

Head for the Hills:
Lateral Vernacular Adaptations and the Maithili *Padas* of Vidyāpati Ṭhākura (c. 15th-19th cents.)

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Abstract

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Most studies on the emergence of the 'vernaculars' in South Asia have focused on two patterns of development. The first focuses primarily on the reactionary development of localized vernacular communities out of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, and the second examines the internal development and expansion of vernacular literary identities. This dissertation will focus upon a third "lateral vernacular" shift, in which one local vernacular, Maithili, moved beyond its parochial boundaries and was adopted by non-speakers. In addition to the adaptations and innovations of contemporary speakers of Maithili, this Eastern New Indo-Aryan language was adopted as a court language by the Newari-speaking Malla Kings of Nepal (ca. 1201-1779 CE) and as a language of *Vaiṣṇava* devotional poetry in Bengal. In regard to this particular lateral vernacular shift, this dissertation examines the tradition of Maithili short lyric poetry (*gīti-kāvya*) of the poet Vidyāpati (c. 1360-1450) as it was adopted by both Maithili speakers and non-speakers in subsequent centuries. All three communities engage with the memory of Vidyāpati and his patrons, the Oinvāra Brahman-kings (1353-1526 CE), as symbols of a bygone Brahmanical 'golden age'.

At the center of this study, I analyze one representative *padāvalī* ('anthology of *padas*') manuscript, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* ('Songs in the Vernacular') (c. 18th cent. CE). This manuscript, sitting between the better-studied 'Nepal,' 'Tarauni,' and 'Rambhadrapur' manuscripts of the 15th-17th centuries and the later Bengali *padābalīs* of the 18th-19th centuries, represents a valuable snapshot of a tradition in development. To establish the salient features that were adopted and utilized for cultural self-fashioning by the Mallas, Bengali *Vaiṣṇavas*, and contemporary Maithili-speakers, I consider the intersections of both text and performance.

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Dedication

For Kyle.

List of Abbreviations

Textual Sources

NM - Nepal Manuscript
RT - Rāgatarāṅgiṇī
RM - Rāmbhadrapur Manuscript
TM - Taraunī Manuscript
NG - Nagendranath Gupta
SJ - Subhadra Jha's *Songs of Vidyāpati*
BRBP - Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad
MM - Mitra & Majumdar

Lexical Sources

KK - Kalyani Kosh
MM - Mitra & Majumdar Lexicon
MW - Monier Williams
OHED - Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary
SoV - *Songs of Vidyāpati* (Subhadra Jha)
VS - *Vidyāpati Śabdakośa (Avahaṭṭha Khaṇḍa)*

Grammatical Terms

Absol.	Absolutive
Adj.	Adjective/adjectival
Adv.	Adverb
Aux.	Auxilliary
Conj.	Conjunctive
Corr.	Correlative
D.	Deśī
Dim.	Diminutive
Emph.	Emphatic
Fem.	Feminine
Gen.	Genitive
Ger.	Gerund
Inf.	Infinitive
Imp.	imperative
Interj.	Interjection
Instr.	Instrumental
Ip.	Imperfect Participle
Irr.	Irregular
Loc.	Locative
N.	Noun
Perf.	Perfective

P.Ind.	Past Indicative
PN.	Proper Noun
Post Pos.	Post position
Pp.	Past participle (passive)
Pr.Ind.	Present Indicative
Pron.	Pronoun
Prox.	Proximate
Refl.	Reflexive
Rel.	Relative
Var.	Variant
V.t.	Verb, transitive

Transliteration Conventions

All of the texts consulted for this study follow standard Indo-Aryan phonetic and orthographic tendencies, that is, the National Library of Kolkata's romanization conventional system, itself an extension of the IAST (International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration). This scheme allows for several additional characters, not in the Nāgarī script but found in the *Mithilākṣara* and Bengali scripts, to be accurately represented (य, -ya-).

I have chosen to represent all Maithili texts in roman transliteration. This manner of transliteration sidesteps the tricky question of script in the Maithili context. Though the Bhāṣā Saṅgīta is written in *Mithilākṣara*, the majority of contemporary Maithili speakers cannot read that writing system. The goal is to make the text of the manuscript, and other sources, as accessible as possible for speakers of Maithili, Hindi, Bengali, and English. In the body of my dissertation, I have written specific well-known proper nouns from Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars without diacritic marks (not Śiva, but Shiva, etc.). I have italicized other terminology in foreign languages that might not be widely known in the same manner.

a अ अ	ā आ आ	I इ इ	ī ई ई	u उ उ	ū ऊ ऊ
r र र					
e ए ए	ai ऐ ऐ	o ओ ओ	au औ औ	am ँ ँ	aḥ ः ः
ka क क	kha ख ख	ga ग ग	gha घ घ	ṅa ङ ङ	
ca च च	cha छ छ	ja ज ज	jha झ झ	ña ञ ञ	

ṭa ट ट	ṭha ठ ठ	ḍa ड ड	ḍha ढ ढ	ṇa ण ण
ta त त	tha थ थ	da द द	dha ध ध	na न न
pa प प	pha फ फ	ba ब ब	bha भ भ	ma म म
ya य य (ya य)	ra र र	la ल ल	va व व	
śa श श	ṣa ष ष	sa स स	ha ह ह	

Introduction

A Lateral Vernacular Model

This dissertation is a contribution to the study of vernacularization. In the past millennium, several vernacular languages of South Asia garnered broad appeal beyond their local courts and regions to become "cosmopolitan vernaculars." This study concerns the manner by which one of those vernaculars, Maithili, moved beyond its parochial origin in Mithila into other regions and contexts. Unlike most North Indian vernaculars, Maithili is modeled nearly exclusively by the example of a single poet — Vidyāpati Ṭhākura (ca. 1370-1450 CE). The style, thematic content, and structure of Vidyāpati's short lyric poems (*padas*) became the foundation for later poets in Mithila, Nepal, and greater Bengal who chose follow his model and to adopt Maithili (or its mixed Maithili-Bengali register [*i.e.*, Brajabuli]).¹ These *padas* became central and essential parts of literary canons in several modern languages: Maithili, Bengali, and Hindi. For this reason, I have chosen to examine South Asian vernacularism through an examination of Vidyāpati and his Maithili idiom.

In this dissertation, I analyze how Vidyāpati (the poet as well as the poetic character) and his idiom moved beyond geographic and religious boundaries as an example of "lateral vernacularization." With this term I mean the lateral shift of vernaculars, transposed over landscapes, regions, religious and social milieus. This represents a type of literary circulation that occurs in parallel and is motivated and sustained by the impulse to connect with previous local regimes of cultural prestige. In Mithila and Nepal, the adoption of Vidyāpati's idiom was

¹ Brajabuli is a mixed register of Middle Bengali and Maithili that developed currency in Bengal. Brajabuli is an artificial art-language used solely in poetry. The name refers to the home of Krishna and Radha (Vraja) in which the majority of *padas* were set and not to Braj Bhasha as the language of west-central India. Brajabuli will be discussed subsequently in this dissertation.

motivated by a desire to project cultural and political power. In a parallel instance, the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal sought to elevate their devotional lyrics to more authoritative tradition of ‘courtly’ literary prestige. A "lateral vernacularization" model helps describe these patterns of circulation and adaptation that occur in parallel (*i.e.* in Mithila, Nepal, and Bengal). These parallel developments are facilitated by the intersection of text and performance. This dissertation examines several of those points of intersection.

The “lateral” model is to complement the "vertical" (or diachronic) development of those vernaculars out of the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis.'² Sheldon Pollock’s formulation of the ‘vernacular millennium’ and the emergence of ‘cosmopolitan vernaculars’³ forms the foundation of the modern academic discussion on the subject. Pollock characterizes the vernacular endeavor as primarily political in motivation and an extension and transformation of the trends already existent in the Sanskrit cosmopolis in elite circles. In his formulation, the ontological worlds of *kāvya* (*belles-lettres*) and *śāstra* (the sciences) operated in connected, but separate functional worlds in the political culture of premodern South Asia.⁴

Pollock's central argument compares the early evolution of Sanskrit, from being a ritual-religious tool (“language of the gods”) to an elite political expression of power (“language of

² Pollock declares that, “the phrase ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’ carries three additional implications that make it useful here. The first is its supra regional dimension (“cosmo-”), which directs attention toward the expansive nature of the formation. The second is the prominence given to the political dimension (“-polis”), which was of particular importance in this form of global identification. Last, the qualification provided by “Sanskrit” affirms the role of this particular language in producing the forms of cultural and political expression that underwrote this cosmopolitan order.” (Pollock 2006: 12).

³ Pollock defines the vernacular impetus thusly: “vernacular literary cultures were initiated by the conscious decisions of writers to reshape the boundaries of their cultural universe by renouncing the larger world for the smaller place, and they did so in full awareness of the significance of their decision. New, local ways of making culture— with their wholly historical and factitious local identities—and, concomitantly, new ways of ordering society and polity came into being, replacing the older translocalism. These developments in culture and power are historically linked, at the very least by the fact that using a new language for communicating literarily to a community of readers and listeners can consolidate if not create that very community, as both a sociotextual and a political formation.” (Pollock 2000: 592).

⁴ Pollock 2006: 3 & Pollock 1998b: 48-19.

men”), to the inverse process of vernacularization that took place from the beginning of the second millennium CE. In both instances, Pollock understands the revolutionary changes to have been mainly literary and elite/courtly.⁵ It is only afterward, in a 'second phase,' that Pollock accounts for a shift to the quotidian and demotic as a secondary effect.⁶ This latter characterization broadly fits the court-to-court transfer of Vidyāpati's idiom (Oinvāra to Malla⁷) and its later adoption among Newari musician classes,⁸ but does not work in the case of its simultaneous lateral transfer to Bengal-Assam-Odisha. In the case of the Brajabuli/Vrajavali, the first evidence of Vidyāpati's presence comes from a description of listening-performing on the part of Caitanya and his associates in the *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*. From the sixteenth century CE, that tradition became more “literarized” and evident in textual sources only afterward.

Moving beyond the vertical-diachronic emergence of vernacular identities out of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, other scholars have focused on the internal development of vernacular communities and the expansion of vernacular identities across caste groups, gender, and geographies. Christian Novetzke's study of Marathi vernacularization provides a useful representative model of vernaculars engaged on their own terms. Novetzke, in his study of the rise of Marathi as the vernacular of Yadava-period Maharashtra (c. 860-1317 CE), re-utilizes Pollock's vernacular model. Novetzke relocates the political power of the vernacular age in a “public sphere,” or more literally, a public square or marketplace, in which the “vernacular polity” is the very interaction between religious elites and the public vernacular masses.⁹ In this analysis of vernacular-cosmopolitan discourse, largely idealized by what Novetzke calls the

⁵ Pollock 2006: 21-24.

⁶ Pollock 2006: 20-21.

⁷ The Mallas are a set of dynasties that ruled the three major kingdoms of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, Patna, and Bhaktapur) independently or as a unified state between 1201 and 1779 CE.

⁸ Richard Widdess describes the trickle-down adoption of this medium, along with the Maithili *padas* by Newari musicians of the Kathmandu Valley into the present. (Widdess 2015: 237-240 and Widdess 2013: 5-7.)

⁹ Novetzke 2016: 26-29.

“Brahminic Ecumene,” there is a distinct contrast between theoretical literary discourse and what happens on the ground-level in public spaces. This cross-regional community (“ecumene”) can be described as a network of religious and cultural Brahmanical elites across South Asia. This is the network into which the Oinvāras, the Mallas, and others sought to tap into by engaging Vidyāpati’s language and idiom.

In my study of Vidyāpati and the Maithili vernacular, I argue that the interplay between courtly discourse and public performance can account for the existence of Vidyāpati's idiom as a simultaneously performed and “literarized” tradition. Unlike Novetzke, who locates the Marathi case in the public interactions of high and low caste communities, the transmission of Maithili is related almost exclusively with Brahmanical prestige. It is in the contemporary period that Brahmanical identity becomes tied into various nationalist and regionalist projects for recognition. Though the usage of Maithili eventually extended beyond exclusive Brahmanical patronage, it was its Brahmin-origins that appealed to many other caste and religions communities. After all, the Mallas were not brahmins, but the brahmin status of Vidyāpati and the Oinvāras was certainly capitalized on as a central feature of Maithili's adoption in the Kathmandu Valley,

Novetzke expands the definition of the second-millennium vernacular wave from only textual 'literariness' to that of the performative (and also other realms like the visual).¹⁰ By moving beyond the temporally and geographical moribund nature of inscriptions, Novetzke's added emphasis on the performative adds 'culture' back into the equation by considering sources scholars of religion and text have ignored. Novetzke calls this a “deeply geocultural process.”¹¹ This text-plus-performance model works well in the case of Vidyāpati and Maithili since, like

¹⁰ Novetzke 2008: 99-110.

¹¹ Novetzke 2016: 10.

Novetzke's subjects, they fall into the tricky gap between the political and the devotional. This ambiguity and lack of clear categorization seems to be a constitutive part of vernacular literary hagiographies.

Novetzke's model can help to explain the impulses which might have motivated the widespread adoption of Maithili and to account for the multiple avenues of transmission but stops short at describing the parallel and multidirectional transformations that occurred in later centuries to Vidyāpati's idiom. Of course, it was not Novetzke's aim to characterize all instances of vernacular self-awareness in South Asia. Novetzke's "horizontal model" explains how vernacular identities are developed by actors working side-by-side in public arenas. Pollock's universalist "vertical" model emphasizes the exclusive role of courtly culture in the process of vernacularization. The lateral model I propose serves to account for the origin, transmission, and pluricentric transformations that occurred in the case of Vidyāpati and his Maithili idiom.

This study also seeks to extend the conversation on vernacular cosmopolitanism started by Pollock and since added to by many other scholars. Allison Busch's seminal studies on Braj Bhasha, as a specifically courtly idiom, have helped to define better how a local idiom can be standardized and adopted (horizontally) from court-to-court. In her study on the secondary, non-imperial courts of North India, Busch emphasizes the highly developed adaptation of Sanskritic poetic models, and the poetic treatises used and composed by Braj Bhasha poets to mitigate their anxiety for writing in the vernacular. These explicit formulations on their styles and idioms at times relied on Sanskrit models, but also engaged with a '*deśī* aesthetic.'¹²

In a similar vein in the Bengali context, Thibaut d'Hubert has added to this conversation by focusing upon non-royal elites of "peripheral regions" and how they utilize multiple languages to

¹² Busch 2004: 128-129.

leverage their connection to multiple cosmopolises. In his study of Ālāol and the Bengali Muslim literary communities of Arakan (Burma), d'Hubert connects multiple language communities and streams of literary prestige. Poets like Ālāol drew upon Vidyāpati's Maithili model, Persian literature, and North Indian vernacular Sufi literature to connect themselves to multiple imagined literary landscapes.¹³ Ālāol and the Bengali Muslim literary community of Arakan looked to multiple regimes of cosmopolitan prestige (the Indic, the Persianate, the Islamic, etc.) to build their own identities as powerful intermediaries in what was, until recently, considered a peripheral region. D'Hubert's consideration of the multiple intersections of literary self-fashioning has informed my consideration of a multi-lingual framework and of sources in the early development of Maithili's literary popularity outside of Mithila.

While d'Hubert considers the intersections of multiple classical and vernacular literary traditions that are easily distinguished from each other in the present and the past, this study focuses on divergences of one tradition (Maithili) and its efflorescence elsewhere. This reverse perspective still relies on interrogating the siloed categories of contemporary language communities. Through an analysis of the expansion of the Vidyāpati-tradition, I propose a lateral model, through which we can move beyond the predetermined designations established by language nationalists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁴ Instead of looking backward in time for the teleologically determined origins of Maithili, Hindi, or Bengali, it is more profitable to examine how the borders of languages were not always so firm (Maithili vis-à-vis Brajabuli) or how a language might be adopted by non-speakers to suit their own cultural and political needs.

¹³ D'Hubert 2018: 20, 45-46, & 290-298.

¹⁴ Heidi Pauwels warns us against blindly following the suppositions of a teleological language historiography. When considering literary communities of the Early Modern period, (Pauwels 2010: 208-209).

Vidyāpati and the Maithili Pada Tradition

I have briefly introduced the significance of Vidyāpati and his idiom concerning the broader scope of this study, but it will be helpful to establish necessary contextual information on the poet and his language before beginning this dissertation. The Maithili language is spoken in Mithilā, a cultural-linguistic region that encompasses Northern Bihar and the eastern lowlands of the Nepali Terai. In the early twenty-first century, both the governments of India and Nepal have recognized Maithili as an official language in their constitutions (in 2003 and 2007 respectively). Contemporary Maithili speakers straddle the border between two modern nations. Though the border remains permeable, in recent years scholastic activity has been separated more dramatically between Kathmandu/Janakpur in Nepal and Patna/Darbhanga in India. However, the historical, literary, and cultural connection between the lowlands of Mithila and the highlands of the Kathmandu Valley (*a.k.a. Nepal Maṇḍala*) is capitalized upon by Maithils across the border to draw themselves out of the peripheries of both nations and into centers of power.

Vidyapati (c. 1370-1460) is famed as the inaugurator of the Maithili vernacular lyric poetic tradition. His collection of *padas* (or lyric verses) has been the preeminent model for lyric composition across the Eastern regions of India, from the Kathmandu Valley to the Bay of Bengal, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century CE. The formative period of early literary production in Mithilā took place during the Oinvāra rule in Mithilā (c. 1325–1556 CE). These brahmin-kings of a rural court in the hinterlands invested in both literary and *śāstric* projects that far outweighed their political presence in North and East India. Vidyāpati was patronized by no less than five of these Oinvāra rulers. The most famous pair of rulers to patronize Vidyāpati and be featured in his vernacular lyrics are Śivasimha (r. c. 1410-1414/16) and Lakhimā Devī (r. c. 1416-1428/9), the latter of whom ruled in her own right after the death of her husband.

Vidyāpati was a Sanskrit scholar of *nīti* and *dharma-śāstra* and a poet of Apabhraṃśa, yet he is most famous for his Maithili corpus, which continues to be the prime identifier for this fifteenth-century polymath. His style, language, and poetic structures dictated the norms and standards for the tradition in a way that few other figures of South Asian vernacular literary history have. Since the time of the historical Vidyāpati, different language and religious communities have constructed radically different memory traditions that represent him as a scholar, a saint (either *Vaiṣṇava* or *Śaiva*), or a court poet.¹⁵ Vidyāpati's technical Sanskrit works and Avahaṭṭha martial narratives reveal his identity as an orthodox brahmin with a *Śaiva-Śākta* or the very least a *Smārta* preference who held a professional position in the court.¹⁶ For traditional Maithil *Paṇḍitas* (the Jhā-s) and other upper-caste Maithils, Vidyāpati's status as a Brahmin and a scholar trumps his more popular vernacular legacy as a poet. Meanwhile, for the vast majority of Northern Biharis of other castes, Vidyāpati is indelibly identified as a devotee of Shiva, as Ugnā-Deva (Skt. *Ugranātha-Deva*).¹⁷

In the Maithili-derived Brajabuli tradition of the East (Bengal, Odisha, and Assam), Vidyāpati is one of the 'first *Vaiṣṇavas*' (*ādi-vāiṣṇava*) who inaugurated the *padābalī* tradition. In Bengal, the famous founder of *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism*, Caitanya (1486-1534), is described as enraptured by the devotional songs of Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdās, and Jayadeva, as sung to him by his

¹⁵ The earliest historical mention of Vidyāpati, a short entry in Abu Fazl's *Ain-i Akbarī*, already asserts several of these identities. This citation occurs when Abu Fazl concerns himself with the musical traditions of India, describes Vidyāpati as the famed Bihari composer of '*laccharīs*.' He is also described as "belonging to the category of love-poets" (*āz surīs-i 'isq*) (Sarkar 1948: 3:266).

¹⁶ All of Vidyāpati's non-*pada* works are dedicated to Shiva in their introductions. As will be seen in section 2.4, the majority of Vidyāpati's Sanskrit works are either devotional/ritual treatises dedicated to Shiva and Devi or works of *smṛti*.

¹⁷ Skt. *Ugra-deva*. This form of Shiva is the focus of popular Śaiva devotion in contemporary Mithilā. In the Ugnā folktale, Shiva incarnates as a bumbling brahmin servant of the poet Vidyāpati. After later discovering his identity, Vidyāpati is sworn to secrecy. Vidyāpati accidentally reveals Ugnā's true identity to his wife. Shiva then disappears, and Vidyāpati is left to wander Mithilā in ecstatic sorrow singing songs of devotion. Vidyāpati's image is often situated near the main shrines of Shiva in central Mithilā. (Rakesh 1996).

associates according to Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāja's *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* (c. sixteenth cent. CE).¹⁸ For modern Bengalis, Vidyāpati was a proto-humanist/modernist before his time.¹⁹ This formulation says more about the divorce between the concerns of colonial and post-colonial Bengali literature and traditions of erotic or erotic/devotional literature in the premodern past.

In Odisha, Rāmānanda Rāya (1504–1532) is credited with inaugurating the Odia tradition of Brajabuli-Vaiṣṇava poetry modeled after Vidyāpati and Old Maithili poetic standards. This is a decidedly Bengali/Maithili perspective that is often left out of Odia histories of their literary canon.²⁰ In Assam, unlike in Bengal, Vrajavali was used by the followers of Śaṅkaradeva in their one-act devotional plays (*aṅkīya nāṭs*) on Puranic themes. The language of Vidyāpati and his 'courtly' status were divorced in the Assamese context since the concerns of Śaṅkara's *Ēka-Śaraṇa* reform sect did not engage with erotic frames of devotional literary expression like the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas did.²¹

Vidyāpati did not garner a position of greater importance in the Hindi heartland until the modern era, though already in the sixteenth century, Maithili-speakers seem to have been aware of what is referred to as *Madhyadeśa Bhāṣā(s)*.²² Unlike the contemporary useful, but problematic usages of '*rīti*' and '*bhakti*' in Hindi literary history, Maithili, Bengali, and Hindi literary scholars have not been consistent in the terms they have used to refer to Vidyāpati's 'courtliness.' Maithili and Hindi historians usually emphasize the poet's focus on the *rasa* of *śṛṅgāra* (erotic love), but many simultaneously subvert their designation by diffusing the erotic

¹⁸ *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 1.13.40; 2.2.65; 2.10.113; 3.15.24-25; 3.17.4-7; and 3.17.58. (Stewart 1999: 283-284, 364, 487, 939).

