādya Anantā antaryyāmī mā Abhayā
Kalikāle kaluṣ nāśinī Mahāmāyā.

(the aliterations are noteworthy, it reminds us Bhārṇ Candra of rest of Bengali :—Ati baṛa briddha pati siddhi nipun : kon guṇ nāi tār kapāle āgun).

o o o o
Gaṅgātīre anupām pātaliputra nām
nagar sundar manohar.
Se nagare mahāmāti sudarśan narapati
sasāgarā prithivi Īśvar.
o o o o
Se rūpa nirakhi juṛāila ākhi
Śrī Harendra bhupe racila gāne

In observances of feasts and festivals in Kāmatā kingdom, some differences are noticed with that of rest of rest of Bengal.⁹

Differences are noticed in painting and sculptures and in decoration in textile arts both in cotton and silk dresses.

Types and designs of coin of Kāmatā-Rāj-Darbār differs from that of rest of Bengal.¹⁰

Further we like to say, that in this thesis we have given a detailed history of the literatures written in Kāmatā-Kochbihār-Rāj-Darbār. In most cases, we will find, that the same classes of literatures were simultaneously written in other parts of Bengal and in most cases nothing new and nothing admirable (except the ONE ACT PLAY; the use of PROSE in literature, Drama. and the folk-songs of Māṅikaymitrerkathā, songs sung at the time of training the wild elephants, Bhabānī maṅgal and Manasāmaṅgal) will be added in the sphere of the Bengali literature, still the literatures which were written in the said Darbārs have got importance, as it will fill up some lost pages of the Bengali literature with its cultural and social history of Bengali people and at the same time the additions of these literatures will also enrich the history of Bengali literature.

9. Sonārāyerpūjā, Buṛā-buīūrpujā. R̥ṣe Pūjā, Kārtic Pūjā Madankām Pūjā differs greatly from that of Bengal.

10. Coins of Naranārāyana :—Obverse :—Śrī Śrīmān Naranārāyanasya Śake 1477 (1555 A.D.) Reverse :—Śrī Śrī Śiva-caraṇa-kamala-madhukarasya.

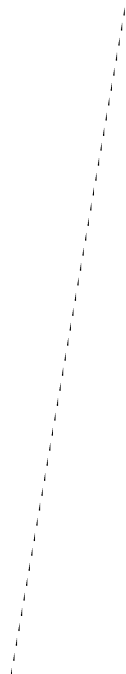
Danujmardandeva, adopted this system of coinage. Aham Kings also followed the same system; Kachārī kings also followed the same style :—Śrī Śrī Yaśanārāyanadeva—bhupālasya, śāke 1505 (1583 A.D.)

Reverse :—Hara-Gaurī-caraṇa-parāyaṇa.

Jayantiyā Kings also followed the same style.

Tripurā coins differs slightly.

We can speak in a nut-shell, that the area which were under the Mongoloid influence, took a different shape in feasts, festivals, paintings, sculptures, manners and customs and in the coinage system too.



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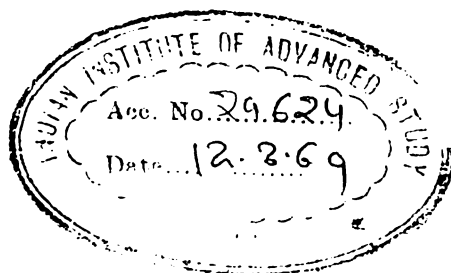
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