¹⁹ Coomaraswamy 1994: 26 & 32.

²⁰ Jha 2003: 10.

²¹ Smith 2003: 79-81.

²² 'Madhyadeśa-bhāṣā' (lit. the language of the central lands) is a category used by Locana Dās' in his *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*. He explains that he uses this language (equivalent to Braj Bhasa) to explain the Maithili tradition of song-poetry to those outside of Tirhut. *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 1.15 (Jha 1981: 5).

with esoteric "mystery" (*rahasya*)²³ or the "spiritually metaphoric"²⁴.

Why Maithili?

As one of the earliest 'cosmopolitan vernaculars' of North and East India (like Braj Bhasa or Avadhi), Maithili presents a unique case study on the emergence of vernaculars. Vidyāpati's vernacular oeuvre does not neatly fit within many current conversations regarding the nature of vernacular literary development across premodern South Asia in the last millennium. The Maithili lyric tradition evolved under the singular template established by Vidyāpati's poetic precedent and is dependent mainly upon that model. Referring to the Brajabuli branch of the Vidyāpati-tradition, Sukumar Sen has described a "*Vidyāpati goṣṭhī*"²⁵ or "the poetic gathering of Vidyāpati".²⁶

In the case of Vidyāpati, we do have two significant theoretical treatises on the nature of the Maithili tradition — Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* and Locana's *Rāgataranṅiṇī*, the latter of which relies on Vidyāpati's *padas* as illustrative examples. These two texts, which straddle Vidyāpati's lifetime by a century on either side, are of a different nature than those treatises found in Braj Bhasa, for example. The *Varṇaratnākara* is a compendium of legitimate descriptors and categories to be used in Maithili. The *Rāgataranṅiṇī* makes its contribution to the study of music, meter, and rhythm. Both texts neglect the step-by-step, and fully explicated poetic scenarios and characters used in *rīti-granths* on *alāṅkāra* (poetic devices), such as in

²³ Kapūra 1968: 31.

²⁴ Coomaraswamy 1994: 26-28.

²⁵ Sen 1966.

Thibaut d'Hubert makes use of this characterization of the Brajabuli tradition in his linking of the Vidyāpati tradition to that of the Arakanese Bengali poet Ālaol (fl. 1651-1671). A further discussion of d'Hubert's work, the most extensive English language scholarship on the subject, will be provided in 1.5 of this dissertation. (d'Hubert 2018: 256).

²⁶ This term refers to the tradition of poets who model their lyric poems in Maithili or Brajabuli on Vidyāpati's model. In some instances, it is clear that later poets directly reference Vidyāpati as a historical figure or his *padas*.

Keśavadās' *Rasikaprīya* (1591).

As a contrastive example, in her description of the "anxiety of innovation"²⁷ at the root of the Braj poets' vernacular medium, Allison Busch argues that the aesthetic-mannerist tradition (*rīti*) and its associated treatises on *rasa* were the defining mode of Braj Bhasha's cosmopolitanism that was commodified and spread across North India during the Mughal Period. This contrasts with late nineteenth and early twentieth century nationalist Hindi historians who purposefully sought to relegate *rīti* literature to a minor status.²⁸ Vidyāpati plays a more central role in the Maithili tradition in establishing these norms than, for example, Keśavadās does in the Braj Bhasha tradition. While a poet like Keśavadās might be said to embody the Braj Bhasha tradition and might be copied by later poets, they do not solely define the aesthetics or style of Braj Bhasha poetics. Vidyāpati's lyrics do set the stylistic and structural precedents of the Maithili poetic tradition.

The Maithili tradition is also limited in form and genre in a manner unlike other cosmopolitan vernaculars like Braj Bhasha. Vidyāpati-style lyric poems all follow a similar structure and style. This is true whether they are collected together in *padāvalīs* for singers or strung together into narratives in the *kīrtaniñā nāṭakas* ('devotional dramas') of Nepal. The *kīrtaniñā*-style dramas were primarily written by elite authors, many of them the Malla kings themselves. However, there is evidence that they were widely performed in public settings.²⁹ Whether in *pada* anthologies or in narrative devotional dramas, Vidyāpati-style *padas* were the only living traditions of Maithili until the innovations of the colonial and postcolonial periods.³⁰ The Maithili tradition was never extensively adopted for martial or historical narratives, though

²⁷ Busch 2004.

²⁸ Busch 2011: 102-129.

²⁹ Miśra 1965: 30-50

³⁰ Mishra 1949: 73-83.

Vidyāpati did use a register of Apabhraṃśa, known as Avahaṭṭha (Skt. *Apabhraṣṭha*), to write similar narratives.³¹

The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* Manuscript

Much of the scholarship that has been undertaken so far focuses on classifying Vidyāpati's lyric idiom and the efflorescence of Maithili lyric compositions that followed him. Out of necessity, these studies have relied on a handful of sources. These consist of three primary *padāvalī* manuscripts (the Nepal manuscript, the Rambhadrapur manuscript, and the Tarauni manuscript)³², and one musicological anthology (Locana Dās' *Rāgataranṅīṭī*)³³ and have been the standard sources considered by scholars of the Vidyāpati-tradition for about a century. This leaves our understanding of the diversity of Vidyāpati's *padas* in circulation in premodern Mithila and Nepal incomplete and also has the consequence that Vidyāpati's 'courtly style' remains narrowly defined.

In order to study how Maithili moved laterally from Mithila to Nepal, this dissertation is focused on Vidyāpati's *padāvalī* ('anthology of *padas*') as preserved in one manuscript from the eighteenth-century Kathmandu Valley called the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*.³⁴ This previously unpublished manuscript presents a collection of Vidyāpati's lyric poems, interspersed with a handful of poems by other poets, organized loosely by theme. It is crucial for my argument since it represents a snapshot of the unexplored midpoint in the 'Vidyāpati-tradition'³⁵ between the

³¹ Herman Tieken discusses the embeddedness of New Indo-Aryan (vernacular) literary forms in Apabhraṃśa's lyrical tradition (Tieken 2008: 356-359). Vidyāpati, like most premodern vernacular authors, did not designate his vernacular as 'Maithili' or 'Tirhuta.' Avahaṭṭha, or the regional Apabhraṃśa of Eastern India, is the only designation provided by the poet himself in his famous aphorism. The identification of 'Maithili' and 'Avahaṭṭha/Apabhraṃśa' will be discussed in section 7.1 in depth.

³² These three manuscripts are described in detail in sections 3.1.2.1-3 of this dissertation.

³³ This unique text is described and contextualized in section 3.1.3.1 of this dissertation.

³⁴ '*(Bhāṣā) Saṅgīta*'. B286/34 National Archives of Nepal & Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP).

³⁵ I have tried to consistently refer to only "Vidyāpati" when I mean to evoke the historical figure and author and to refer to the "Vidyāpati tradition" when I intend to refer to the entire corpus and history of memorialization that is

lifetime of the poet and his immediate successors in Mithila, and the adoption of his style in Nepal, Bengal, and beyond.

I will provide an analysis of the manuscript's language, style, and contents in order to locate it within the development of the Maithili *pada* tradition and the individual *padas*' connections to Vidyāpati's aesthetic project. Additionally, the study of this manuscript contributes to the scholarly discussion of Vidyāpati's poetic corpus, which has up to now been restricted to a small set of textual sources. This manuscript brings to light 65 new Vidyāpati *padas*, some of which I have translated. The remainder are transcribed in the appendix. In addition, I provide new versions of 75 songs of Vidyāpati that are also found in better-known sources, some of which again I have translated, and the others transcribed in the appendix. I have selected a total 49 *padas* to broadly characterize the main thematic areas that define Vidyāpati's idiom, including new and unpublished *padas* in my selection. The manuscript allows me to juxtapose Vidyāpati's songs with those of other poets, illuminating the nature of Vidyāpati's poetic style as it was adopted by poets in the two centuries immediately following the poet's lifetime.

The jumbled and sometimes chaotic nature of the anthologies have led contemporary scholars to disregard the Vidyāpati manuscript tradition. The anthological nature of a '*padāvalī*' (lit. 'String of *Padas*) presents several challenges in the consideration of Vidyāpati's Maithili work as any sort of united whole. The mixtures of differing styles of *padas* found in the available sources highlights the diverse usage of these textual objects. As both textual objects and sources and reflections on a performance tradition, it is difficult to assess whether the *padāvalīs* reflect or dictate the nature of performance. Additionally, the songs themselves are a bit of a *mélange*. Composed and transmitted for the purpose of singing, rather than archival preservation,

attached to the poet's name.

Vidyāpati's *padas* mix poetic scenarios and tropes freely. They do not represent consistent narrative scenarios individually or collectively. They are to be understood as musical vignette's to be utilized in singing. While it is difficult to reconstruct a historical music tradition in Oinvāra-period Mithila or Malla-period Nepal, the anthological choices made by scribes provide glimpses of a tradition that was constantly being adapted and 'edited.' This inaccessibility has plagued the modern study of Vidyāpati's Maithili tradition. Despite the physical degradation of manuscripts and the geopolitical borders that limit collaboration between Indian and Nepali Maithili-speakers, scholars have thankfully made the most of those sources that they came across.

Tyler Williams has demonstrated the importance of studying such an anthology for a North Indian devotional community, the Nirañjanīs. They constituted whole unified texts (or *granthas*) by specific techniques of musical and thematic organization in addition to paratextual details (commentaries, scribal emendations, etc.).³⁶ While the Nirañjanīs did so for theological reasons, there is a parallel in the Vidyāpati tradition in that it was also based on musical and thematic structures as is evident in the manuscripts of Mithila, Nepal, and Bengal. However, in the Maithili tradition, paratextual information is much less common.

It is difficult to specify how these *padas* circulated within and between Mithila and Nepal since there are so few textual sources. Additionally, there are so few cross-occurrences of *padas* between sources as to make it impracticable to trace transmission purely on only the basis of the manuscripts available. We need a more extensive data set in order to convey a fuller picture of the creative adoption and adaptation of *padas* not just ascribed to Vidyāpati directly but the idiom, which developed out of his precedent. It is also necessary to consider more abstract

³⁶ Williams 2014: 304.

elements of Vidyāpati's idiom (structures, themes, and usages) rather than easily navigable paths of text-to-text transmissions. Still, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript contains enough *padas* that overlap with the better-studied manuscripts to historicize their circulation. As will also be specified subsequently in this dissertation, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* represents a middle layer between the oldest palm-leaf sources and the nineteenth and twentieth-century songbooks of Mithila, Nepal, and Bengal. A thorough philological study of this manuscript will allow for a more precise conceptualization of the fluid nature of a lyrical tradition that relies on performance as much as on textual transmission.

Of the previously studied manuscripts, the 'Nepal Manuscript,' was written down in the Kathmandu valley in the sixteenth century CE, while the others likely came from lowland Mithila in the seventeenth century CE. Thus far, no materials have been published to assess the Vidyāpati-tradition in the Malla courts., Contemporary scholars (in Mithila especially) have identified manuscripts that are preserved in the archives of the Kathmandu Valley, among whom the prolific Maithili literary scholar, Jayakanta Mishra.³⁷ Following his lead, I came across several dozen manuscripts labeled "*Bhāṣā-(Saṅ)gīta*" and '*Rāga-Mālā*' in Maithili-language catalogs.³⁸ These texts were in a variety of scripts (*Mithilākṣara*, Newari, and Nāgarī), written on several different materials (palm-leaf [*tālapatra*], Newari paper concertina-style songbooks [*thyāsaphu*], and other paper types), and contained different combinations of poems composed by Vidyāpati and other poets from lowland Mithilā and the Kathmandu Valley. Many of these unread and uncited manuscripts contain Vidyāpati's *padas*. On the basis of my limited survey, I selected the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, which contained the largest number of *padas* attributed

³⁷ Mishra 1949: 193-196.

³⁸ Jayakanta Mishra distinguishes between *padāvalī*-type and *rāga-mālā*-type manuscripts. The *padāvalī*-type is organized by a loose poetic theme, while *padas* in the *rāga-mālā* manuscripts are organized by *rāga* (Mishra 1949: 193-196).

to Vidyāpati, many of which are not found in other available sources.

Structure of this Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into four parts. 'Part 1' investigates the historical reasons why the Oinvāras and Mallas sought to capitalize on Vidyāpati as a historical and poetic figure. Situating the Maithili songs within Vidyāpati's broader corpus in Sanskrit, Avahaṭṭha, I seek to draw Vidyāpati the *paṇḍita* (scholar) and Vidyāpati the *kavi* (poet) closer together. I establish the memory of Vidyāpati that was adopted and utilized for literary self-fashioning on the part of several vernacular communities in subsequent centuries.

'Part 2' of this dissertation then moves on to examine the aesthetic employed by Vidyāpati in his work. While mainly drawing on existing tropes and imaginaries to construct his poetic landscape, Vidyāpati also blended in ethical, devotional, and social, dimensions. Vidyāpati's unique vernacular aesthetic idiom was adopted by the Mallas, the Khaṇḍavālas³⁹, Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, and others. This section identifies a few significant themes found in the earlier manuscripts as well as in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*. First, I interrogate the 'courtly' by looking at *padas* that concern the nature of a 'real man' (*supuruṣa*).⁴⁰ These songs could be described as didactic (*upadeśa padas*).

This blends into the concern for erudite connoisseurship and its relation to kingship. Vidyāpati is characterized as a 'New Jayadeva,' possibly by his immediate patrons. At the very

³⁹ The Khaṇḍavāla Dynasty, better known as the "Darbhanga Raj", succeeded the Oinvāras as rulers of Mithila (r. 1577-1947). Like their predecessors, the Khaṇḍavālas were brahmins and spent a considerable proportion of their time and wealth patronizing Sanskrit learning and the arts in Mithila, North India, and Bengal. The estates and descendants of this dynasty continue to be the main sources of financial and cultural support for the brahmins, scholars, and other elites of Mithila in Bihar (Jha 2014: 46-56).

⁴⁰ "*Supuruṣa*" is difficult to translate into English. While it could literally be rendered as a "good man", this would be inadequate. It does not fully encompass the broad range of ethical, social, and cultural skills at the command of such a person as prescribed by Vidyāpati in texts like the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, and in this study, the *upadeśa padas*. I will interrogate this category further in in 'Part 2' of this dissertation.

least, this claim is substantiated by several *padas* in the Nepal and *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscripts. This connection between Vidyāpati and Jayadeva is significant for its ability to connect Mithila and Nepal to a larger literary cosmopolis that intersects vernacular and Sanskrit aesthetic realms. In doing so, I complicate the “vertical” model of vernacularization described earlier. In this section, I also look in-depth into the *padas* found within Vidyāpati’s vernacular corpus that are overtly devotional in their purpose. These songs are dedicated to Shiva and the Goddess. Though they are different in style, context, and imagery from the more famous ‘courtly’ *padas*, these songs represent a significant portion of the modern Vidyāpati repertoire still extant in Mithila. In this sub-section, I intend to define the devotional themes that draw together the historical textual tradition and the contemporary devotional performative tradition of Mithila.

I conclude 'Part 2', by presenting two contrastive case studies that are parallel to the Malla adoption of Vidyāpati and his idiom, one from early modern Bengal one from contemporary Mithila. On the basis of musical handbooks of Bengal, I examine the *bhaṇitās* that cite Vidyāpati's courtly patrons, the *Oinvāras*. This reveals how the Bengali *Vaiṣṇavas* capitalized upon Vidyāpati's courtly prestige to lend authority to their devotional lyric tradition, not unlike what the Mallas did. Similarly, updating this study to contemporary times, I examine the intersection between text and performance in the contemporary Vidyāpati musical tradition of Mithila. This shows how contemporary Maithili speakers capitalize on the memory of their own region's 'golden age' under the *Oinvāras*. The figure of Vidyāpati and his poetic aesthetic coalesced into a poetic tradition. As a result, the language and formal structures found in Vidyāpati's Maithili *padas* became solidified and commodifiable. This is a significant point in the development of discrete vernacular identities in later centuries. What 'Maithili' was, became defined mainly by the Vidyāpati idiom as it crossed borders laterally.

'Part 3' of this dissertation extracts the linguistic, prosodic, and generic structures found within the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. The purpose of this exercise is to establish the relative conservativeness of Vidyāpati's Maithili as it crossed laterally into the Mallas' usage of that same language. This part will demonstrate that the Mallas saw themselves as existing within the same, or at least overlapping, vernacular spheres with their lowland Oinvāra/Maithil counterparts. A summary snapshot grammar of the critical linguistic features of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript is provided to establish what was the 'Maithili' idiom that was adopted in Nepal. It is not my intention in this section to provide an exhaustive linguistic analysis or grammar of Old Maithili. That work has been undertaken in the past.⁴¹ Instead, I provide a snapshot picture of one specific context as a basis for future comparative studies. In chapter 8, I consider the intertwined musical and metrical patterns used in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*'s *padas*. This section covers the metrical and the musical system (both melodic and rhythmic) of Vidyāpati's poetry as preserved and adapted in the manuscript, comparing with the slightly later Locana Dās' *Rāgataranṅiṇī* (c. 16th cent. CE). Here, I can build on significant work carried out by Grierson in his *Maithili Chrestomathy* (1882) and compare with Thibaut d'Hubert's work on the Brajabuli prosodic system.⁴²

'Part 4' of this dissertation consists of the edition and annotated translation of 49 selected *padas* from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. This selection includes all those *padas* of Vidyāpati that I have used in the course of my analytical and thematic assessment as well as some by others. They are organized into sections that correspond with several of the analytical portions of this dissertation. For instance, to correspond with section '2.1', the *padas* included in section '4.1' are meant to represent how Vidyāpati combines both aesthetic-poetic and social-ethical concerns.

⁴¹ Jha 1954: 128-178 and Jha 1985.

⁴² d'Hubert 2018: 186-187.

These *padas* show that Vidyāpati did not separate his role as a court-*paṇḍita* from that as a court-kavi. Whenever a cross-citation of a particular pada is available, I have presented that text alongside the one transcribed from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*.

The remaining verses of that manuscript are transcribed (but not translated), in 'appendix 1'. This section complements the larger purpose of this study, namely, to present a resource for scholars of the Vidyāpati tradition. The *padas* of other poets found within the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript are included in 'appendix 2' without translation. These songs are indexed by the poet and are ordered as they are found within the manuscript. 'Appendix 3' is a visual representation of the Vidyāpati-tradition. This schema should help navigate the intersections and overlaps between textual and performance sources from all regions wherein Vidyāpati has found popularity. I conclude with a glossary of all those *padas* found within 'Part 4'. This glossary cites the grammatical forms found within the text, rather than theoretical grammatical bases and stems. This word list is meant to aid those familiar with other North Indian vernaculars to access Old Maithili as found within the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*. It is also available to those who would interrogate the change of language between the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* and other textual sources available in print.

Part 1: Vidyāpati the Man: Memory and Self-Fashioning in Three Contexts

1.0 General Remarks

The Maithili literary “brand” depends upon the imagined prestige and cultural capital of the Oinvāra court. Part 1 of this dissertation explains the historical and social contexts from which the modern imaginaries associated with Vidyāpati and his Maithili idiom arose. The memorialized figures of Vidyāpati and his Oinvāra patrons were incorporated into the identity of the Maithili vernacular as adopted by those outside of Mithila and by contemporary Maithili speakers. The poet and his patrons represent a memorialized ‘golden age’ in Mithila’s past, with which many surrounding communities of non-Maithili speakers sought to associate themselves.

This section establishes several reasons why the poet and his patrons were attractive for the purpose of self-fashioning prestige through literary association. To begin with, I have chosen to focus upon the available and verifiable historical biographic data on the poet and his patrons. These facts are not meant to assert the historical poet above the constructed memory of the poet. Instead, it is meant to demonstrate the possible sources for those cultural memories which gained currency in Nepal, Bengal, and beyond. This is a necessary prerequisite before moving on to Part 2 of this dissertation, in which I describe the aesthetic features associated with the poet that move laterally across borders, and Part 3 in which I describe the linguistic and structural features of the poetic language of Maithili that was adopted. As a subsidiary task, I have included a discussion of the known corpus of Vidyāpati in all languages (Sanskrit, Avahatṭha, and Maithili). This broader and holistic account of Vidyāpati’s literary activities across languages will prove useful when, in ‘Part 2’, I begin to discuss the permeable borders between Vidyāpati’s concerns as an aesthete and as a court-*paṇḍita*.

1.1 Biographic Data on Vidyāpati

1.1.1 Vidyāpati's Dates

Vidyāpati lived between ca. 1370 and 1460 CE⁴³ and was most active in courtly and literary life between ca. 1400 and 1440 CE. These dates are quite broad and reflect the difficulty that scholars of the past century have had in accurately pinpointing dates for the poet's birth and death.⁴⁴ The basis for most attempts to date Vidyāpati's life rely on a small number of dateable sources. However, because those sources are dated in the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* era, there are also problems in converting the dates to a more recognizable dating system (Western or Indic). It is beneficial to determine, as close as possible, the equivalent dates of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* era with other calendars. This dating system is named for King Lakṣmaṇa of the Sena Dynasty (1118-1206) and is said to commence with the date of his birth or his accession to the Sena throne.

Pramatha Nath Mishra has provided an exhaustive date list and set of calculations in order

⁴³ These dates agree with those proposed by Thibaut d'Hubert in his study of Ālāol's engagement with the tradition that Vidyāpati originated. (d'Hubert 2018: 255-256.)

⁴⁴ Jayakanta Mishra provides a summary of previous estimates for Vidyāpati's date of birth, all of which are plausible with the sources considered by the respective scholars:

Nagendranath Gupta: 1358
Haraprasad Sastri: 1357
Benipuri: 1350
B.K. Chatterji: 1372
Satishachandra Ray: 1380
B.R. Saksena: 1357
Umesh Mishra: 1360
Ramanatha Jha: 1360
Shivanandana Thakura: 1360

(Mishra 1949: 138.)

to reconcile the inconsistencies with many dates provided for sources in Mithila.⁴⁵ He concludes that the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* era, as used in Mithila into the modern period, was calculated differently from the scheme calculated in premodern Bengal and other surrounding regions. The non-Maithil *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* calendar is explained by Abu'l-Faḥl in the in the *Akbar-Nāmā* as beginning at the start of Lakṣmaṇa's reign and ending in the present year of 465. The *Śaka* year provided is 1041 which would be equal to 1119 CE. Although explicitly dated to the beginning of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign, it aligns more accurately with his date of birth. Subhadra Jha, in his edition of the 'Nepal Manuscript', accounted for the discrepancy between the various reckonings of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* calendar as being the result of the conversion of the era from a solar calendar (as calculated in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries) to a lunar or lunar-solar calendar in the mid sixteenth century. By Subhadra Jha's reckoning, this would account for the difference between the copperplate date and the conversion mentioned by Abu'l-Faḥl in the *Akbar-Nāmā*.⁴⁶

The post-Vidyāpati Maithil records (both manuscripts and inscriptions) seem to have been based on a copperplate, that records the donation of the village of Bisapī to Vidyāpati by his most famous patron Śivasimha, is the starting point from which most attempts to date the poet's life begin. This copperplate records that Śivasimha donated Vidyāpati's birth village to the poet and his family on the occasion of his own ascension to the throne in "292 *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat*". In the post-Vidyāpati Maithil reckoning, this would equate to 1399 CE. Non-Maithil scholars have largely based their assumptions on George Grierson's assessment, who seems to have used the non-Maithil/*Akbar-Nāmā* date reckoning of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat* to 1411-12 CE.⁴⁷ Because of

⁴⁵ Misra 1926: 388-389.

⁴⁶ Jha 1954: 27-57.

⁴⁷ Grierson 1885: 191-92

this discrepancy, many non-Maithil (largely Bengali) scholars have questioned the authenticity of this copperplate record. Ironically, the non-Maithil/Bengali reckoning of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat* seems to confirm at least the possibility of the donation's proposed dates. In many attempts to calculate Vidyāpati's dates, a manuscript copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, supposedly in the hand of the poet himself, is offered as evidence. Here the scribe (whether Vidyāpati or not) marks the date of the *punya-pothī's* completion date 309 L.S. (=1428 CE). This copy, originally held by the Raj Library in Darbhanga, has been missing since the 1980's and therefore is unavailable for examination.⁴⁸

Occasionally, Vidyāpati's dates are defined by the dating provided in his literary works. The *Bhūparīkramā* and the *Kīrttilatā* are the two texts that mark the beginning of Vidyāpati's literary career in the Oinvāra court. The last work that Vidyāpati composed was the *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī* ('Waves of Devotion of Durgā'). This was written for Candra-Simha, the younger brother of Bhairava-Simha, the last ruler under whom Vidyāpati served in the Oinvāra court. Afterwards, Vidyāpati supposedly withdrew from courtly life to his rural home. Vidyāpati's retirement and death have since become matters of legend and local devotion in Mithila.

Dating markers are also derived from the patrons mentioned in the *bhaṇitās* of the Maithili. This list of supposed patrons varies greatly depending on which source(s) one is examining. M. Shahidullah provides an excellent list based on the work of Nagendranath Gupta.⁴⁹ The problem with Shahidullah's accounting was his assumption that most patrons mentioned in Vidyāpati's *bhaṇitās* were correctly attributed. This includes a list of some incongruous patrons like

⁴⁸ Jha 1954: 57.

&
Shahidullah 1944: 211.

⁴⁹ Shahidullah 1944: 213-214.

Nasir/Nusrat Shah (r. 1519-1533). This causes Shahidullah's final assessment of 1390-1490 CE to be much later than most other scholars. While it is valuable to examine the *bhaṇitās* of Vidyāpati's verses for the poet's social relations, it should be considered critically and with limitations. Śivasimha and his queen Lakhimā feature most prominently in these signature lines. The sheer proportion and number help us to center Vidyāpati's life and career in relation to his primary patron but should not be used to figure definite dates. This would ignore the prominent practice of adding and changing *bhaṇitās* in later sources, as is seen in the primary manuscript of this study.

1.1.2 Vidyāpati's Family and Courtly Profession

Jayakanta Mishra mentions an inscription in Mithila records the construction of a small temple by Vidyāpati's ancestor Karmāditya for the goddess Haihaṭṭa in 1332 CE (213 L.S.). In that inscription, Karmāditya is stylized as a minister of the early Oinvāra court ('*sumantri*').⁵⁰ Beyond this, the *pañjī* records extend Vidyāpati's family back several more generations in the village of Bisapī. They are described as *Kāśyapa Gotra* Brahmins whose founding member (*bījī-puruṣa*) was Viṣṇu Ṭhākura. Nagendranath Gupta was amongst the first to claim that the erstwhile inaugurator of the Maithili tradition, Jyotirīśvara, was related to Vidyāpati, being the former's grandfather's brother. This claim is unsubstantiated and made only on the basis of "tradition".

In the generations between Karmāditya and Vidyāpati (the generations for which we have the most information) many were employed directly by the court and composed Sanskrit treatises on *dharmā-śāstra*, *rāja-nīti*, and *jyotiṣa*. For example, Vidyāpati's great-uncle Caṇḍeśvara

⁵⁰ Mishra 1949: 135.

Ṭhākura, was a minister of the court and composed texts like the *Rājanītiratnākara* (‘The Jewel of Political Ethics’) and the *Sūryasiddhānta* (‘Solar Theories’). There are more exhaustive accounts of Vidyāpati’s ancestors, relationship, and family achievements recorded by the scholars of Mithilā.⁵¹ There is not much to be said about Vidyāpati’s immediate family and descendents. He is known to have had three sons and one daughter by two wives. Vidyāpati’s first son Haripati was said to have followed his father and became a vernacular poet. In the *Rāgatarangīnī*, there is one *pada* from a female poet, Candrakalā. Locana Das describes her as the daughter of Vidyāpati.⁵² Most modern Maithil scholars claim that she was the daughter-in-law of the poet and likely married to Haripati, though this last claim is made solely on the merit that of Vidyāpati’s three sons, only Haripati worked as a poet.⁵³

It is not my intention to provide a meticulous pedigree for Vidyāpati. My objective is to provide a context for Vidyāpati’s own career in the Oinvāra court. Comparing Vidyāpati to his family and associates, it becomes clear that by certain measures he was a typical Sanskrit *paṇḍita* attached to a small regional Brahmanical court. His works on ritual life, interpretation of *dharma-śāstra*, and politics do not stand out as significant or divergent. If Vidyāpati’s Sanskrit works were the sum total of his accomplishments, then he would certainly not have garnered as much fame as he has in the subsequent centuries. Vidyāpati’s most distinctive achievements were almost entirely due to the fact that he chose to write in Avahaṭṭha and Maithili. As will be discussed later, Vidyāpati’s choice of language dictated both the features of his compositions (structures, genre, subjects/themes) and the ways in which they were transmitted through time and space (audience(s), modes of transmission, adaptability).

⁵¹ Mishra 1949: 134-138.

⁵² *Rāgatarangīnī*, Song 17 (Jha 1981: 94).

⁵³ Mishra 1949: 144.

1.2 Political Formations in the Age of Vidyāpati

1.2.1 Vidyāpati's Mithila

1.2.1.1 Mithilā and the Last of the Karṇāta Dynasty

Traditionally, Mithila is defined as the area between the *Gaṇḍaka* river in the West, the *Koṣi* river to the East, the Ganges in the South, and the Himalayan foothills in the Nepali Terai to the North. This roughly corresponds to the northern half of the modern state of Bihar and the eastern lowlands of Nepal. In classical literature, this region is also identified with the older kingdom of Videha and the paternal home of Rama's wife Sita. This small region remained as a suzerain of Delhi and later sultanates but maintained only loose connections with the Persianate sultanates that surrounded it. Many Maithil scholars and lay-folk claim that Mithila of this period was the only independent Hindu kingdom of the region that resisted Muslim rule. These claims are heavily tinged with Hindu and Maithili nationalism which not only defined India as a Hindu nation, but Mithila as its orthodox and "pure" heart. It is more accurate to claim that Mithila, or Tirhut (*Skt. Tirabhukti*), as it was more commonly referred to as in this period, was a small, rural Brahmanical court that functioned as a cultural and religious center, rather than any great center of political or military power. The Maithil court's isolation is a product of its physical and political remoteness, rather than its cultural or religious fortitude, as claimed by Maithil nationalists.

Two dynasties are identified with medieval and early modern Mithilā: the Karṇāta dynasty of *kṣatriyas* who ruled from 1097 to 1325 CE and the Oinvāra dynasty of brahmins who ruled from 1353 To 1556 CE. Because of their capital 'cities', these dynasties are sometimes referred

to as the ‘Simrāon’ and ‘Sugāon’ dynasties respectively.⁵⁴ Several scholars have claimed that the Karṇāta kings have their origin in South India (as their name suggests), but there is no certainty as to the validity of that claim or how far the founding ruler, Nānya-Deva (r. 1097-1147 CE) was removed from their South Indian forebears. The court of the Karṇātas, especially during the rule of Harisimha-Deva (r. ca. 1307-1325 CE) hosted many scholars of Sanskrit learning. It was also during this period that the earliest known work in Maithili, the *Varṇaratnākara* (‘The Compendium of Descriptions’) was written by Jyotirīśvara in ca. 1324 CE.⁵⁵

Even before the Oinvāras, the court in Tirhut established itself as a preeminent center of Sanskritic culture and brahmanical prestige. During this period, scholars of the region produced many treatises, commentaries, and foundational texts of the *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṃsā* schools of Indian philosophy as well as *Śaiva* and *Śākta* devotion. A distinctive *Navya Nyāya* (‘New School of Logic’) became the hallmark of Maithili scholarship. Students of grammar and philosophy would be sent to Mithilā from neighboring regions, especially Bengal, which helped to foster an academic and artistic connection between the two regions. As will be discussed subsequently, even during this period, the links between the rulers of the plains in Tirhut and the Malla kings of the Kathmandu Valley were developing and deepening.

1.2.1.2 The Oinvāras and the ‘Golden Age’ of Mithila

On occasion, the remote region of Tirhut did fall sway to the geopolitical forces of fourteenth century Northern India. The last ruler of the Karṇāta Dynasty, Harisimha Deva, was overthrown by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi (died c. 1325 CE). Ghiyasuddin was returning from Bengal where he had gone to quell an uprising by the governor of Bengal,

⁵⁴ Singh 1922: 59-69.

⁵⁵ Mishra 1949: 121.

Bahādur Shah.⁵⁶ This incident is mentioned by Farista. These later Karṇātas must have been conspicuously absent enough in the political life of Mithilā to prompt Firūz Shāh Tughluq (1309-1388 CE) to appoint the brahmin landholder from the village of Oini (Madhubani district, Bihar) as the next suzerain of Tirhut.

Kāmeśvara Ṭhākura of Oini was given rule of Mithilā and established the Oinvāra lineage in 1353 CE. It is likely that his forbears were given ownership of the land around Oini for their service in the Karṇāta court and for their scholarship. It is unclear why this family was singled out from amongst the elite of Tirhut to succeed the Karṇātas, but the second ruler of the dynasty, Bhogīśvara is described in the *Kīrttilatā* by Vidyāpati as being a dear friend (Av. ‘*piya-sakhi*’, Skt. *priya-sakhā*) of the Sultan Fīrūz Shāh.⁵⁷ It was not until Bhogīśvara’s son Gaṇeśvara (d. ca. 1371) that Vidyāpati enters in to the history of Mithilā. It was Gaṇeśvara’s murder at the hands of the Afghan warlord Aslān that sets into motion the events that Vidyāpati describes in the *Kīrttilatā*. After retaking Tirhut with the assistance of Ibrahim Shāh of Jaunpur (r. 1402-1440 CE), Gaṇeśvara’s two sons Vīrasimha and Kīrttisimha succeeded their father to the throne. Vidyāpati, in the *Kīrttilatā* describes Kīrttisimha as similar in age and a playmate (‘*khelana-kavi*’),⁵⁸ but this is spurious since the poet would have been a small child at the time of Kīrttisimha’s departure for Jaunpur.

After the death of Kīrttisimha, the rule of Tirhut was passed to Bhogīśvara’s brother Bhavasimha Deva and his children because both Vīrasimha and Kīrttisimha lacked heirs. Bhavasimha’s son Devasimha⁵⁹ acceded him and was the first primary patron for Vidyāpati.

⁵⁶ Singh 1922: 64.

⁵⁷ *matī kāmesara sana rāe | tasu naṁdana bhogīsa rāo varubhoga purandara...piyasakhi bhaṇi piaroja sāha suratāna samānala’ ||*
(Śrīvāstava 1983: 55.)

⁵⁸ Śrīvāstava 1983: 58.

⁵⁹ Vidyāpati mentions that Devasimha died in 1412/13 CE (293 L.S.). This would mean that Śivasimha took over from his father before his death in 1410/11 CE. (Thakura 1988: 252.)

Under Devasimha, Vidyapati composed his first Sanskrit text, the *Bhūparikramā*, which will be described shortly. Many *bhaṇitās* of *padas* featured in the *Bhāṣā-Saṅgīta* manuscript mention Devasimha, separately or along with his consort Hāsini Devī or as the father of Śivasimha. Śivasimha (r. 1412-1416 CE) is remembered as the famous scion of the Oinvāras, even outside of Mithila, as Vidyapati's primary patron. During Śivasimha's rule and under his commission, Vidyapati composed the *Kīrttilatā*, *Kīrttipatākā*, and the *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā*.

Most scholars and lay appreciators of Maithili and Brajabuli remember Śivasimha and his first wife Lakhimā/Lachimā Devī as those patrons mentioned in the majority of Vidyapati's *bhaṇitās*. In those poetic signatures, he is characterized as a 'supuruṣa', a 'nāgara', and a 'rasika'. As will be described in my analysis of Vidyapati's *bhaṇitās*, Śivasimha and Vidyapati embody both the Sanskrit and vernacular prestige of Mithila in eastern South Asia. He is even mentioned in Brajabuli *padas* from Bengal, which are very clearly not the work of the Maithil poet Vidyapati but are later local fabrications.

Despite the flourishing of Vidyapati's literary activities during Śivasimha's reign, the latter's rule was very short and ended after an attack by an unnamed Muslim in 1416 CE (299 L.S.). Śivasimha is described as fleeing to seek refuge with Rājā Purāditya in Saptarī (in the Nepali Terai).⁶⁰ Very little is known about what happened to Śivasimha subsequently. Some scholars have debated whether Śivasimha was succeeded by his wife Lakhimā Devī or by his younger brother Padmasimha, though most recent historians have agreed that Lakhimā Devī led the Oinvāra dynasty in her own right for around twelve years (r. ca. 1416-1428/9). There are records describing her own literary activity.⁶¹ Many of Vidyapati's *padas* are likely to have been written during Lakhimā's rule. Although we could never speculate about the personal

⁶⁰ Thakur 1988: 256.

⁶¹ Thakur 1988: 260.

relationships between Vidyāpati and his most famous patrons, Śivasimha and Lakhimā, poets and authors into the modern period have speculated widely. Their relationship was the subject of plays, novels, and most famously a joint Hindi-Bengali film from New Theatres Cinema in Calcutta.⁶²

Lakhimā was eventually succeeded by Śivasimha's younger brother Padmasimha in 1430 CE.⁶³ He was in turn succeeded by his wife Viśvāsa Devī within a year. She ruled for another 12 years and under her direct patronage Vidyāpati composed the *Śaivasarvasvasāra* and the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*. Vidyāpati describes the generosity of his patroness in both works. After Viśvāsa Devī's death, she was succeeded by Harasimha-Deva, the younger son of Bhavasimha, as she and Padmasimha had died childless. He is mentioned in Vidyāpati's *Vibhāgasāra*. Padmasimha was followed by his son Narasimha-Deva and then his grandson Dhīrasimha, Vidyāpati's last patron. During his orders, Vidyāpati composed the *Durgābhaktitaranṅinī*, which also includes praise for Dhīrasimha's younger brothers and heirs Bhairavendra and Candrasimha. In the *bhaṇitās* of several putative *padas* ascribed to Vidyāpati, a handful of subsequent rulers of the Oinvāra dynasty are mentioned. It is likely that the *bhaṇitās* of these *padas* were appended in subsequent decades.

Vidyāpati and the Oinvāras are also memorialized in Mithila in the landscape and architecture of later centuries. In Mithila, many large tanks are said to be built by Śivasimha⁶⁴ and are considered a hallmark of power and prestige in the region. Kini and Pinch have traced the later history and rediscovery of the waterscapes of North Bihar and the court of Śivasimha and his court-poet Vidyāpati.⁶⁵ The imprinting of Maithili cultural memory upon the landscapes

⁶² Bose 1937.

⁶³ Thakur 1988: 261.

⁶⁴ Thakura 1988: 257.

⁶⁵ Kini & Pinch 2019: 203-211.

and locales of contemporary Mithila functions alongside literary memory to consolidate Maithili vernacular identity into the modern era.

1.2.2 Vidyāpati in Nepal

1.2.2.1 Historical Connections between Mithila and Nepal Mandala

The majority of early manuscripts that survive come to us from the Malla courts of the Kathmandu Valley. The link between Mithila and the Kathmandu Valley extends several centuries prior to Vidyāpati and was culturally strengthened after Vidyāpati's idiom became the dominant musical language for courtly music in the Malla courts. The last Karṇāta ruler of Mithila, the dynasty in power prior to the appointment of the brahmin Oinvāra dynasty by Firuz Shah Tughluq,⁶⁶ Harasimhadeva (r. 1304-1324), was the father of an early Malla ruler, Jagatasimha.⁶⁷ Some have claimed that Harisimha fled into the highlands of Nepal and conquered Bhatgāon and its surrounds. After later evidence emerged, some of these same scholars now believe that Harisimha and his retinue settled in the Kathmandu Valley and remained there as landholders under their Karṇāta-Malla cousins. Many were mentioned to be active in the court of Jayastitimalla in Bhatgāon in a 1413 CE inscription found in Patan.⁶⁸ Even earlier, two grandsons of Nānya-Deva, the first ruler of the Karṇātas of Mithilā, are said to have gone on to rule in Nepal (unnamed son) and in Mithilā (Gaṅgā-Deva).⁶⁹

This connection proved to be a point of pride for later Malla rulers after the period of Sthithimalla (r. ca. 1382-1395 (*i.e.* after the establishment of the Oinvāra kings)).⁷⁰ The “orthodox” Hindu pedigree of these later rulers was attributed to the rulers' Maithil heritage. Mithila was considered a bulwark and epicenter of orthodox *Smārta* and *Nyāyika* learning during the Sultanate Period in the eastern half of the subcontinent. For this reason, many later rulers also

⁶⁶ Choudhary 1976: 41.

⁶⁷ Regmi 1965: 258-295.

⁶⁸ Thakur 1988: 228-229.

⁶⁹ Thakur 1988: 194.

⁷⁰ Slusser 1982: 57.

took wives from Mithila. The movement of elite women also implies the circulation of singers and the transposition of domestic rituals and lifecycle songs. In times of conflict, of which there were many in the Sultanate period in Bihar, the rulers and intellectuals of Mithila would seek protection in the Kathmandu valley. Vidyāpati is said to have fled with Queen Lakhimā (r. 1416–1428/9),⁷¹ the widow of Vidyāpati's most famous patron, Śivasimha (r. 1410-1414).⁷² This constant and close contact led to many brahmin-*purohīts* migrating or being invited by the nobility of Kathmandu Valley. Many Newari castes claim descent from these groups of Maithil brahmins who made the journey into the Himalayas.⁷³

Because of the close cultural, familial, political, and religious connection between these two cultural regions, Old Maithili transformed from the local idiom of Mithila, into a transregional poetic language that was employed by the Malla kings for musical poetry and drama in their courts. As we will discuss later, the Malla kings themselves directed the process of Old Maithili literary expansion. Even after the Gorkha annexation of the Kathmandu Valley, the Newari cultural memory of the Malla courts is inexorably linked with Maithili literary heritage and specifically the figure of Vidyāpati.

1.2.2.2 The Malla Adoption of Vidyāpati's Maithili Idiom

Beyond the familial and historical connections between the dynasties of lowland Mithilā and the Malla courts of the Kathmandu Valley, both shared a new interest in patronizing not only Sanskrit (largely orthodox Hindu) scholarship, but also the newly forming Maithili vernacular as

⁷¹ For a detailed introduction to the most famous king of the Oinvāra dynasty of Mithilā. (Thakura 1988: 247–60.)

⁷² The village of Bisphī is currently the site of several monuments and institutions dedicated to the memory of Vidyāpati. Along with a community and cultural center, several Śiva temples feature prominent pictures or statues of Vidyāpati within their precincts. For a full transcription of the much-discussed deed granting the village to the poet. (*Vidyāpati-Padāvalī: Nepāl Se Prāpta Vidyāpati Ke Padom Kā Samgraha*: 1:19–20 and Thakura 1988: 259–61.)

⁷³ Slusser 1982: 66.

a medium for courtly literary production. For both mannerist and devotional styles, Vidyāpati's large corpus of *padas* provided an ideal model. By extension, through Vidyāpati and his Maithili musical medium, the Mallas were able to access a larger network of literary and cultural prestige that extended from Jayadeva's musical innovations in the *Gītagovinda* (c. 12th century CE) in the Sena courts and a newly emerging Eastern Indic literary landscape.⁷⁴ This section will primarily provide evidence for Vidyāpati's textual popularity in the Kathmandu Valley and will introduce the attempts of the Malla kings themselves at producing Vidyāpati-style Maithili *padas* and other musical/dramatic pieces.

The majority of the well-preserved and lengthy manuscripts that record Vidyāpati's *padas* are found within the former royal collections of the Kathmandu Valley capitals (Kathmandu [Yai], Patan, and Bhaktapur [Bhatgāon]). In comparison to the Brajabuli *pothīs* and *padābalīs* of Bengal and Assam, these manuscripts are quite lengthy and retain many of the core linguistic features of Old Maithili. The primary manuscript of this study (the '*Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*' manuscript) and the more well-known "Nepal Manuscript" have their origins amongst the Maithili speaker's resident in the Malla court Bhatgāon (Bhaktapur) in the 16th-18th centuries CE. Manuscripts like the 'Nepal Manuscript' and the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, which feature Vidyāpati primarily along with other Maithil poets provide evidence of a performative tradition popular in the valley. It was the first-hand adoption of this medium, rather than its mere consumption on the part of the Malla kings that transforms the role of Maithili from a regional vernacular to a transregional musical idiom.

After the lifetime of Vidyāpati and largely after the dissolution of a strong central court in Mithilā after the execution of last Oinvāra ruler Lakṣmīnātha in c. 1526 by Nasrat Shah (1518-

⁷⁴ This connection is discussed in section 2.3.

32),⁷⁵ the center of Maithili literary cultural life shifted into the highlands of Nepal. In those courts with pre-existing ties to the Maithili royal lineages and brahmanical culture, many of the monarchs themselves began producing Maithili musical and dramatic texts in addition to patronizing and consuming it. Some scholars point to the fabrication of some of the ties between the Mallas and the Karṇātas. Horst Brinkhaus has claimed that unlike the definite and long-lasting genealogical pedigrees of Maithil brahmins (*puñjīs*), the Mallas could not accurately trace their own lineage and that this was a source of anxiety.⁷⁶ Their past intermarriages with some of the Maithil rulers were therefore played up and the literary idiom of their cultured cousins was adopted in the present.

The *Mithilākṣara* manuscripts (especially those covered in this study) feature the *padas* of Vidyāpati and the close contemporaries of Vidyāpati that were active in lowland Mithilā. In the Newari-script Maithili *pada* manuscripts of the 16th-18th centuries, the verses of Vidyāpati are interspersed with those of notable Malla rulers, like Jagajjyotirmalla (1614-37), Bhūpatindramalla (1696-1722), or his son Raṇajitamalla (1722-69).⁷⁷ The *padas* of these kings are featured primarily and are frequently interspersed with those of Vidyāpati and Jayadeva to lend their own verses legitimacy. Maithili musical and dramatic literary activity in the Malla courts continued on until Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāha's conquest of the Kathmandu Valley in 1786, when the Newari courts were replaced with a Nepali-speaking Gurkha kingdom. Maithili and Newari musicians continue to dwell in the valley but have since lost their monopoly on elite culture of central Nepal.

⁷⁵ Nasrat Shāh appointed his son-in-law, Alā-ud-Din as the governor of Tirhut, as a vassal of the Sultanate of Bengal. (Thakur 1988: 276.)

⁷⁶ Brinkhaus 2003: 67-77.

⁷⁷ Ramawatar Yadav provides a valuable highlighted account of many of the poetic and dramatic works of the kings of Bhaktapur. (Yadav 2011: 5-10.)

1.3 Works Attributed to Vidyāpati

1.3.1 General Remarks

Vidyāpati's literary works span a variety of genres, purposes, and contexts. His texts can be put into three large groupings based on language. Vidyāpati's Sanskrit texts, though receiving more attention in recent years, have been considered in isolation as representative examples of Mithila's brahmanical heritage. These texts, covering ethical and devotional-ritual concerns, are not usually brought to bear on the more popular reception of the poet's vernacular Maithili lyrics. The purpose of enumerating the subjects and social perspectives of Vidyāpati's Sanskrit texts is to provide a foundation upon which analysis on the nature of manhood, a connoisseur, and devotion in the Maithili tradition can be undertaken (in 'Part 2').

Afterwards, I consider Vidyāpati's Avahaṭṭha corpus. This localized Apabhramśa tradition seems to have had a specific historical-panegyric function for the poet and his patrons. The only texts that we have provide detail on the military and political exploits of Vidyāpati's patrons and their predecessors. These texts are the most unified in conception and narrative scope. My consideration of these texts in this section is meant to further interrogate the choice of language when we approach the way in which Vidyāpati reflects upon his language choice in part 3.3 of this dissertation. I will also briefly describe two other works in Maithili (and mixed with Sanskrit and Prakrit) that are sometimes attributed to Vidyāpati, both dramas. This characterization of Vidyāpati, his social milieu, the kingdom of his adopters, and his entire literary corpus is meant to describe the source from which traditions pulled when they self-consciously adopted the poet's Maithili idiom.

1.3.2 Sanskrit Works

Bhūparikramaṇa

Vidyāpati's first work was the *Bhūparikramaṇa* ('A Tour of the Earth'). Śivasimha's father, Devasimha, is thought to be the patron for this text, based on a mention of him within the text, though Śivasimha is mentioned prominently in the same line. It is possible that Śivasimha commissioned the *Bhūparikramaṇa* on behalf of his father.⁷⁸ The ostensible purpose of this text was to provide a portrait of local geography. Vidyāpati describes a journey from *Naimiṣāranya*⁷⁹ to Tirhut through a series of eight moralistic tales. The frame of the text describes an intended sixty-five stories, so it seems that the work was left incomplete. Though, the eight stories featured are replicated exactly in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. This leads one to believe that Vidyāpati abandoned the frame text of the journey from *Naimiṣāranya* in favor of the more overtly moralistic frame narrative of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*.

Puruṣaparīkṣā

The *Puruṣaparīkṣā* stands out amongst Vidyāpati's corpus as unique in style, content, and purpose. Vidyāpati describes in the invocation of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* that he composed this collection of didactic morality tales for certain classes of people:

Śīsūnām siddhyartham nayapariciternūtanadhiyām

⁷⁸ *bhūparikramaṇagrantho likhyate ca bhuvi naimiṣe || devasimhanideśācca naimiṣāranyavāsinaḥ | śivasimhasa ca pituḥ sūnapīṭha nivāsinaḥ || Bhūparikramaṇa 1.1-2 (Jhā 1987: 1).*

⁷⁹ This is the same *Naimiṣa* forest where many of the events of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place. Similar to the way in which Vidyāpati connects Maithil royal and brahmanical culture with a cosmopolitan pan-Indic social landscape, this framing of the same eight initial moral stories plants Mithilā within a recognizable epic/Puranic Indian geography.

*Mude paurastrīṇām manasijakalākautukajuṣām |
Nideśānniḥśaṅkaṁ sapadi śivasimhasya nṛpateḥ
Kathānām prastāvaṁ viracayati vidyāpatikaviḥ ||*⁸⁰

To provide an acquaintance with “Ethics”, which is for the success of boys, whose minds are fresh.
and for the pleasure of those urbane women who have an inborn propensity for the arts of the god of love,
Confident [and] at the command of King Śivasimha,
The poet Vidyāpati fashions the introduction of these stories.

Vidyāpati’s indication that this text is primarily for the education of young boys in ethical standards gives a generic nod towards the *Hitopadeśa*.⁸¹ It is also interesting that Vidyāpati includes the entertainment of cosmopolitan women as a central aim of his composition. This could be a nod to the *Kāmasāstra*. Generic affiliation notwithstanding, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* was commissioned by Vidyāpati’s patron Śivasimha, but it is less clear whether Vidyāpati’s proposed goal of educating young men in ethics and entertaining urbane women was shared by Śivasimha. Pankaj Jha has posited that Vidyāpati’s work was part of an effort by the elites of Mithilā to establish their own political and cultural sovereignty in an era of upstart sultanates and powerful landowners, Vidyāpati, and his patron Śivasimha, projected a unique Maithili identity that was a

⁸⁰ Jha 1983: 2.

⁸¹ In the *Hitopadeśa*’s frame story, King Sudarśana of Pāṭaliputra (also a geographic connection to Mithilā) is distraught about the education and well-being of his wayward sons:

*asti kaścidevambhūto vidvānyo mama putrāṇām nityam-unmārgagāminām-anadhigataśāstrāṇām-idānīm
nītiśāstropadeśena punarjanma kārayitum samarthaḥ |*

Is there such a learned man who is now capable of the instruction ethics/policy in order to give a new life to my always wayward and ignorant sons?

To which the Sage Viṣṇuśarman answers:

Ato ‘haṁ ṣaṅmāsābyantaram tava putrānnītiśāstrābhijñānkariṣyāmi |

Therefore, I will make your sons knowledgeable of ethics/policy in a period of six months.

After this Viṣṇuśarman proceeds to instruct King Sudarśana’s sons by telling a series of stories.

(Kale 1924: 4-5).

syncretic combination of cosmopolitan Sanskritic ideals and an awareness of contemporary history and geography.⁸²

After the invocatory praises to the Goddess as “Ādiśaktī”,⁸³ the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* begins with a frame narrative that further defines the purpose of this text; i.e., to discern the nature of a “real man” (*puruṣa*). A powerful king named Pārāvāra had a daughter who had reached the age for marriage. He asked a sage named “Subuddhi” (“Wisdom”), whom should he make his son-in-law. The sage replied glibly that the groom should be a man.⁸⁴ This flippant remark annoyed and perplexed the king, who questioned how it could be otherwise. The sage then clarified his statement:

*Labhyante puruṣākārāḥ puruṣaḥ khalu durlabhaḥ |
Vakṣyamāṇena cihna nikhilenopalakṣitaḥ ||8||*

Tadyathā -

*Vīraḥ subuddhiḥ savidyaśca puruṣaḥ puruṣārthavān |
Tadanye puruṣākārāḥ paśavaḥ pucchavarjitāḥ ||859||*

One [can easily] find men-in-shape, a [real] man is certainly rare.
[Such a man] is described in detail by the following characteristics: |

So—

A [real] man is: the hero, the intelligent-one, the skilled-one, and one possessed of the *Puruṣārtha-s*.

The others are men in shape [only]. They are animals without tails.

The hero (*vīraḥ*), the intelligent (*subuddhiḥ*), the skilled (*savidyaḥ*), and the one who has attained

⁸² Jha 2014: 24-40.

⁸³ This generally confirms that Maithili Brahmins (and much of the lower classes) maintain *Śakta/Śaiva* devotional practices.

⁸⁴ “puruṣam varam kuru|”
(Jha 1983: 4).

⁸⁵ Jha 1983: 4.

one of the goals of life (*puruṣārthavān*) are the four categories that Vidyāpati defines as four types of “real men”. The *Puruṣaparīkṣā* is divided into four chapters (*parriccheda*) and each pertains to one of these four character-types. In these chapters, Vidyāpati defines the main subtypes and characteristics of a man who belongs to the larger category. He also includes an equal number of counterexamples (*pratyudāharāṇa*) in each chapter to illustrate each ideal type of man by its opposite.⁸⁶ In each chapter, the most eminent and honored sub-type of that category appears first, followed by subsequent lesser types of men of the same category. These various sub-types are defined by moral, mental, and physical attainments that are held to constitute types in particular combinations.

Vidyāpati employed three main strategies in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* in order to consciously represent an insular regional “kingdom” and to assert regional identity and maintain supra-regional connections amongst its peers of other “Hindu” states. Vidyāpati “physically” situates Mithilā in a geographic and temporal map of India in the Sultanate period by interspersing stories of Mithilā with those of other prominent Hindu states of the past few centuries. Secondly, Vidyāpati adapts and innovates on generic conventions and intention of classical Sanskrit genres to legitimize the text itself and to create a literary and aesthetic pedigree for Mithilā, a center of Sanskrit learning and artistic culture. Lastly, Vidyāpati constructs an ethical universe in which to place Mithilā and Maithili identity by adapting widely accepted ethical tropes and a sectarian “Hindu” identity. Specifically, he emphasizes Brahmanical culture and an ethos of aesthetic cultivation. By understanding the manner in which the aesthetes (like Vidyāpati) and the Oinvāra kings wished to present themselves to the broader cosmopolis through Sanskrit narrative

⁸⁶ *anvayavyatirekābhyāmuktam vīrasya lakṣaṇam |
apudāhrtayah proktāḥ kathā dvārā dvayorapi ||*

The characteristics of a hero have now been said in stories. This has been described both by means of logical connection and contrast (Jha 1983: 56).

genres, we can also understand how these elite *rasikas* wished to present themselves to each other through the production and patronage of vernacular works, like the *padas*.

Likhanāvalī

The *Likhanāvalī* (‘Collection of Letters’) is another of Vidyāpati’s unique Sanskrit texts that does not easily fit within a traditional genre. The purpose of the *Likhanāvalī* is to educate members of the local elite in the art of written correspondence. Vidyāpati advises on the proper manner to ask about a variety of issues to people in various social stations. For instance, a king might want to ensure that a village was properly granted as ordered through the local village headman⁸⁷ (*chaudhurī*) or a mother might write to her daughter regarding her troubles with her in-laws.⁸⁸ Insights into local elite social life and a premodern writing culture are the main interests of this text. Unlike most of Vidyāpati’s other texts, in any language, that are written for members of Mithilā’s main ruling dynasty, the Oinvāras, the *Likhanāvalī* was written for a lower-order chieftain named ‘Purāditya’ of Saptarī (in the Nepali foothills). This is possibly the same Purāditya with whom Śivasimha and Lakhimā sought refuge after their deposition around 1418 CE.⁸⁹

Śaivasarvasvasāra

The *Śaivasarvasvasāra* (‘Complete Compendium of Śaiva [Worship]’) is the first of a group of Vidyāpati’s Sanskrit texts that are compendia of verses from other authoritative texts.

⁸⁷ *Likhanāvalī*, ‘letter 28’
(Jha 2019: 88).

⁸⁸ *Likhanāvalī*, ‘letter 36’
(Jha 2019: 89).

⁸⁹ Thakur 1988: 256 & Mishra 1949: 141.

Each of these texts focus on a particular mode of orthodox brahmanical worship. The *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, as its name suggests, collects together recognized Hindu texts that describe the authoritative merits and methods for worshipping Shiva. The majority of cited texts are *Purāṇas*. The *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, *Nandi-Purāṇa*, and *Skanda-Purāṇa*-s are cited from extensively. Some of the topics covered, among two-hundred and fifty-nine others, are ‘the merits of pilgrimage to sacred Shiva sites’ (*śiva-tīrtha-yātrā-phalam*),⁹⁰ ‘the merits of donating a village’ (*grāma-dānam*),⁹¹ and ‘the merits of bathing in a river located near to a *Śiva-Liṅga*’ (*śivaliṅga-samīpastha-nadyāḍau snana-phalam*).⁹² In regard to the history of Mithila and the Oinvāra court, Vidyāpati also includes praise verses (*praśasti*) for Bhavasimha, Devasimha, Śivasimha, Padmasimha, and the commissioner of the text, Viśvāsa Devī, the widow of Padmasimha and independent ruler in her own right.⁹³

Gaṅgāvākyāvalī

Like the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (‘Compendium of Utterances Regarding the *Gaṅgā*’) was composed under the patronage of Viśvāsa Devī.⁹⁴ It is also a text that mostly comprises of a collection of Puranic statements regarding the merit and practice of worship for the river Gaṅgā. A complete and fairly old palm-leaf manuscript (ca. 16th century CE) is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. This palm-leaf manuscript is a good example of *Mithilākṣara*, though in Sanskrit.

⁹⁰ Miśra 1981: 224.

⁹¹ Miśra 1981: 498.

⁹² Miśra 1981: 570.

⁹³ Mishra 1949: 143.

⁹⁴ Mishra 1949: 142.

Vibhāgasāra

The *Vibhāgasāra* (‘Compendium on [Inheritance and] Division’) could be called a collection of *smṛti* scholarship in the same spirit as the compendia on methods and the merits of worship. In this text, Vidyāpati has collected all of the recognized authoritative texts on issues related to property and inheritance. Vidyāpati cites from a variety of *smṛtis* like Manu, Nārada, Yajñavalkya, etc. The *Vibhāgasāra* was commissioned by Harisimha in ca. 1433.⁹⁵ This text is most similar to the works thought to have been produced by Vidyāpati’s ancestors and family.

Dānavākyāvalī

The *Dānavākyāvalī* (‘Collection of Utterances Regarding Donation’) was written under the orders of the wife of Harisimha, Dhīramatī.⁹⁶ Like the *Vibhāgasāra*, this text describes prescribed methods of donations from the perspective of the *smṛtis*. This text also collects authoritative understandings of what merits can be gained by certain types of donations. In this way, it combines elements from texts on worship (like the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*) and texts on the interpretation of *śāstra* (like the *Vibhāgasāra*).

Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī

The *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī* (‘Waves of Devotion to the Goddess Durgā’) was written for Vidyāpati’s last patron, Bhairavasimha.⁹⁷ It was also written near the end of the poet’s life. It is similar in nature to the other prescriptive devotional texts of Vidyāpati’s corpus, but in addition

⁹⁵ Mishra 1949: 143.

⁹⁶ Mishra 1949: 143.

⁹⁷ Mishra 1949: 143.

to providing an organized collection of verses describing the merits of certain modes of devotional worship, the *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī* seems to be an original composition describing the rituals for worshipping the goddess. Some of the ritual described are said to be part of contemporary Maithili observances of *Durgā Pūjā*. None of the rituals described are Tantric in nature. While some scholars have proposed that Vidyāpati had a more secretive *Śākta* proclivity, the majority of authoritative sources believe Vidyāpati to have been a *Smārta*, whose favored deities were Shiva and the Goddess.⁹⁸

Gayāpattalaka

The *Gayāpattalaka* is a handbook guiding brahmins on the proper methods of ritual used in the town of Gaya in in order to propitiate one's ancestors, known as the *śrāddha* rites. This is among the more obscure texts by Vidyāpati.

Varṣakṛtya

The *Varṣakṛtya* ('Annual Observances') is both a descriptive and prescriptive text concerning the cycle of yearly ritual practices observed in then-contemporary Mithila. This text is valuable for its description of the domestic lifecycle since it focuses on the ritual obligations of householders (*grhastas*). Like the *Gayāpattalaka*, this text is one of Vidyāpati's more obscure Sanskrit texts.

⁹⁸ Jhā 1950: 91–99.

1.3.3 Avahaṭṭha Works

Kīrttilatā

The Avahaṭṭha text *Kīrttilatā* ('Vine of Glory') is considered Vidyāpati's most exceptional and unique work other than the poet's Maithili *padas*. This can be attributed to three factors. Firstly, more than any other text produced by Vidyāpati, or in the court of the Oinvāras more generally, this text provides a narrative account of several early kings of that dynasty and their political dealings with local Indo-Afghan clans and the Jaunpur Sultanate. Second, Vidyāpati presents a direct vision of his own language choice. Lastly, the *Kīrttilatā* also details Vidyāpati's understanding of his role as a poet and the nature of poetic connoisseurship.

The narrative of the *Kīrttilatā* centers on the experience of two princes of the early Oinvāra dynasty. Upon the death of their father, Ganeśvara (d. 1371)⁹⁹ at the hands of a local Afghan warlord, Asalān/Arslān, the two princes Kīrttisimha and Vīrasimha travel to Jaunpur. They meet with the Shārqī Sultan, Ibrahim Shāh (r. 1402-1440) in order to retake Tirhut. The first three *Pallavas* ('branches') focus on the two Maithil princes' encounters with the Turkic 'other' of Jaunpur, a description of the city, and a description of the final military campaign that retakes Tirhut. Unlike the idealized moral Indic landscape presented in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, the *Kīrttilatā* presents a grounded political landscape. In this geography, Tirhut is not only a bastion of brahmanical moral purity, but a region that actively engages in the cosmopolitan-multicultural reality of its time and locality.

As Kīrttisimha and Vīrasimha journey from the outskirts of the city of Jaunpur up to the citadel, we are provided with a description of the city and its markets (*nagara varṇana*) and the

⁹⁹ Thakur 1988: 238.

inhabitants of the city, both Hindu and Muslim. Vidyāpati’s describes the Turkic warriors of the market place and their ribald eccentricities in Avahaṭṭha verse and prose that is peppered with Persian loanwords.¹⁰⁰ Unlike his unruly subjects of the lower city, the Sultan himself is portrayed as a wise and just ruler,¹⁰¹ though certainly not in the same language as his brahmin-king patrons. Though rife with hyperbolic praise, as is typical with most panegyric texts, the *Kīrttilatā*, more than any other of Vidyāpati’s texts demonstrates the way in which the elite of Mithila wished to portray themselves in relation to a larger world.

Kīrttipatākā

The *Kīrttipatākā* is the only other Avahaṭṭha text composed by Vidyāpati for which we have material evidence. It currently exists in only one manuscript from Nepal that is missing many folios.¹⁰² This text of mixed prose and verse focuses its praise upon Vidyāpati’s most

¹⁰⁰ *Kīrttilatā* 2.41

- (1) abe be bhaṇanta sarabā pīantā |
kalīmā kahantā kalāme jīantā ||
(2) kasīdā kaḍhantā masīdā bharantā |
kitebe paḍhantā turukkā anantā ||

- (1) Drinking wine and saying ‘*abe be*’,
Reciting the *qalīmā* and living according to its words.
(2) Loudly reciting *qasīdās*-s and filling the mosques,
Reading books — there are countless Turks.

¹⁰¹ *Kīrttilatā* 2.56

- (1) ohu khāsa-darbāra saela mahimaṇḍala uppari |
uttthi apana bebahāra raṅka le rāahu cappari ||
(2) utthi sattu uthi mitta utthi sira nabaī sabba kaī |
uttthi sāti parasāda utthi bhae jāe bhabba kaī ||
(3) nia bhāga abhāga vibhāga bala oṭamāhi jāniṅa sabbe gae |
ehu pātisāha saba upparahi tasu upari karatāra pae ||

- (1) There, the hall of assembly was above all the [others of the] earth.
In that place, the poor urgently brought their business to the King.
(2) In that place, both enemies and friends, everyone bows their heads [in reverence].
In that place, there was much happiness, grace, and everything was made beautiful.
(3) In that place, everyone came to know of the allotment of their own good or bad fortunes.
This *Bādshāh* is above them all and above his is only the Creator.

¹⁰² H.P. Sastri first reported this manuscript from the Royal Darbar Library which is dated to 1545 CE (426 L.S.) (Mishra 1949: 151).

famous patron, Śivasimha. In many ways, this text represents a mid-point between the ‘historical’ and social concerns of texts like the *Kīrttilatā* since both panegyric praise and descriptions of erotic poetics are included. The manuscript seems to be a mix of several different texts. Because of the tattered state of the manuscript, it is relatively unclear as to whether every part of the manuscript as collected in the contemporary archive belongs together as a single unified text.¹⁰³ Shashinath Jha and Govinda Jha, in the available edition, promote the idea that what is called *Kīrttipatākā* is actually a collection of three fragmented texts.¹⁰⁴ In the central core of the manuscript is a section called *Hari Keli* (‘The [Love] Play of Hari’). In this section, Krishna, in the guise of a cultured *nāgara*, is described in his association with the young women of Vraja and their erotic dalliances. The content of the *Hari-Keli* section of the *Kīrttipatākā* is comparable with the predominant themes of the *pada* tradition, *i.e.*, that of the love play between Radha and Krishna.

This *campu*-like text preserves many of same metrical patterns used more broadly in the Sanskrit prosodic system (such as the *anuṣṭubha* and *toṭaka* meters) along with those also found in the *Kīrttilatā* and more famously in other New Indo-Aryan traditions across North India in later centuries. The *caupāī* and *dohā* are used in the text. Even so, while the *Kīrttipatākā* uses metrical forms from the Sanskrit and Prakrit/Apabhraṃśa traditions, the *pada* tradition employs a regional system of prosody. On this front, the *Kīrttipatākā* requires further examination.

¹⁰³ Some have counted the *Hari-Keli* as a fully separate text rather than an embedded extract, despite no separate manuscript being found (Jha 2019: 9).

¹⁰⁴ (Jhā 1992: 7).

1.3.4 Other Works in Maithili

Gorakṣavijaya

In the premodern vernacular Maithili canon, drama takes a position of prominence. After the so-called “Age of Vidyāpati”,¹⁰⁵ a proportionate majority of Maithili literary production in Mithila and Nepal took the form of devotional plays (*Kīrtanīñā Nāṭaka-s*). These musically oriented devotional dramatic narratives contained Sanskrit frame narratives, Newari stage directions, and a preponderance of Maithili verses. Like the *pada* tradition, Vidyāpati is often ascribed as the inaugurator of the Maithili dramatic tradition. The *Gorakṣavijaya* (‘The Victory of Gorakhnātha’) is the basis for this claim.

This play with Sanskrit and Prakrit prose text, and Maithili songs throughout, features the story of Gorakhnātha and his associate Kanhapā’s attempt at rescuing their guru Macchendranāth (Skt. Matsyendranātha) from a royal life of luxury and his ignorance of having been pulled astray from his yogic nature. This text is interesting for the early vernacular mention of the Gorakhnātha-Macchendranāth narrative and for the new link it provides between plains and Himalayan performances of the Matsyendranātha story. Unlike the anthological *padāvalīs* and *rāga-mālās*, the *Gorakṣavijaya*’s songs are strung together in a narrative.

Several scholars, among them primarily Herman Tieken, have expressed doubt about Vidyāpati’s authorship of this drama as a fully realized work.¹⁰⁶ The Maithili vernacular songs contained within the *Gorakṣavijaya* contain the poetic signature of Vidyāpati (the *bhaṇitā*), but the play itself lacks any attribution. Many later plays in the Maithili-Newari *Kīrtanīñā Nāṭakas* (devotional-dramas), popular in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries CE in the Kathmandu

¹⁰⁵ Mishra 1949: 130-192.

¹⁰⁶ Tieken 2010: 63–75.

Valley, also included Maithili songs in the same structural format as the *Gorakṣavijaya*. The play narrative was limited in these cases and provided a structural framework in which to perform and order the Maithili songs. In the later and more developed form of the genre, the play as a unified composition was attributed to one author, not individual songs contained therein.

While it can be said that the *Kīrtaniṅa Nāṭakas* inherited the Sanskrit/Prakrit frame and vernacular song structure, the relationship between the two parts is more unusual in the *Gorakṣavijaya*. In this text, the songs function to explicate and drive the narrative, rather than as devotional or didactic interludes. It could be argued that the *Gorakṣavijaya*'s original form was a collection of thematically related *padas* on the Macchendranāth-Gorakhnāth narrative that were strung together at a later period into a cohesive dramatic presentation. This would not be so different from the *Bhāṣa Saṅgīta* manuscript examined in detail in this study which organizes *padas* according to their poetic themes. The question of the authorship of the *padas* themselves still remains. For the time being, this will remain an open question as only one manuscript from Nepal survives and is presented in facsimile form by Indian Maithili scholars.¹⁰⁷

For a consideration of the *padāvalī* tradition, the *Gorakṣavijaya*'s Maithili songs make for an interesting point of contrast as the only other examples of Maithili poetry produced by Vidyāpati. The *padas* of the *Gorakṣavijaya* are outliers if we consider them alongside the *padāvalī padas*. They do not fit well within any category of mannerist or devotional verse and are more sectarian (*Nāth*) in their concern.¹⁰⁸ In terms of language, much of what is called

¹⁰⁷ Miśra 1984: 18.

¹⁰⁸ **Gorakṣavijaya Song 2**

Mālava Rāge –

(1) Accha accha rājā mahendranātha | Yoga teji re yuvati ratinātha ||

(2) Guruka udese gorakhanātha āva | Tasu paya Vandana karae ke pāva ||

Dhruva.

(3) Maṅgala karatha jagata ehu bramhā |

..... ||

Maithili by modern editions shades into Brajabuli and even Bengali¹⁰⁹ in a manner uncharacteristic of the *padāvalī* manuscripts also found in Nepal. This leads me to agree with the notion that the *Gorakṣavijaya* as a complete work is a much later creation of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries CE in Nepal, rather than from the fifteenth century Oinvāra court in Mithila. The linguistic evidence should be weighed against the fact that only one manuscript of the *Gorakṣavijaya* has been reported from the Royal Durbar Collection (currently held in the National Archives of Nepal) and that too in a rather damaged state.¹¹⁰

Maṇimañjarī Nāṭaka

Other than the *Gorakṣavijaya*, one additional mixed-language drama is sometimes ascribed to Vidyāpati, the *Maṇimañjarī Nāṭikā* (‘Drama of the Bouquet of Jewels’). This play is modeled after the mostly Prakrit *nāṭikā* genre of shorter ‘second-order’ plays whose stories were not based on Puranic or epic tales. The narrative of the *Maṇimañjarī Nāṭikā* is unique to this text but engages in the same aesthetic universe of *nāyikās* and *nāyakas* that is employed extensively in the *pada* tradition. In some major ways, this text departs from the style of Vidyāpati’s more well-

(4) Sujana muniṇe sukha dujanahu bodha | Bhalā mandā duhu sahaja virodha ||

(5) Duahuṃ ke kara jasa hamāra | Bhanai Vidyāpati ka... .. ||

(Miśra 1984: 3-4).

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* –

(1) Once there was a King, Mahendranātha. Abandoning renunciation (lit. *Yoga*), [He became] cupid (lit. Lord of Erotic Passion) [among] young women.

(2) For the purpose of his master, Gorakhanātha came. Who is able to worship his feet?

Refrain.

(3) Brahmā, the creator blesses this very world.

(4) “Good men” and Sages both are happy with realization of what is bad. [The extremes of] good things and bad things both are easily resisted.

(5) Of both, who hands us our fame. Says Vidyāpati,

¹⁰⁹ Bengali became a prominent language of drama in Nepal during the later years of Malla rule up until the conquest of Prthvi Narayan Shah (1743 CE).

(Yadav 2011: 5).

¹¹⁰ Miśra & Miśra 1961.

known play, the *Goraḡṡavijaya*. This play does not contain any lyric verses or songs in any language, let alone Maithili. The primary language of the text is Prakrit with Sanskrit used by the appropriate characters. Direct dialogue and Sanskrit recitation predominate and would seem like a retrograde from the *Kīrtanīñā Nāṡakas* that are centered on Maithili songs. The story revolves around the amorous affairs of a king and his beloved Padmāvatī. The narrative is rather unremarkable and spends most of its time in formulaic poetic descriptions.

There has been doubt shed upon the genuine authorship of this text because of its genre and language choice, since its neither Avahaṡṡha nor Maithili, but the more standard varieties of classical dramatic Prakrits. Even the publisher of the Maithili edition and translation, Chandradhara Jha, explains why most scholars have ignored this text. He claims that this is because of the incongruous language of the drama, the fact that the text does not assign a primary patron, and the very common reality of lesser litterateurs ascribing their own work to more famous artists for fame.¹¹¹ He attempts to debunk this by claiming that the erotic, mannerist style and content of the play in Prakrit matches that of the primary themes of the *pada* tradition.¹¹² I find this claim to be fairly spurious, since this could be said of most classical dramatic works in which *śṛṅgāra* was the predominant *rasa*.

¹¹¹ Jhā 1982: ‘ga’.

¹¹² Jhā 1982: ‘ja’-‘ta’.

Part 2: Vidyāpati's Aesthetic & Self-Fashioning

2.0 General Remarks

‘Part 2’ of this dissertation discusses the main themes and aesthetic concerns that travelled along with the figure of Vidyāpati (‘Part 1’) and his poetic idiom (‘Part 3’). I highlight the ways that Vidyāpati’s aesthetic extends beyond the thematic categories usually associated with his vernacular corpus. Namely, that Vidyāpati’s *padas* in Maithili connect thematically with several of the same social and aesthetic concerns covered in Vidyāpati’s Sanskrit and Avahatṭha works. The role of aesthetic connoisseurship in (brahmin-)kingship is emphasized in this regard. I also discuss the ways in which Vidyāpati’s aesthetic is utilized by three different vernacular communities in order to access the prestige associated with the poet.

The Mallas of Nepal found Vidyāpati’s pre-existing connection to Jayadeva and the late-Sanskrit period Sena Court useful in extending their prestige as kings, poets, and patrons further into the past. In Bengal, loose-leaf and anthologized manuscripts juxtaposed the *padas* of Vidyāpati with the Vaiṣṇava devotional *padas* of Bengali Gauḍīya *Vaiṣṇavas*. The resulting memory recasts Vidyāpati as a Vaiṣṇava devotee and the *Vaiṣṇavas* of Bengal as accessing a prestigious courtly world associated with the Oinvāras. Amongst contemporary speakers of Maithili, the textual and performance traditions of Vidyāpati’s *padas* have merged and interacted. I account for the ways in which upper-caste musicians and scholars depend on each other for presenting an image of Vidyāpati useful for projecting the unique position of Maithili and an emerging Maithili-Bihari-North Indian identity.

After establishing the historical reasons why the Mallas and others saw Vidyāpati and his idiom as attractive option to project their own cultural prestige in ‘Part 1’, this section has

described the diverse ways in which Vidyāpati's social and aesthetic concerns also moved beyond the borders of Mithila. Though Maithili moved 'laterally', many sought to reach 'vertically' into the past to build a pedigree for themselves. Because we cannot rely on tracing direct textual transmissions of individual *padas*, social and aesthetic thematic concerns have to be emphasized in defining Maithili's literary identity. What results is an isolatable set of literary traits that jump regions and manners of transmission (text and performance).

This chapter has five subsections, each details a prominent theme of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript that can be applied more broadly to the Vidyāpati-tradition as a whole. The first (2.1), describes the way in which Vidyāpati both explicitly and intrinsically defines himself as a court-poet. Specifically, it examines the ways in which Vidyāpati defines the nature of a *supuruṣa* (real man) and a *rasika* (connoisseur). While a 'courtly' style can be described as primarily aesthetic in nature, a large number of *padas* from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript also concern general ethics and advice (*upadeśa*).

This section will detail the ways in which Vidyāpati's ethical and social concerns as explicitly discussed in his Sanskrit works (primarily the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*) make an appearance in his Maithili songs. Additionally, Vidyāpati's connection with his Sanskrit role model, Jayadeva, the composer of the *Gītagovinda*, will be examined in part 2.3. While Vidyāpati is undoubtedly a court-poet, his poetry includes lifecycle/domestic as well as devotional themes. These too are not mutually exclusive categories, but shade into one another. Both the domestic/occasional and the devotional are examined in section 2.4. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 present two case studies of Vidyāpati's adoption by the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal and by contemporary Maithili speakers. Both purposefully mix the courtly and the devotional present within Vidyāpati's idiom to capitalize upon the prestige of Mithila's memorialized golden age under the Oinvāras.

2.1 The *Supuruṣa*, the *Rasika*, and Vidyāpati's Courtly Vernacular

It is clear from Vidyāpati's own explicit formulations of connoisseurship in the *padas* that the poet imagined himself to be engaging in a 'courtly' project when writing poetry in the vernacular. The character of what is courtly relies on the ability of a *rasika* (a connoisseur) and/or *nāgara* (urbane person) to adequately discern and recognize the *rasa* elicited by the poet in any instance. *Śṛṅgāra rasa* (erotic love) dominates Vidyāpati's *padas* but it is cast through a variety of lenses. Like Jayadeva, Vidyāpati anesthetizes the quasi-*Vaiṣṇava* world of Radha and Krishna in Vraja. This section examines both how Vidyāpati explicitly defined the role of a *rasika/nāgara*.

Vidyāpati reflects upon the nature of composing for a court and his ideal patrons most explicitly in the *prastāvanā* of the *Kīrttilatā* and to a lesser degree through fable in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. The first *pallava* of the *Kīrttilatā* also contains Vidyāpati's reflection on his own position as a poet and the ways in a properly educated *rasika*, or connoisseur, should receive his works:

bālacanda bijjābaṅ bhāsā | duhu nahi laggai dujjana hāsā ||
o paramesara sehara sohai | ī ṅiccaī nāara mana mohai¹¹³ ||

Both the crescent moon and the language of Vidyāpati are untouched by the ridicule of the 'uncultivated person'.
For the moon attains beauty enthroned upon the head of Śiva [and] Vidyāpati's language certainly enchants the minds of cosmopolitan people.

The 'cosmopolitan' person (Av. *nāara*, Skt. *nāgara*), is the ideal poetic audience for Vidyāpati. They possess the qualification of interpretation necessary to properly appreciate his verse (in Avahatṭha, Sanskrit, or Maithili). Vidyāpati goes on to emphasize that he is only writing for the *rasikas* in the court and not for a popular audience.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ *Kīrttilatā*, 1.10.
(Agravāla 1962: 10).

¹¹⁴ *Kā parabodhaṅo kamana manāvaṅo |Kimi nīrasa mana rasa lae lābaṅo ||*

In the aesthetic universe of Vidyāpati’s *padas*, both the hero (*nāyaka*) and the heroine (*nāyikā*) can take on the guise of *nāgara/nāgarī*, the urban man/woman well-versed in *rasa* theory. In the following *pada* (Song 20), the unnamed heroine is characterized as a *nāgarī* who is wasting away her life pining after her beloved who has missed their latest rendezvous.

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — 20¹¹⁵

Āsābarī rāge —

(1) <i>tua bisabāse kusume bharu seja </i>	<i>basantaka rajanī cādaka teja </i>
(2) <i>mana utakaṅṭhā kata hoa mora </i>	<i>caūṁdiśa śuna nayana baha nora </i>
(3) <i>beri beri hari tua darasana lāgī </i>	<i>nāgarim̃ rayani gamāili jāgī </i>
(4) <i>supuruṣa bhae nahi kariya e rose </i>	<i>baḍa bhae kapaṭī ū baḍa dose </i>
(5) <i>bhaṇayi vidyāpati eho rasabhāsa </i>	<i>je nira bāhia tā diya āsa </i>

In Rāga Āsāvarī —

- (1) Trusting that you [would come], I have covered the bed with flowers. The spring night is illuminated by the moon.
- (2) How excited is my heart [in expectation]? [But], every direction remains empty and tears flow from my eyes.
- (3) [This happens] again and again, oh Hari! Because of that one glimpse of you. The cultured, urbane lady wastes the night awake.
- (4) The ‘good man’ has appeared, now don’t be so angry. [However], he is a great deceiver. This is his main failing.
- (5) Vidyāpati says, “This is an improper manifestation of such a *rasa* (*rasābhāsa*). Those tears which have been shed [in reality] provide hope.”

Vidyāpati chides the heroine by claiming that her show of grief is either improper or feigned (*‘rasābhāsa’*). The poet claims that she has done so to manipulate her beloved, a *supuruṣa*, into showing up for their affair. The proper execution of *rasa* is the focus of this *pada* and

Jaī surasā hosāi majhu bhāsā |
jo bujjiha so kariha pasamsā ||

In what manner ought I explain and whom should I convince?
How shall I bring and fill with *rasa* a mind that is without *rasa*.
If my language will be replete with good *rasa*,
Then those who will understand will praise it.

Kīrttilatā, 1.11

(Agravāla 1962: 11).

¹¹⁵ Taraunī Manuscript — 159

Vidyāpati’s good-humored derision of the heroine is meant to be a source of pleasure for the *rasika* reader/listener. As indicated in the cited verse from the *Kīrttilatā*, Vidyāpati speaks directly to the secret understanding of a cultivated “urbane” person (‘*ī ṅiccai nāara mana mohai*’). Vidyāpati and the other poets in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript designate their own patrons as these ideal urbane and cultivated men and women. This use of the *bhaṅitā* (poetic signature) will be explored in chapter 9.

The discourse on the nature of *rasa* has also concerned the nature of connoisseurship.¹¹⁶ The characterization of a *rasika* presented in ‘Song 20’ is not unique to Vidyāpati, but it is unique in its double concern with the nature of a properly cultivated or “real” man (*supuruṣa*). The *supuruṣa* figures prominently in the *padas* of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. This character is contrasted directly with the *durjana* (‘wicked person’) or the *piśuna* (‘rogue/villain’), both prominent characters that appear in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*.¹¹⁷ Reading Vidyāpati’s vernacular *padas* with a prior understanding of Vidyāpati’s social and ethical concerns as presented in a text like the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* has the effect of drawing the Sanskrit and Maithili Vidyāpati’s into closer union. Where the vernacular and the classical cosmopolises start and end are much opaquer.

This debate amongst aesthetic philosophers as to where *rasa* is ‘located’, plays into discussions of the role and nature of a *rasika*. Vidyāpati’s understanding of this debate would have been influenced by the many layers of aesthetic/*rasa* theory that had accreted by the fifteenth century CE. In the closely aligned realm of *nāṭaka* (drama), Sheldon Pollock notices that by the time of Ramacandra and Guṇacandra’s *Nāṭaka-Darpaṇa* (‘Mirror of Drama’) around 1200 CE, *rasa* was confusingly located everywhere: in the characters, in the reader, and the poet.

¹¹⁶ Pollock 2016: 239-247.

¹¹⁷ Among the negative *pratyuddhāraṇa* (counterexamples) given by Vidyāpati in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* are: the wretch (*kṛpana*), the villain (*piśuna*), the ignorant (*avidya*), and the one of broken understanding (*khaṇḍitavidya*). *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, 1.7, 2.5, 3.12-13. (Jha 2009: 34-36, 57-64, 105-106, 107-109).

Vidyāpati in *pada* 20, amongst others, makes it clear that proper interpretation and skill is required to enact and interpret *rasa* and to appreciate his poetry. The onus is placed upon the reader/listener.

According to the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, one can achieve the status of a ‘proper man’ (*supuruṣa*) through masterful artistic skills and proper connoisseurship, not just conventional moral behavior. One of the four main types of *supuruṣa* defined in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* is the ‘*śavidya*’ (‘one possessed of a particular field of knowledge’).¹¹⁸ Among the various skills a real man might possess are the skills of painting, singing, and dancing. In many of the moral tales of various *śavidyas*, exemplars are taken from prestigious pan-Indian courts; however, the skills associated with the arts use exemplars from Mithila’s past. What is unique in the *pada* cited previously is that in parallel feet of this verse (three and four), Vidyāpati contrasts the ‘cosmopolitan person’ (*nāgara*) with a ‘wicked person’ (Av. *dujjana*, Skt. *durjana*). Instead of contrasting the urbane and cultured connoisseur with someone slow or deficient in intellect, Vidyāpati criticizes the non-*rasika* as morally deficient and not a fully cultivated or proper man.

Turning to the story of the “one skilled in music” (*śagītavidya*), Vidyāpati makes it clear that aesthetic performance culture is a significant aspect or route for cultivating social status as a *supuruṣa*. In this story, a Maithili musician, Kalānidhi, is challenged to a singing competition by the local musicians of the neighboring region around Gorakṣapura. Initially, Kalānidhi refuses as there would be no one able to judge his skill. He admonishes, as if in Vidyāpati’s own voice, the sad state of affairs when a king and a kingdom are bereft of proper discernment of aesthetic enjoyment.¹¹⁹ After being pushed by the king and the musicians, Kalānidhi again refuses and

¹¹⁸ *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, 1.1.9.
(Jha 2009: 4).

¹¹⁹ *Avijñatvaṃ yathā rajño guṇināmaparigrahāt |
parigrahācca mūrkhāṇāṃ tathā lokeṣu jāyate ||2||*

Whether out of neglecting people of quality,

twice claims the preeminence of the kings of Mithilā to judge musical skill.

*Śrotā yadāsiddharasimhadevo gātāhamāsaṁ nrpate tadaiva |
Mayā samānaṁ madhurasvareṇa na pañcamam gāyati kokilo 'pi ||*

When my listener was Harasimhadeva, then alone I dwelt as singer [before] a king.
In competition with me, even the cuckoo does not sing the fifth note with its sweet voice.

And -

*Haro vā harasimho vā gītavidyāvīdausthitau |
Harasimhe gate svarge gītavit kevalam haraḥ ||*

Only Hara (Śiva) and Harasimha are knowledgeable about the skill of music.
When Harasimha went to heaven, only Hara [remains and] is knowledgeable of song.¹²⁰

This praise of his patron's predecessors' underlines Vidyāpati's motivation to compose the text — to design a literary, historical, and ethical pedigree for his patrons and fellow courtiers in Mithilā. The Oinvāras are proper connoisseurs because the Karṇātas were also proper patrons of the arts, this is a constituent element of Maithil courtly life, according to Vidyāpati.¹²¹

In the *padas* themselves, Vidyāpati equates a properly discerning *rasika* with the *supuruṣa*.

Or because the favoring of fools, [similarly] the people pay no heed to the king.
(Jha 1983: 136).

¹²⁰ *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, 3.7.3-4 (Jha 2009: 95).

¹²¹ As a counterexample to the many types of “skilled men”, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* presents warnings of infamy and decrepitude for those who would neglect the pursuit of knowledge or skill. In the story of the “unskilled one” (*avidya-kathā*), Vidyāpati complicates the image of an educated elite in Mithilā. In it, an uneducated Maithili brahmin named Ravidhara, ashamed of his illiteracy and recognizing that his time for learning has run out, is determined to have his son educated by the very best tutors. Unfortunately for his son, Ravidhara had given him an ungrammatical name — Manadhara. One day, Ravidhara, along with his son, attended the court of the king seeking favor. When the king asked to hear the news, Ravidhara replied, “*jñānonāstimeva*”, an apparently non-grammatical, nonsensical phrase that roughly gives the impression that, “I don't have any knowledge.” After being ridiculed by the court, Manadhara quickly defends his father and demonstrates his own learning by explaining that his father actually gave an accurate reply and the courtiers simply misunderstood. Reordering his father's reply (*anvaya*) and giving a commentary-like explanation, Manadhara explains that his father actually said, “*noma jñā nāstī meva, lakṣmīriva. Yathā lakṣmīrna vidyate tathā jñā 'pi na vidyate*” (“For us, there is no ‘Jñā’, just as there is no Umā”, like Lakṣmī. Just as there is no Lakṣmī (Goddess of wealth), similarly there is no Jñā (Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Knowledge). The king and the courtiers are apparently satisfied and praise Manadhara for his grammatical prowess, while Ravidhara remains a fool.

Puruṣaparīkṣā, 3.12 (Jha 2009: 105-107).

In Vidyāpati’s estimation, one who cannot understand or engender *rasa* properly or at the right moment is also unable to distinguish between vice and virtue (‘*guṇa dūṣaṇa bheda*’):

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — 51

Korāba rāge —

- (1) *hamarahi aṅgaṁnā bāhara śāhara tareṁṁ gela |*
ehi bāṭe bhamara gatāgata kichu puchio na bhela ||
Dhruva.
- (2) *bhane o bhela bhamiā bathu pābathu mane khedha |*
eka rasa puruṣā na bujāe guṇa dūṣaṇa bheda ||
- (3) *kaminike lobhe dhāola pāola nahi pāśa |*
madhu punu ḍiṭhihu na dekhala arajala upahāśa ||
- (4) *kamini aili ketaki gela saurabha rahu purī |*
kamṭake kabanu karebara mukhe mākhala dhurī ||
- (5) *bidyāpati kabimṁ gāola rasa bujāe rasamanta |*
Deba-Simha naba nāgara Hāsini-Devi kanta ||

In Kolava Rāga —

- (1) Outside of my courtyard a mango fell to the earth.
On that road, [some person] was wandering back and forth. [Though it did not seem like] he had anything to ask [of the household].
Refrain.
- (2) It looked like some object had vexed him while he was wandering about.
Until a man can understand even a single *rasa*, he cannot distinguish between virtue and vice.
- (3) Desiring that ardent woman, he ran forward, but he did not fully approach [her].
Madhu (*i.e.*, Krishna) did not manage to get another glimpse [of her], though he received [much] ridicule.
- (4) When the woman came out of her house, there was the fragrance of the screw-pine pervading [from within].
“What troublesome person has smeared dirt upon your face and body!?”
- (5) The poet Vidyāpati sang, “Only the person that possess a *rasa*, understands that *rasa*.
Devasimha is a young urbane man and the beloved of Lady Hāsini.”

On the surface of this *pada*, it seems that Krishna is the unwitting *nāyaka* and the object of ridicule for both the companions of the *nāyikā*. He is presented as a bumbling stranger who has come to the threshold of the heroine’s home. From the perspective of the companion (*sakhī*) or go-between (*dūtī*) of the *nāyikā*, Krishna is certainly not a *supuruṣa*, as defined in in Vidyāpati’s moral vision as presented in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* and someone entirely unsuitable of their

companion/charge.

Through innuendo, line four of this *pada* reveals that it is likely that the hero and heroine managed to meet in private for a tryst. The telltale signs are all there. Her face and body are disheveled and the fragrance of screw-pine (used in perfumes) hint at the heroine's activities behind closed doors, out of the prying sight of her companions. This secret signal is directed at the *rasikas* in the audience who could perceive what was happening in reality. Our first impression, that Krishna is the object of ridicule, is flipped on its head and now the *sakhī*, unable to properly interpret *rasa*, is left in a moral quandary in which she cannot recognize the sexual encounter of her friend and Krishna. She is now to be ridiculed as a non-connoisseur by the listener/reader. This hidden reality is a source of additional aesthetic pleasure for a connoisseur. The *bhaṇitā* of this *pada* emphasizes that Vidyāpati's patron, Devasimha in this case, is such a suitable qualified *rasika*. This *pada* also equates a proper connoisseur with a cosmopolitan of urbane man (*nāgara*). This helps to elicit a clearer idea of the audience and courtly atmosphere that Vidyāpati understood his patron's court to be.

2.2 Vidyāpati, the New Jayadeva

In his examination of Jayadeva's transformational role in devotional and courtly Sanskrit literature, Sanskritist Jesse Knutson observes that Jayadeva serves as a catalyst of literary change:

“Jayadeva's status in traditions of reception is a unique and bizarre as the poem itself, making this the first real concern for anyone who would understand the *Gītagovinda*'s emergence. While ostensibly connected to some sort of coherent tradition of lyric poetry extending back to the *Rgveda*,¹²² the poem's appearance triggered an explosion of

¹²² Dimock et. al. 1974: 144-197.

cultural contortions and heavy-handed appropriations that continues into the present.”¹²³

Vidyāpati, living only two centuries after Jayadeva, was certainly part of this trend. Among the many that figures who drew upon Jayadeva’s precedent, Vidyāpati is unique in spawning a tradition which regards him with equal nostalgia and reverence.

If the copperplate land-grant of Śivasimha is to be believed, the *rasa* or ethos of Vidyāpati’s Maithili *padas* has been likened to that of the twelfth century CE Sanskrit poet of the Sena court and composer of the *Gītagovinda*, Jayadeva since the lifetime of the poet himself. In this copperplate, Vidyāpati is granted the honorary title of ‘*Abhinava-Jayadeva*’, or the ‘new Jayadeva’.¹²⁴ It is not difficult to see why the Malla courts and other musicians-poets of Kathmandu made the comparison of the Sanskrit poet Jayadeva with the Maithili poet Vidyāpati. Explicitly drawing a pedigree of lyrical poetic expression that transcended language boundaries enriched the cultural clout of both the Maithil rulers in the plains and their Malla counterparts in Kathmandu. Moving beyond patronage, the Mallas engaged with literary production in a more direct fashion than their contemporary Oinvāra and Khaṇḍavāla counterparts. These kings not only boasted of their cultural greatness through patronage, but also through their own composition.

Vidyāpati, or the scribes transmitting Vidyāpati’s *padas* in manuscript form, readily adopted this title and it is mentioned in a number of poetic signatures. The following *pada* appears in both the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript and the *Taraunī* manuscript:

¹²³ Knutson 2014: 74.

¹²⁴ Jha 2014: 37.

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — 35

Korāba —

- (1) sāmara purusā hama gharaṁ pāhuna raṅge bibhābari gelī |
kācā siriphala naha muti laolanhi kesu paṁkhuriyā bhelī ||
- (2) sehe piyā dae gela keśa paṁkhuriā dhaela mae āṁcare goyī |
[kā]jare kāra sakhījana locane dīṭhi(hi) maīla januṁ hoi(li) ||
- (3) nūtana neha saṁsāraka sīmā upacita kaisana corī ||
byādha kusuma-śareṁ sara bighaṭāuli rāja kuraṅgini morī |
- (4) cāri bhāve hame bharamali achalihu samadi na bhele mohi sebā |
kāṁnha rupa śiri śiba-siṅgha āela kabi abhinaba jayadebā ||

[In *Rāga*] *Korāva* —

- (1) A dark-complexioned man [came as] a guest in my house. The night was spent in passion.
On her unripe wood-apples [breasts] he put his nail marks. They [seemingly] became the red petals of *Kesu/Palāśa* tree.
- (2) That very beloved was given petals of the *Kesu* tree. I ran away and disappeared behind the end of my *sārī*.
It is as if I have become dirty from the black soot eyeliner cast by my group of female companions.
- (3) New love is the upper most limit of this world [’s happiness]. How can it be stolen away once accumulated?
The flower-arrowed one (I.e. *Kāmadeva*), as a hunter, breaks up [this new love] of mine with an arrow, like a king [hunting] a female deer.
- (4) I am lost in the ‘four-*bhāvas*’. That is why I was not given this service.
The poet ‘*Abhinava-Jayadeva*’ (i.e. Vidyāpati) has come to serve Śrī Śivasimha, who is in form like Krishna.

In this *pada*, many of the most common poetic comparisons and scenes found in the *Gītagovinda* are evident, such as natural comparisons for the beauty of the heroine (wood-apples,¹²⁵ *kesu* trees,¹²⁶ etc.) and other denizens of the poetic landscape (*Kāmadeva*,¹²⁷ the rogue-like stranger,¹²⁸ etc.). The poetic hero of this *pada* is a ‘*sāmara purusā*’ (‘dark-complexioned man’) who vaguely

¹²⁵ e.g., *Gītagovinda* 9.3

(Miller 1977: 109).

¹²⁶ e.g., *Gītagovinda* 2.20

(Miller 1977: 81).

¹²⁷ e.g., *Gītagovinda* 3.11-13.

(Miller 1977: 84).

¹²⁸ e.g., *Gītagovinda* 7.1-12.

(Miller 1977: 97-99).

resembles Krishna and hints at the *rasa* of a late-night rendezvous also found in the *Gītagovinda*, but there is nothing distinctively reverent or devotional in *padas* like these.

W.G. Archer notes an important difference of perspective between the lyrics of Vidyāpati and Jayadeva.¹²⁹ While both Radha and Krishna are at the center of the poetic universes that both poets engage with, each poet prefers to center the narrative perspective of their verses on one or the other. The *Gītagovinda* privileges the perspective of Krishna upon Radha's lamentations or enjoyments, though the newfound popular position afforded to Radha by Jayadeva is significant. Archer calls Vidyāpati's perspective "almost feminine" in comparison to Jayadeva's "robustly male approach".¹³⁰ The diversity of female perspectives in the Maithili *pada* tradition seems to surprise Archer. This is perhaps because he had given too much credence to the older Bengali perspective which viewed Vidyāpati's entire corpus as devotional and *Vaiṣṇava* in nature. He does not consider the fact that in the Mithila-Nepal tradition, Vidyāpati's *padas* are not entirely centered on Radha and Krishna. Not even considering Vidyāpati's devotional *padas* dedicated to Shiva or Devi, only a portion of the 'courtly' *padas* of Vidyāpati's corpus mention Radha and Krishna by name. They are the preferred *nāyikā* and *nāyaka* in many cases, but they adopt very little of trappings and paraphernalia of Braj or the *Vaiṣṇava* aesthetic universe.

Manuscripts Connecting Jayadeva & Vidyāpati in Nepal

After the waning of Malla-Newar power in the Kathmandu Valley after the Gurkhā conquest (1789), Vidyāpati and Jayadeva continued to be connected with the memory of the Malla courts. The compounded prestige of the Sena, Oinvāra, and Malla courts endures to exert such a strong cultural memory, that contemporary lower caste Newar musicians continue to

¹²⁹ Archer 1963: 30.

¹³⁰ Archer 1963: 30.

transmit and practice the songs of those two poets alongside those of their cultural heroes, the Malla kings, in Sanskrit and Maithili. In the past three centuries, those languages have become mixed with ‘Newari-isms’ and the singers themselves have no working knowledge of Sanskrit or Maithili. Memory and nostalgia are all that remain.

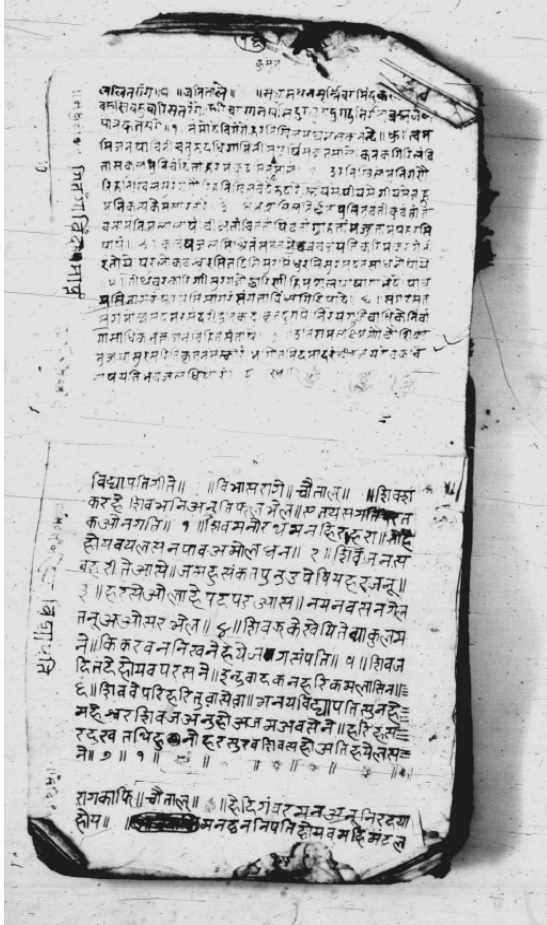
The most evident sites for this memorialization-for-the-sake-of-nostalgia are the *thyāsaphu* songbooks of *Dāphā* musicians of the Kathmandu Valley. As musicologist Richard Widdess argues, “Newars of the farming community do not normally know Sanskrit, and the Hindi that they know is the Hindi/Urdu of Bollywood movies; even the archaic Newari poses many obstacles to understanding.”¹³¹ Most of what is preserved in contemporary songbooks found in abundance in Nepal is riddled with mistakes and is difficult to decipher, even for the specialist. Widdess adds, “a name here, a word there may be sufficient to indicate the subject of a song, and the proper context in which to sing it.”¹³² Ritual propriety dominates the contemporary Newari usage of these songs and songbooks.

In my examination of the Nepali archives, I came across a large number of these songbooks from the Malla period and after. I present a number of these manuscript-style in chapter 6 in my discussion of script and textual practices; however, I would like to preemptively add another example in the Nāgarī script of a more contemporary paper notebook that predominately covers the *padas* of Vidyāpati and Jayadeva in a somewhat haphazard fashion:¹³³

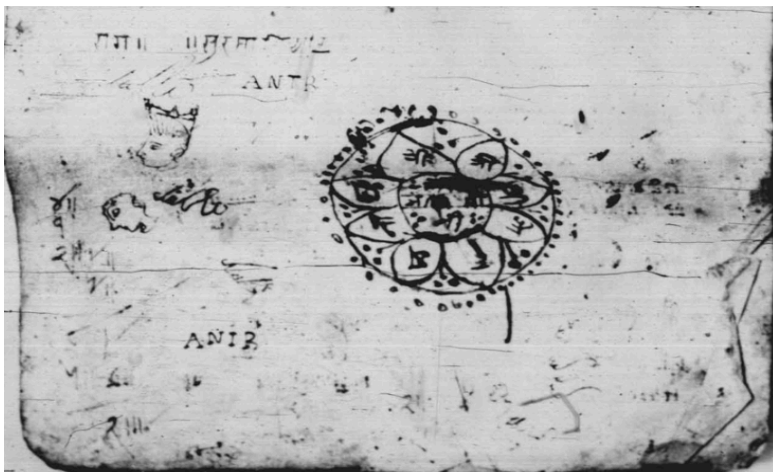
¹³¹ Widdess 2013: 43.

¹³² Widdess 2013: 43.

¹³³ “Bhajanasaṅgraha.” n.d. Kathmandu. E1033/11. National Archives of Nepal.



Figures 4 & 2: "Bhajanasaṅgraha" E1033/11. National Archives of Nepal.



In this paper manuscript, likely from the late nineteenth century, a rough approximation of the Gītagovinda alternates pages with *padas* of Vidyāpati. They comprise roughly the first quarter of the entire notebook. The rest consists of various songs dedicated to Shiva (as Paśupati), Ganesha,

and other deities. Interestingly, the *padas* of Tulsīdās and Kabīr appear at the end of this notebook in another hand. The language of these songbooks is sometimes clearly Sanskrit, Maithili, or Braj, but the majority of the time, they are unreadable even to the musicians as the language is obscured by Newari-ism and misspellings.

The most intriguing feature is the manner of this songbook’s collection. There are at least ten different scribal hands, which vary from classical Nāgarī style to Newari-ish Nāgarī. Sometimes it appears to be the hand of a child, learning and copying from some other text. Most interestingly, however, are a large number of illustrations. Some of these are of devotional decorations or objects, sometimes they are musical diagrams clearly used in teaching. Some of the illustrations are ‘doodles’ of everyday objects: coins, buildings, faces, and statues. This mix of hands and the indications of the texts’ usage as a songbook and object that was passed from hand-to-hand gives us evidence for the historical usages of Newari-Maithili songbooks, but they also serve to give evidence of the intertwined association between Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, and the Malla kings.

What is the Connection?

Since Vidyāpati’s corpus differs in structural form (anthologized *padas* vs. connected narrative lyric poetry), language (Maithili vs. Sanskrit), and thematic approaches (devotional vs. mannerist) from Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda*, what salient features appealed to the self-fashioning projects of the Oinvāra or Malla kings? In his characterization of Jayadeva, Knutson emphasizes the unique departures of Jayadeva’s work.¹³⁴ This disruption to the Sanskrit order of form and content led many to categorize Jayadeva’s language as “vernacular Sanskrit” or at least a new type of Sanskrit that felt comfortable with engaging in non-Sanskrit forms and structures (mostly

¹³⁴ Knutson 2014: 72-88.

Prakrit and Apabhramśa).¹³⁵ Sometimes, Vidyāpati departs from the language and formal elements of premodern Maithili literary cultures and established a new standard. The function of innovation is the operable feature of Vidyāpati’s literary corpus that establishes the poet’s legacy and establishes Maithili, or *Mithilāpabhramśa* (see 7.1) as an independent vernacular with its own standards. Both the poetic innovations of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati and the perceived cultural nostalgia for their associated courts and patrons. Instead of only “remembering” Jayadeva and his Sanskrit cosmopolis, historical and contemporary Newars and Maithils in Nepal have also integrated Vidyāpati’s vernacular cosmopolis.

2.3 The Devotional Aspect of Vidyāpati's Vernacular Corpus

If one were to only read Vidyāpati’s *padas* through recent print editions or manuscripts, one would believe that only the erotic-courtly *padas* are worthy of literary analysis or consideration.¹³⁶ However, in the contemporary performance and devotional traditions of Maithili-speakers in India and Nepal, Vidyāpati is revered as a saint, one with his own sites of pilgrimage,¹³⁷ folk hagiographies,¹³⁸ and religious iconography.¹³⁹ This being the case, then what are the basic characteristics of the devotional *padas* that are found in the premodern manuscript tradition? This section will provide a survey of the devotional *padas* dedicated to Shiva or Devi. This survey is an examination of the relative place of these devotional *padas* within Vidyāpati’s vernacular corpus and the various types and usages of those *padas* between the historical textual tradition and contemporary performance-devotional practices.

¹³⁵ Miller 2007: 14-17.

¹³⁶ Jha 1954: 191-193.

¹³⁷ Jha 2019: 1-13.

¹³⁸ Rakesh 1996: 77-80.

¹³⁹ Mishra 1949: 190.

The available Vidyāpati *pada* sources provide enough information to map the relative balance of Shiva/Devi *padas* within and between manuscript *sources*, as well as the distinct sub-categories of Shiva/Devi *padas*. I have surveyed and organized the results in the following table, which shows the number of Shiva/Devi-related *padas* of each textual source in relation to that text's total number of *padas*:

Source	Total <i>padas</i>	No. of Vidyāpati <i>padas</i>	Shiva-Devi <i>padas</i>	Percentage of Vidyāpat's <i>Padas</i>
Nepal Manuscript	288	261	15	5.7%
Rambhadrapur Manuscript	96	93	0	0%
Tarauni Manuscript	238	230	0	0%
<i>Bhāṣā Saṅgīta</i> Manuscript	140	92	13	14.1%
<i>Rāgatarāṅgiṇī</i>	103	51	5	9.8%
Grierson's Chrestomathy	82	82	2	2.4%

Figure 5: Devotional *Padas* in Various Sources

It is notable that the primary manuscript of this study, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, contains a relatively high proportion of devotional *padas*. The later date of this manuscript (seventeenth-eighteenth cents. CE) is a likely factor for the increased presence of devotional *padas*. Similarly dated *padāvalī* and *rāga-mālā* manuscripts from the Kathmandu Valley are likely influenced by the popularity of Maithili devotional plays (*kīrtaniṇa nāṭakas*) during that period. The Maithili dramas of Nepal consist of loose frame narratives in Sanskrit ornamented by Maithili lyric verses (*padas*). Unlike the *padāvalīs* and *rāga-mālās*, the content of the dramatic *padas* were entirely devotional, both *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava*.

A Devotional Pada Typology

While modern editors and translators have categorized the Radha/Krishna *padas* into many thematic sub-genres according to the circumstances of the *nāyikā*, the speaker, the season, etc., the same treatment has not been given to the Shiva/Devi *padas* found in manuscript sources. In contemporary ‘folk’ literature, they are classified by the occasion or context in which they are sung. In order to texturize the flattened body of Shiva/Devi *padas* as presented in modern scholarship, I distinguish between three main categories. These types are not enumerated or discussed in traditional Maithili scholarship but are a heuristic characterization of the *pada* tradition:

- (1) Devotional Praise Songs (*stotra* or *prārthanā padas*)
- (2) Yogic Songs
- (3) Lifecycle Songs (particularly wedding songs)

These groupings are focused on the functions of the *padas*, rather than their age, original authorship, or mode of transmission. These categories are also permeable. Meaning, that there is a relative amount of functional bleed between the types. It is still helpful to think of at least some of the cultural spaces in which each of the Shiva/Devi *pada* types have operated.

Since the advent of mass-market musical and film distribution of Maithili music in India and Nepal, the ‘praise-songs’, in particular, have burgeoned in number and popularity. All three categories have cross-caste appeal in Mithila. Maithil culture is deeply stratified by caste. Local elite (and literary) culture is dominated by upper-caste Brahmin and Kayastha professionals and landholders. Vidyāpati has taken on a split-persona in twentieth and twenty-first century Maithil culture. The Vidyāpati of the ‘literary’ Krishna/Radha *padas* has been transformed into the representative of brahmanical and high-Hindu Maithil culture. On the other hand, the Vidyāpati

of the Shiva/Devi *padas* is represented as a pan-Maithil saint, whose songs and religious sites are democratically accessible to Maithils of all castes.

(1) Praise Padas (*stotra or prārthanā padas*)

Stotra-padas ('praise *padas*') or *Prārthanā-padas* most popular type Shiva/Devi-related *pada* for contemporary Maithili-speakers. In their formal elements and structure, the *padas* of this type most closely resemble the '*stotra*', a genre of Sanskrit praise poetry. In her study of the *stotra* genre in Sanskrit amongst Tamil-speaking *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas*, Nancy Ann Nayar emphasizes the legitimacy and prestige that the genre derives from the Vedic *stotra* tradition and the *stotras* explicitly sanctioned by philosophers like Śāṅkara, despite its most likely immediate origin being amongst the Āḷvārs (c. 6th-7th cents. CE). Nayar also accounts for the trickle-down popularity of these genres amongst the general vernacular-speaking populace as the inherited prestige of Sanskrit.¹⁴⁰ This can also hold for contemporary Maithili speakers who listen to and recite/sing Vidyāpati's praise *stotras* in a variety of ritual and general devotional practices. Non-Brahmin Maithils revere Vidyāpati because of his connection to Mithila's hegemonic brahmanical and Sanskritic past.

The following *pada*, from the 'Nepal Manuscript', typifies the *stotra-pada* genre in theme, content, and style. Shiva and the Goddess, in their joint form as *Ardhanarīnareśvara* ("the Lord who is Half-Woman and Half-Man") is a recurrent theme for Vidyāpati's Maithili lyrics. The following example from the oldest manuscript available, the 'Nepal Manuscript,' is attributed to Vidyāpati by one of his alternative *nom de plumes*, 'Kaviratṇa' ('Jewel of Poets').¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Nayar 1992: 15-25.

¹⁴¹ This poetic signature was included by Nagendranath Gupta in his edition; however both the editions from the *Bihār Rāṣṭra-Bhāṣā Pariṣad* and Subhadra Jha at least question whether this is correctly attributed. I have chosen to include this *pada* in my characterization of the *stotra-pada* sub-genre because of its widespread popularity in Mithila and near-universal attribution to Vidyāpati in contemporary Maithil devotional culture (Gupta 1909: 502).

‘Nepal Manuscript’ —132

Dhanachī rāge –

- (1) *jae jae śaṅkara jae tripurāri | jae adha puruṣa jae adhanāri |*
Dhruva.
- (2) *ādhā dhavala ādhā tanu gorā | ādha sahaja kuca ādha kaṭhorā ||*
(3) *ādha haḍamālā ādhā motī ādhā | cāndana sobhe ādha vibhūtī ||*
(4) *ādha cetane mati ādhā bhorā | ādha paṭora ādha muja ḍorā ||*
(5) *ādha joga ādha bhoga vilāsā | ādha pināka ādha nagaphāsā ||*
(6) *ādha cānda ādha sindura sobhā | ādha virūpa ādha jaga lobhā ||*
[(7) *bhane kaviratana vidhātā jāne | duha kae bātala eka parāne ||*]

In Rāga Dhanāśrī –

- (1) Victory! Victory to Śaṅkara (‘the giver of happiness’)! Victory to the ‘Lord of the Three Cities! Victory to the half-man! Victory to the half-woman!
Refrain.
- (2) Half dazzling white and a half with body golden; half with natural breasts and half harsh.
- (3) Half with a bone rosary and half with pearls; half beautiful with sandalwood and half with sacred ashes.
- (4) Half with full [cosmic] awareness and a half with a simple mind; half with silken cloth and half with threads of reed.
- (5) Half a renunciant and half delighting in enjoyments; half with a bow and half dwelling in the mountains.
- (6) Half with a moon and half beautiful with vermilion; half deformed and half the desire of the world.
- (7) (Says the ‘Jewel of Poets’, *The Bestower* knows that both have been split from one soul.)

This type of *stotra-pada* praises *Ardhanarīnareśvara*, but centers Shiva as the object of devotion.¹⁴² The simplistic refrain (‘*jae jae śaṅkara*’) and repeated structural patters

¹⁴² Locana Dās cites a *pada* of Vidyāpati centered on the theme of *Ardhanarīnareśvara*:

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī – Song 89

- (1) *katahu śmaśrudhara katahu payodhara bhala vara milala suśobhe |*
adhaṅga dhaīli nāri na gunali niña gāri garua gauri guna lobhe ||
(2) *ālo śiva śambhū tumi śiva śambhū tumi jo badhalā pacabāne ||dhruva.||*
(3) *gāṅga lāgi girijāka manaulihe kake devi bolaha mandā |*
carana namita phani manimaya bhūṣana dharakhi khiāēla candā ||
(4) *bhanāi vidyāpati sunaha tilocana paya paṅkaja mori sevā |*
candala deī pati vaidanātha gati nīlakaṅṭha hara devā ||
(Jha 1981: 182).

(‘*ādha...ādha*’) of this *pada* have lent to its contemporary popularity. This simplicity, a source of popular proliferation, has also meant that elite Maithil literary critics have derided similar *padas* as having relatively little ‘literary value’ and the most divergent from the courtly-erotic *padas*. This formulation is sometimes oversimplified and the boundary between devotional and courtly *padas* blurs. In song 23 of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, the dual gendered nature of Shiva-Devi is also explored. In this *pada*, simple refrains and straightforward descriptions are replaced by the rhetorical flourishes. Shiva and Devi have also changed in character. They are no longer passive objects of devotion. Instead, they take on the dynamics of a *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*:

‘Bhāṣā Saṅgīta’ Manuscript – Song 23

Mālava Rāge –

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>katana vedana mohi desi madanā </i> | <i>hara nahi bānā hame yuvati janā </i> |
| (2) <i>vibhuti bhuṣana nahi candanaka reṇu </i> | <i>bāgha chāla nahi netaka vasanu </i> |
| (3) <i>nahi morām kālakūṭa mṛga mada </i> | <i>cāru phanipati nahi morā mukutāka hāra </i> |
| (4) <i>caṁdana tilaka morā nahi īndu goṭā </i> | <i>lalāṭa pāvaka nahi sinduraka phoṭā </i> |
| (5) <i>nahi morā jaṭā bhāva cikuraka veṇī </i> | <i>surasari nahi morā kusumaka melī </i> |
| (6) <i>bhanāī Vidyāpati suna deva kāma </i> | <i>eka dosa acha morām nāme pae bāmā </i> |

In *Mālava Rāga* –

- (1) How much pain do you give me, oh *Madana*! I am not *Hara* in disguise, I am a young woman.
- (2) This adornment is not of sacred ash; it is the dust of sandalwood. This is not a tiger’s skin, its clothing made of fine cloth.
- (3) I do not have the *Kālakūṭa* poison (a.k.a. Halāhala), this is deer-musk. I am not the beautiful lord of serpents; this is my necklace of pearls.
- (4) I have a *tilaka* of sandalwood [on my head] and not the moon. It is not fire upon my brow, but a spot of vermillion.
- (5) This is not my matted hair, it is my charming lock of plaited hair [and in it] it is not the Ganges, but it is braided with [white] flowers.
- (6) *Vidyāpati* says, “listen *Kāmadeva*! If there is even one misstep, then I will get infamy as a woman”

In this *pada*, *Gaurī* tries to prevent *Kāmadeva* from attacking her when the latter mistakes her for her own husband Shiva, his usual enemy. *Gaurī* then describes each feature of Shiva that is mistaken for her own. Though not exactly describing Shiva and *Gaurī* as *Ardhanarīnaresvara*,

the feminine and masculine features of these male and female deities are identified with each other and intertwined. This example engages equally with the ‘literary’ and the ‘devotional,’ likewise there is little in organization of textual sources like the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* that would lead one to believe the performers and audience thought of them as drastically different from the rest of the poet’s corpus.

2. *Yogic Songs*

The second category of Vidyāpati’s devotional corpus characterizes Shiva as a yogi. In this manifestation, Shiva wanders the countryside aimlessly, not as the powerful and esoteric ‘Lord of Yoga’ (*Yogeśvara*), but as a more comical wandering mendicant, inebriated from his well-known habit of consuming *bhāṅga* (cannabis) and *dhātūra* (toxic white thorn-apple). Devi takes on her persona as an auspiciously married woman who bemoans her poor fortune at having been matched with such an unseemly and disheveled husband. Shiva’s real identity as the supreme lord is sometimes known to the goddess and sometimes known only to a chorus of yogis in attendance who laugh at the illusion of Shiva’s public appearance.

In an ambiguous voice that could be that of Gaurī or the poet himself, the subject of this pada laments over their own separation from Shiva, just as Radha might mourn her own loss of Krishna when he disappears.

‘Nepal Manuscript’ —279

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Dhanachī Rāge –</i> | |
| (1) <i>kehu dekhala naganā </i> | <i>bhiṣiā magaiṭe bula āṅgane āṅganā </i> |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) <i>ugana umata kehu deṣala vidhātā </i> | <i>gaurika nāha abhaya vara dātā </i> |
| (3) <i>vibhuti bhuṣaṇa kara vīsa ahāre </i> | <i>kaṅṭha vāsuki sira surasari dhāre </i> |
| (4) <i>keli bhūta saṅge rahae masāne </i> | <i>tailoka isara hara ke nahi jāne </i> |

In *Rāga Dhanāśrī* –

(1) Has anyone seen a naked [mendicant]? He is begging alms, as he wanders from threshold to threshold.

Refrain.

(2) Ugnā is mad! Has anyone seen the creator? The Lord of Gaurī is the giver of the boon of fearlessness.

(3) Sacred Ash is his adornment. He ingests poison (a.k.a. The *Halāhala*). Around his neck is Vāsuki [the Lord of Serpents]. From his head flows the Gaṅgā (lit. The River of the Gods).

(4) Cavorting with ghosts, he dwells in the cremation ground. That Hara is the Lord of the three worlds, who does not know this?

Shiva, in his manifestation as *Ugnā* (or ‘*Ugana*’), has disappeared and is causing great pain to the Goddess and to his devotees. This poem engages with many of the standard *Śaiva* tropes (the *Halāhala* poison, serpents, the river *Gaṅgā*) and could be used by a devotee of Shiva focusing on the voice of Vidyāpati or for a *rasika* who seeks to resonate with the *bhāva* of Gaurī as the *nāyikā*. Shiva is the dangerous and rogue stranger in the garb of a yogi who has come to violate codes of honor and to seduce the young women of the village. In another iteration, Devi is cast as the young woman who fears and finally succumbs to the terrible influence of Shiva in the garb of a yogi. Young Gaurī often falls into a swoon and Shiva is appointed to administer a medicine.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ ‘Nepal Manuscript’ — Song 254

Dhanachī Rāge –

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>āje akāmika āela bheṣadhārī </i> | <i>bhīṣi bhuguti laē calali kumārī </i> |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) <i>bhīṣiā na lei badhābae </i> | <i>risī vadana nihāraē bihusīm hāmsī </i> |
| (3) <i>e ṭhamā sakhi saṅge nikahi achalī </i> | <i>ohi jogiā deṣi muruchi palalī </i> |
| (4) <i>dūra kara gunapana are bheṣadhārī </i> | <i>kāñ ḍiṭhiaolaē rājakumārī </i> |
| (5) <i>keo bola deṣhae dehe janu kāhū </i> | <i>keo bola ojhā āni cāhū </i> |
| (6) <i>keo bola jogiāhi dehe dahu ānī </i> | <i>huniki o bhae baru jibio bhavānī </i> |
| (7) <i>bhanāi Vidyāpati abhimata sevā </i> | <i>candaladevi pati baijaladevā </i> |

In *Rāga Dhanāśrī* –

(1) Today, unexpected, a [man] in disguise came begging alms. A girl came [came outside] with an alms-offering.

Refrain.

(2) Not accepting the offering the sage moves forward. The Sage stares at the swan[-like] girl, who is smiling.

(3) Here, [when she was] with her companion, she was perfectly fine. [But when] she saw the mendicant she fainted and fell.

(4) O man in disguise, please ward off your magic. Why have you cast the evil eye on our princess?

(5) Someone says that no one should see her body [and] someone says that the witchdoctor should be brought.

3 Marriage & Life Cycle Songs ('*Maheśvāṇī*')

Into the present, many of Vidyāpati's devotional songs are also used in weddings and other life cycle events. While the two previous sub-genres are widely sung and consumed by both men and women, this last category is primarily preserved and performed by women during family gatherings. The role of women in practicing and transmitting Vidyāpati's domestic songs is often erased when considering only textual sources, *vis-à-vis* G.A. Grierson and Lakshmeśvara Singh (r. 1860-1898).¹⁴⁴ This category of Shiva/Devi *padās* can be identified with several distinct traditions of Maithili folk music that are variously called, *Maheśvāṇīs*, *Gosāunīs*, *Jogs*, *Ucitīs*, etc.¹⁴⁵

Of the popular contemporary domestic songs attributed to Vidyāpati, the category of the *Maheśvāṇī* is perhaps the most well-defined. The *Maheśvāṇī* is a song addressed to the mother of Gaurī, Manāini (Skt. Menakā). Gaurī, or one of her companions (*sakhīs*) describes, or complains, about the features of Shiva, Gaurī's future groom. As with all but the most direct praise *padās* (*stotras*), Shiva is not the resplendent and terrible lord of the universe but is instead a bumbling local brahmin or yogi who would be hard to distinguish from other men in Mithilā. The first example, taken from Grierson's Chrestomathy (1882), represents a typical example of the *Maheśvāṇī* subgenre:

Grierson Chrestomathy — 82¹⁴⁶

- (1) *āge māī ehana umata vara laila hemata giri dekhi dekhi lagaika raṅga |*
(2) *ehana umata bara goḍabā na caḍaika jehi goḍa raṅga raṅga jaṅga ||*

(6) Someone says to bring to her none *but the* mendicant. It is better that she become *his* and live, that Bhavānī.

(7) Vidyāpati says, 'Concede to the service of the lord of Candaladevī, who is Baijaladeva.

¹⁴⁴ Grierson 2009: 35-36.

¹⁴⁵ Mishra 1949: 162.

¹⁴⁶ Grierson provides a descriptive title for this *pada*: '*umā sakhī kṛta śiva varṇana vivāha samaya*' ('A friend of Umā addresses her mother, on the occasion of Śiva's coming to marry her').

- (3) *bāghaka chāla je basaha palānala sām̐paka bhorala taṅga |*
 (4) *ḍimiki ḍimiki je ḍamarū bajaina khaṭara khaṭara karu aṅga ||*
 (5) *bhakara bhakara je bhām̐ga bhakosathi chaṭara paṭara karu gāla |*
 (6) *cāndana soṃ anurāgala thikaīna bhasama caḍābathi aṅga ||*
 (7) *bhūta piśāca aneka dala sājala sira soṃ bahi gela gaṅga |*
 (8) *bhanahiṃ Vidyāpati suniai manāina thikāha digambara bhaṅga ||*

- (1) O mother! such an intoxicated bridegroom have they brought. Even the peaks of the Himālayas blush as they gaze at him.
 (2) He is so intoxicated that he cannot even ride a horse, even a fully equipped one.
 (3) [So instead], He has spread a tiger's skin over a bull. He tied it with a snake for a belt.
 (4) 'Ḍimiki, ḍimiki', goes his ḍamarū drum, and rattle, rattle go the bones in his body.
 (5) Gobble, gobble, he gorges himself with bhām̐ga, and smack, smack go his cheeks on those morsels.
 (6) He has painted himself with sandalwood and has smeared his whole body with ashes.
 (7) He has collected a great horde of ghosts and spirits, and down from his head flows the Ganges.
 (8) Vidyāpati says, 'Listen Manāinī! This is Lord Shiva, who dresses himself in only the four directions and consumes cannabis.'¹⁴⁷

The ambiguity between wonder, disgust, and confusion lends itself to a genre of women's songs sung at weddings which express women's anxieties about their precarious status in marriage and throws it back into the grooms face as ridicule (*gālī*).¹⁴⁸ A prototypical version of a *Maheśvānī* appears in the earlier manuscript tradition:

Nepal Manuscript — 255

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>prathamahi śaṅkara sāsura gelā </i> | <i>binu paricae upahāsa palalā </i> |
| (2) <i>puchio na puchala ke baisalāha jahā </i> | <i>niradhana ādara ke kara kahā </i> |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (3) <i>hemagiri maḍapa kautukarasī </i> | <i>heri hasala sabe buḍha tapasī </i> |
| (4) <i>se suni gauri rahali sira nāe </i> | <i>ke kahata mā ke tohara jamāe </i> |
| (5) <i>sāpa sarīra kākha bokāne </i> | <i>prakṛti auśadha kedahu jāne </i> |
| (6) <i>bhanai vidyāpati sahaja kahu </i> | <i>āḍambare ādara ho sabatahū </i> |

- (1) For the first time, Śaṅkara went to his wife's paternal home. Not being

¹⁴⁷ This translation is an adapted version of George Grierson's original translation (Grierson 2009: 111-112).

¹⁴⁸ Henry 1998: 431-433.

- recognized, he became a joke.
- (2) They did not even ask [after his welfare]. Who will seat him? In what way would anyone respect the poor [man]?
- Refrain.*
- (3) Peeking from the rooftop of the snow-peaked mountains (*Himālayas*) out of curiosity, all of the old renunciants laughed when they saw him.
- (4) Hearing this, Gaurī remained with her head bowed low [in shame]. Tell us who this is mother? Who is [this] son-in-law of yours?
- (5) Who knows [this man who has] serpents [on his] body and with “natural medicine” in the sack under his arm?
- (6) Vidyāpati says, ‘[If Shiva] spoke up more readily, in place of fripperies there would be respect everywhere.’

In both song 255 of the Nepal Manuscript and in song 82 of Grierson’s collection, the scene is similar. Either genuinely or artificially, Gaurī and her companions enact shock at the unusual appearance of her new would-be husband Shiva. The audience, and in the case of song 255 the yogis, all know the true wonder of a god like Shiva appearing in this manner. The thematic content and poetic characters of a *Maheśvāṇī* are all present, but the structure and language are also courtly. The *bhāva* of Gaurī’s worry and frustration mix both *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya rasas*.

As discussed, Vidyāpati frequently nods to his audience and patrons and praises their ability to decode his poetry’s aesthetic qualities. In this song, Vidyāpati points to the feigned and somewhat farcical scene in which Gaurī does not fully realize the divine nature and elevated status of her groom. Both the audience (external) and the peeping Himalayan yogis (internal characters) are meant to realize the true nature of Shiva’s appearance. As is expected, Vidyāpati further emphasizes a *rasika*’s proper understanding in the *bhaṇitā* (line 6), mixing a Puranic-devotional theme with his own aesthetic endeavors.

2.4 Elevating Devotionalism to the Courtly in Bengal

Evoking the prestige of the court of Śivasimha and Vidyāpati is the feature of the Vidyāpati-tradition that is shared by those who adopted it in Mithila, Nepal, and Bengal. When adapted to the devotional *Vaiṣṇava* context in Bengal, the courtly elements never entirely disappeared. While only a few dozen *padas* exist across the Bengali and Maithili manuscript sources, the *bhaṇitās* of Vidyāpati referencing his patron (and his qualities as connoisseur, or *rasika*) were maintained. W. L. Smith attributed this to two factors, namely that the relative antiquity of Old Maithili (vis-à-vis Bengali, Assamese, or Odia) and the cultural memory of Mithilā as a center of *Nyāya* and Sanskrit studies in eastern India led to the enshrinement of Old Maithili poetic standards as part of the embodiment of that culture.¹⁴⁹ While Smith and others have focused on the linguistic effects of this memory tradition (a path of enquiry that needs further exploration), I propose that an analysis focused on specific cultural markers and clues of rhetoric within the *padas* contributes to understanding the process of vernacular literary memory and identity formations.

I will demonstrate this by means of a close-reading of one *pothī*-style manuscript held in the Asiatic Society in Kolkata. Studying the poetic signature (*bhaṇitā*) of Vidyāpati reveals a link between the uniquely Bengali attestations of particular *padas* and the royal Oinvāra patrons of Vidyāpati in historical Mithilā. While I do not have permission from the Asiatic Society of Bengal to reproduce the concerned nineteenth-century *pothī* in its entirety, a small selection of the pages with the *bhaṇitā* in this manuscript demonstrates a clear relationship between the Vaiṣṇava Bengali Vidyāpati-tradition and the original court of Vidyāpati and Śivasimha.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, Juntunen, Smith & Suneson 1995: 339.

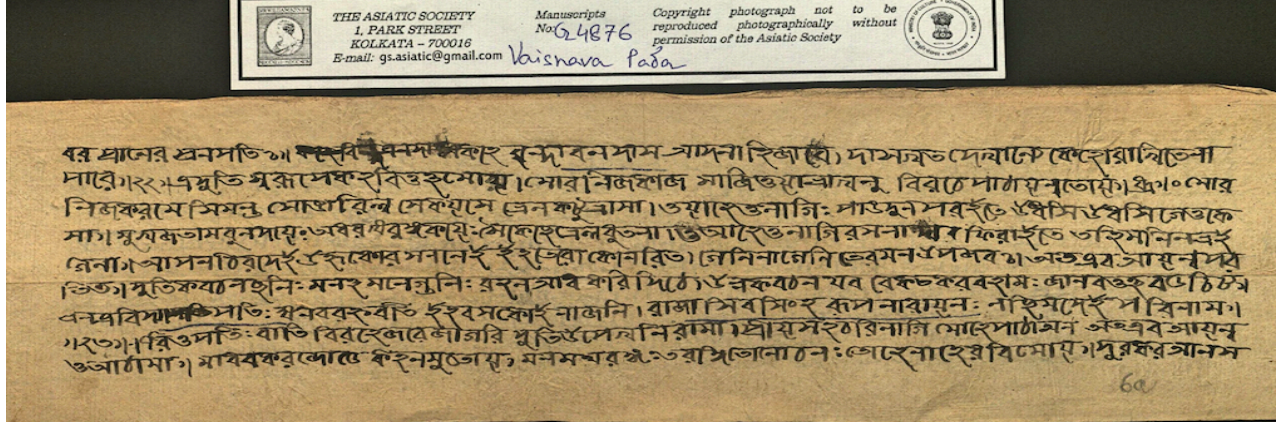


Figure 6: "Vaiṣṇava Pada" G4876 The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

“Vaiṣṇava Pada” Manuscript — Song 23

bhanae vidyāpati vara yuvati iha vasa koī na jani |
Rāja Śiva Śimha rūpa Nārāyaṇa Lachima deī parināma ||23||¹⁵⁰

Says Vidyāpati, “Oh best of the young women! There is no [other] such compulsion.”

King Śivasimha, the very image of *Nārāyaṇa*, is the husband of Lachima Devī [sic].

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta Manuscript — Song 21

(6) *bhanai vidyāpati suna bara yauvati citeṃ janu jāṃkhaha āne |*
Rājā Śivaasimgha rūpa nārāyaṇa lakhimā dei biramāne ||

(6) Vidyāpati says, ‘listen best of all young women. Do not let your mind lament and come.

King Śivasimha, the very image of *Nārāyaṇa*, is the husband of Lakhimā Devī.

Nepal Manuscript — Song 209

(6) *Sukha sambhoga sarasa kavi gābae bījha samaya pacabāne |*
Rājā sivasimha rūpanarāeṇa vidyāpati kavi bhāne ||

(6) Of the joys of sexual union sings the connoisseur poet, knowing that this is the season [governed by] Cupid.

King Śivasimha is the very image of *Nārāyaṇa* declares Vidyāpati.

Rāgataranṅinī — Song 98¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ *Vaiṣṇava Pada*, Accession Number G4876. Kolkata: Asiatic Society, 1882.

¹⁵¹ Jha 1981: 192-194.

- (6) *bhanai vidyapati sunaha sucetani gamana na karaha vilambe |*
rājā śivasimha rūpa narāēna sakala kalā avalambe ||
 (6) Says Vidyāpati, listen with attention: Don't delay your departure.
 King Śivasimha is the very image of Nārāyaṇa, skilled in all the arts.

In this example, the *bhaṇitā* found in the Brajabuli pothī follows a pattern found in all the older sources of Mithila and Nepal. These signature lines memorialize King Śivasimha and his wife Lakhimā. At times, these figures are brought into the narrative of the individual *pada* to which they are attached and at other times these signature lines seem like non-sequiturs and mere formulaic and stylistic obligations. This could make sense in the Maithili and even the Newari-Nepali context in which the prestige of the Oinvāra kings of Mithila is invoked in literature because of a preexisting cultural or blood relation. Why would Vaiṣṇava devotees in Bengal necessarily care about the kings of Mithila?

Song 23 (of the 'Vaiṣṇava Pada' *pothī*) does not appear in other *padāvalī* sources and could be dismissed as insignificant. However, the *bhaṇitā* contains clear structural and thematic connections to *padas* of the Maithili substrata of the Vidyāpati tradition. Ignoring the linguistic irregularities of this closing distich of the *pada*, there are two elements directly parallel to the earlier example *padas*. Namely, that in the first hemistich, Vidyāpati beseeches the best of the youthful women, and in the second half, he evokes the figure of Śivasimha. In this pothī example and those parallel *bhaṇitā* lines from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, the Nepal Manuscript, and the *Rāgataranṅinī*, all maintain the same basic elements and structure.

In the first hemistich, Vidyāpati declares some truth that reveals the *rasa* of the *pada* and in the second, King Śivasimha is offered as the prime example of a good king-man-connoisseur. It is striking that this reference to the brahmin non-Vaiṣṇava king features so prominently in the Gauḍīya Brajabuli *padas*. Some feature or allure of Vidyāpati's courtly affiliation must have

been useful for Bengali-Brajabuli poets in projecting their own vernacular cosmopolitanism to a brahmin court like Mithila, in much the same way as the Mallas did from the North for their own purposes.

This “inauthentic” *pada* in nineteenth century *pothī* can tell us about how the poets and audiences, removed from Vidyāpati by time, region, and linguistic medium, thought of the poet. Invoking the names of Vidyāpati and Śivasimha also has the effect of elevating purely devotional-oriented (*bhakti*) *padas* to the realm of high or courtly literature. This *pothī*, like dozens of others, also contains the *padas* of Govindadās (1535–1613), often called the second Vidyāpati, though usually taken as more overtly Vaiṣṇava than Vidyāpati. The combination of Vidyāpati and Govindadās’ *padas* within a single small *pothī* has the effect of devotionalizing Vidyāpati’s *padas* and literarizing the *padas* of Govindadās by mutual association. This pairing of Vidyāpati and Govinda Dās (and in other cases Caṇḍīdās) was exceedingly common in nineteenth-century *padāvalīs*. The manuscript collection at Calcutta University contains more than two dozen such small *pothīs*. Many more are scattered and neglected in other collections.

One of the largest accessible collections of *pothī* style collections of Vaiṣṇava *padāvalīs* is the Manuscript library of Calcutta University. Alongside roughly two dozen edited Bengali/Brajabuli volumes, like the *Padakalpataru*, this collection holds nearly seventy-five small *pothī*-style manuscripts. The challenges of a physically degrading archive, a large number of fragmental manuscripts, and colophons which are either missing or not supplied make it difficult to discern textual patterns or literary associations. Here I provide a ‘distant reading/view’ of the archive collection as a whole, to reveal the ways that Bengali-*Gauḍīya* poets imagined Vidyāpati to feature in their own tradition.

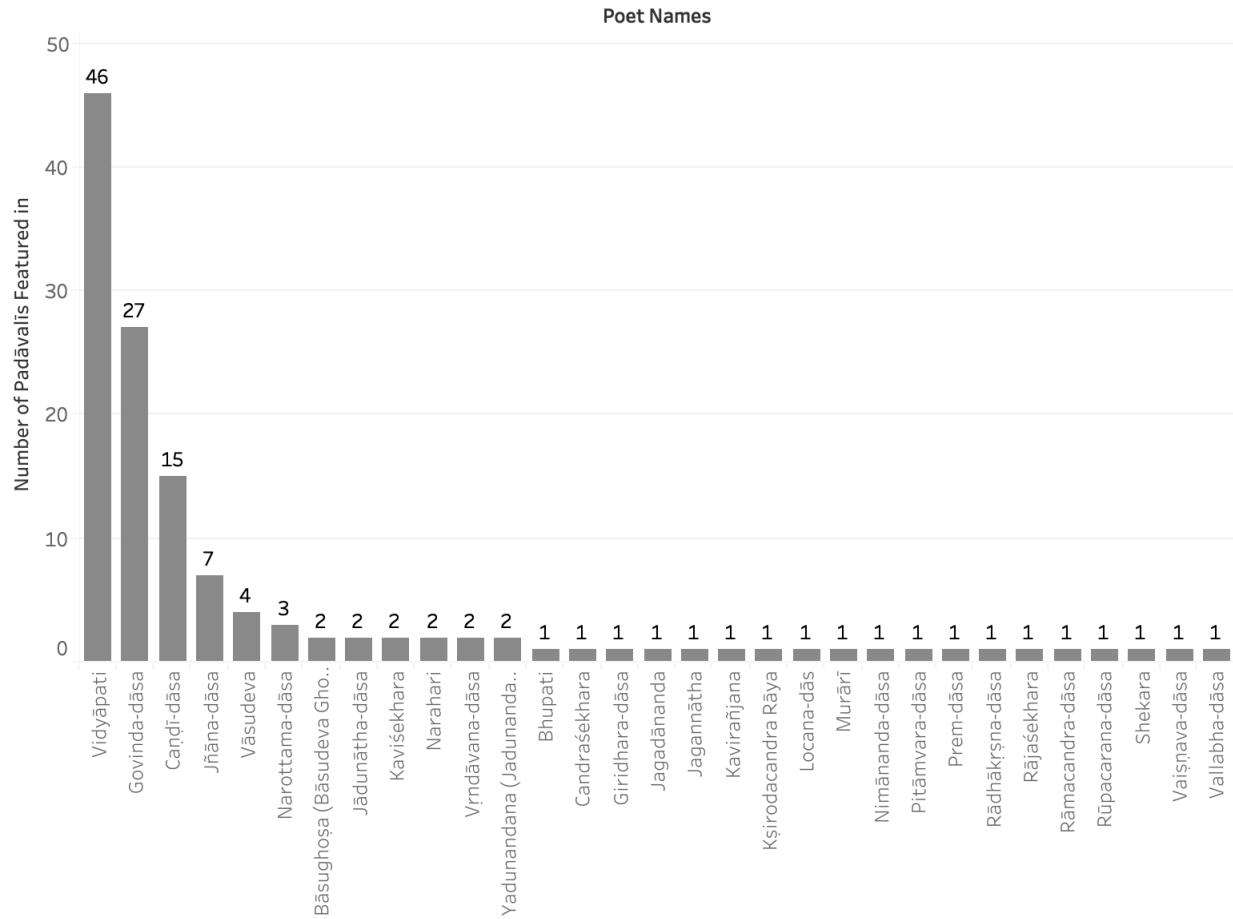


Table 1: Poets Featured in the Calcutta Manuscript Library's Padāvalī Collection Alongside Vidyāpati

The table featured above, shows all of the *pothī*-style *Padāvalīs* in the Calcutta University Manuscript Collection that feature both Vidyāpati and at least one other Maithili/Brajabuli poet. It is clear that there is a much stronger association between Vidyāpati and his fellow Maithili poet Govindadās and another pre-Caitanya poet Caṇḍīdās than other late-period Brajabuli poets with clearer Gauḍīya identities. While definitive conclusions about the imagined history of Vidyāpati in the Bengali/Brajabuli canon cannot be drawn from a sample reading like this, it can help to nuance qualitative ‘close-readings’ and to understand their place in the archive.

A close reading can provide insights into the way Vidyāpati’s idiom gets adopted and transformed in a variety of contexts, as is the purview of this dissertation. While a ‘distant-

reading’ could be helpful when considering how members of a certain community (*Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas* in this instance) imagined their own literary past. This survey of one collection reveals that earlier poets in the Brajabuli tradition (Caṇḍīdās, Govindadās, Jñānadās, etc.) were closely related to Vidyāpati in later century pothīs, while later and relatively contemporary poets were less frequently cited. This allows one to identify layers of the tradition’s development by groupings of poets who are closely identified with the ‘founder’ of the genre and those that aspired to their qualities in later generations.

2.5 Canon and the Interaction of Text and Performance in Contemporary Mithila

Other than historical sources for the Vidyāpati tradition, the contemporary performance, recording, and circulation of Vidyāpati’s *padas* in Mithila (both India and Nepal) provides one of the largest and hitherto unexamined ‘collection’ of Vidyāpati’s *padas*. When also simultaneously reading the archive of manuscripts, it becomes apparent that the body of poems popular in the century immediately following the poet are not those popular among contemporary Maithili speakers in North Bihar. This is the same problem that we have discussed in regard to the lack of overlapping *padas* between textual sources. Despite this being the case, the majority of Maithils believe in the incorruptible historical heritage of Vidyāpati’s *padas* in their devotional and domestic lives. Vidyāpati, through his *padas*, represents a cultural touchstone and ethnic hero for Maithili speakers.

It is necessary to access additional “texts” to understand the relationship between Vidyāpati’s historical oeuvre and the body of poetry in circulation in contemporary India outside of the manuscripts and print editions available. Twentieth century recordings of popular music and musical devotional films can provide this context and a lens through which to read the

written texts. This section considers the ways in which the recordings and distribution of Maithili popular singer Sharda Sinha impacts the reception of Vidyāpati's poetic corpus and vice versa. Through the influence of online distributors and popular media in Bihar, the language, recensions, and individual *padas* that are thought to embody the entire tradition are shaped and curated. The editorial choices of these popular musical forms inform the ways contemporary Maithili speakers use Vidyāpati's *padas* in lifecycle events (especially weddings) and in devotion to Ugnādev, a local form of Shiva with whom Vidyāpati is closely associated.

The differing vision of the Vidyāpati presented by contemporary devotional and performance culture poses a problem for a solely textual examination of the tradition. How can the disparity between contemporary lived performance culture and the historical textual evidence of manuscripts inform our reading of Vidyāpati's *padas*? In my examination of both ends of the tradition, I have found there to be evidence of a recursive feedback loop between the *padas* of Vidyāpati originating in manuscripts and those *padas* that are circulated in contemporary performance culture.

This 'loop' is evident in the way in which contemporary artists (singers, filmmakers, etc.) attribute widely popular *padas* to the historical poet, not on the basis of textual history, but by citing general thematic similarities with *padas* that are present in the manuscript sources. These '*kaṅṭhastha-padas*' ('*padas* learned by heart/ on everyone's tongue') then inform Maithili literary scholars, who selectively reinterpret and publish historical *padas* of Vidyāpati based on 'folk' and popular imaginaries of the poet. The canon of popular songs is standardized and then fossilized between these modern print and recorded editions of Vidyāpati's songs. To illustrate, I consider one subgenre of Vidyāpati's devotional songs, the *Maheśvāṇī*, as presented by a popular Bihari Singer, Sharda Sinha, and its thematic antecedents in the manuscript tradition.

Sharda Sinha and the Standardization of Devotional and Aesthetic Bihari Life

One could hardly identify a more quintessentially ‘Bihari’ singer than Sharda Sinha. (b. 1952). She rose to fame in Bihar as a singer of folk music in Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Angika (the so-called ‘Bihari Languages’).¹⁵² Her interpretations of *Chaṭh Pūjā*¹⁵³ songs in Maithili and Bhojpuri are particularly popular in Bihar and among Bihari migrant communities across the rest of South Asia. Sharda Sinha’s immense popularity has had the effect of standardizing the musical style, social contexts, and entire repertoire of Vidyāpati’s songs which could be described as ‘canon Vidyāpati’ in contemporary Maithili culture in Bihar and the Nepali Terai. This has also disrupted the originally domestic spaces in which Vidyāpati’s songs were transmitted between women. Now, men and women sing Sharda Sinha’s rendition of Vidyāpati’s song in both public and private spaces, sometimes detached from the lifecycle or religious events that with which they were originally associated.

Sharda Sinha’s repertoire is dominated by domestic lifecycle and festival songs, though many of these songs could also be described as devotional.¹⁵⁴ Vidyāpati’s *padas* that praise Shiva or Devī are included in her recordings, which mostly place these two deities in their domestic roles. As discussed in section 4.5 of this dissertation, one of the sub-genres of Vidyāpati’s devotional *padas* is the *Maheśvāṇī*. In the *Maheśvāṇī*, Gaurī (the young, unmarried manifestation of Shiva’s consort Parvati), or her companions, complain to the young bride’s

¹⁵² The ‘Bihari’ languages as mentioned were formulated as a single language sub-family within the eastern sub-group of Eastern Indic Languages by G.A. Grierson. This grouping has largely been debunked on linguistic grounds but remains current in Bihari political life where ‘Bihari’ identity and nationalism are potent forces (Jha 2018: 40-49).

¹⁵³ *Chaṭh Pūjā* is a widely celebrated solar festival in Bihar among Maithili, Bhojpuri, Angika, and Magahi speakers. The fasting and ceremonial observations of this festival are usually carried out by the married women of each family. The songs associated with the festival are almost exclusively women’s songs (Henry 1998).

¹⁵⁴ Her voice is recognizable to many across India because of the popularity of her ‘*vidāī*’ (‘farewell’) songs, used in weddings (and film depictions of weddings) during the final ceremony of the wedding during which the bride bids farewell to her family and departs for her new husband’s family home (Henry 1998: 432).

mother *Menāinī* (Skt. *Menakā*) about the shocking appearance of Shiva. Instead of the handsome and opulently ornamented bridegroom riding in a procession on an elephant or horse, Gaurī receives Shiva when he appears on her doorstep as an intoxicated and tattered mendicant in the company of ghouls and ghosts riding on the back of his bull, Nandi.¹⁵⁵

The following song is an example of the *Maheśvāṇī* sung by Sharda Sinha:¹⁵⁶

‘Hama Nahi Āju Rahaba’ (‘I Will not Remain today’)¹⁵⁷

- (1) hama nahi āju rahaba ehi āṅgana jaṅo buḍha hoyata jamāe || (ge māi)
- (2) eka taṁ bairī bhela bīdhi-bidhātā dosara dhiā kera bāpa |
- (3) tesara bairī bhela nārada bābhana je buḍha ānala jamāe | (ge māi)
- (4) pahiluka bājana ḍamaru toḍaba dosare toḍaba ruṅḍamāla ||
- (5) baḍada hāṁki barāta bailāeba dhiā lae jāeba paḍāe | (ge māi)
- (6) dhotī loṭā patarā pothī seho saba lebanhi chināe ||
- (7) jaṅo kichu bajatā nārada bābhana dāḍhī dhae ghisiāeba | (ge māi)
- (8) bhanahi Vidyāpati sunu he manāini diḍha karu apana geāna |
- (9) subha subha kae siri gauri biāhia gaurī-hara eke samāna || (ge māi)

Trans.¹⁵⁸

- (1) I will not stay here in the courtyard of this house if your son-in-law is going to be an old man! (Oh Mother!)
- (2) The first to show himself as an enemy is the ‘Lord of Fate’ (God) and the second was the father of your daughter.
- (3) The third enemy was that [troublesome] brahmin *Nārada*, who brought to you this son-in-law. (Oh Mother!)
- (4) First, I will break his *ḍamaru* drum and after that I’ll break his garland of corpses.
- (5) I will drive away the groom’s wedding procession (*bharāta*) by driving off his ox (*Nandi*). This is how your daughter will chase them away. (Oh Mother!)
- (6) I will snatch away his loincloth, water vessel, box of *pān*, and his book.
- (7) If that brahmin *Nārada* says anything, then I will pull on his beard (Oh Mother!)
- (8) *Vidyāpati* says, “Listen, oh *Menakā*! (Mother of *Gaurī*), make your wisdom resolute!
- (9) Put blessings of auspiciousness upon the head of *Gaurī* and have her married, for

¹⁵⁵ The ridiculous appearance of Shiva is supposed to be humorous as it obscures his true nature as the the supreme ‘Lord of the Universe’. This mistake of *Gaurī* is sometimes pointed out within the song by another yogi, one of *Gaurī*’s companions (*sakhīs*), or her mother *Menakā*. Even among contemporary Maithili musicians and devotees of Shiva, it is not entirely clear when a devotional song is a ‘*Maheśvāṇī*’ or some other subtype (e.g. *Jog*, *Gosāunī*, *Ucitā*, etc.) Jayakanta Mishra provides the clearest definition of the *Maheśvāṇī* (Mishra 1949: 162).

¹⁵⁶ This style of song is reminiscent of a more general category of ‘insult songs’ (*gālī*) popular in Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. In this type of folk song, women of the bride’s family hurl insults at the would-be groom and his immediate family. Edward O. Henry describes this as a catharsis for the bride and her family who are normally socially subordinate to the groom’s family. This song transforms domestic concerns to a humorous scene between the Goddess *Gaurī* and Shiva in his form as a mendicant (Henry 1988: 52).

¹⁵⁷ Sinha 1987.

¹⁵⁸ The translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Gaurī and Hara are equal matches for one another. (Oh Mother!)”

This song does not appear in any manuscript source available to us. It does occur in three of the more reputable print editions, Mitra and Majumdar’s *Vidyāpati Padāvalī*,¹⁵⁹ the ‘*Mithilā Gīta Saṅgraha*’¹⁶⁰ and in Benipuri’s edition of Vidyāpati’s *Padāvalī*.¹⁶¹ Sharda Sinha’s 1987 recording of this *pada* is identical to the variant recording in these few canonical print editions of Vidyāpati’s *Padāvalī*. This means that a supposedly ‘folk’ *pada* was likely taken from a scholarly print edition, itself purportedly a contemporary representation of the historical court-poet’s corpus. In turn, these print editions cite ‘*kaṅṭhastha padas*’ as one of their source materials.

Sharda Sinha’s recording transformed a scholarly source into a performative source material. Bound by the materiality of nineteenth and twentieth century scholarly prints, *padas* such as these could have been limited to the shelves of elite literary scholars of Mithila. Though likely not the originator, Sharda Sinha’s musical arrangement and interpretation of this *pada* has been the only standard version used by performers and recording artists into the present since the 80’s. This song, among other *padas* sung by popular singers like Sharda, represents Vidyāpati and the ‘golden age’ Tirhut (under the Oinvāra kings) to the average non-scholarly Maithil as much as those found in the oldest manuscripts from Nepal, if not more so. Like this *pada*, most of Vidyāpati’s other *padas*, even those attested in manuscript sources, blur the lines between what is typified as ‘folk’, ‘devotional’, or ‘courtly’.

Are there antecedents to this style (the *Maheśvāṇī*) in what we can read in the material manuscript evidence? The answer is mixed. While the general domestic theme of Gaurī and her

¹⁵⁹ Mitra and Majumdāra 19??: song 898.

¹⁶⁰ Jha 1977: 31.

¹⁶¹ Benīpurī 1936: song 2.

companions complaining to the heroine’s mother Menakā is present in the older manuscripts, they do not hold the same musical or linguistic forms. Consider the following *pada* from the ‘Nepal Manuscript’:

Nepal Manuscript — Song 255¹⁶²

(1) <i>prathamahi śaṅkara sāsura gelā </i>	<i>binu paricae upahāsa palālā </i>
(2) <i>puchio na puchala ke baisalāha jahā </i>	<i>niradhana ādara ke kara kahā </i>
<i>Dhruva.</i>	
(3) <i>hemagiri maḍapa kautukarasī </i>	<i>heri hasala sabe buḍha tapasī </i>
(4) <i>se suni gauri rahali sira nāe </i>	<i>ke kahata mā ke tohara jamāe </i>
(5) <i>sāpa sarīra kākha bokāne </i>	<i>prakṛti auśadha kedahu jāne </i>
(6) <i>bhanai vidyāpati sahaja kahu </i>	<i>āḍambare ādara ho sabatahū </i>

- (1) For the first time, Śaṅkara went to his wife’s paternal home. Not being recognized, he became a joke.
- (2) They did not even ask [after his welfare]. Who will seat him? In what way would anyone respect the poor [man]?
- Refrain.*
- (3) Peeking from the rooftop of the snow-peaked mountains (*Himālayas*) out of curiosity, all of the old renunciants laughed when they saw him.
- (4) Hearing this, Gaurī remained with her head bowed low [in shame]. Tell us who this is mother? Who is [this] son-in-law of yours?
- (5) Who knows [this man who has] serpents [on his] body and with “natural medicine” in the sack under his arm?
- (6) Vidyāpati says, ‘[If Shiva] spoke up more readily, in place of fripperies there would be universal respect.’

Gaurī certainly shows the same befuddled disdain for Shiva’s shabby appearance and she pleads with her mother in the same manner, but there are several features that stand out. The language is Old Maithili, while the inflections and grammar of Sharda’s song are entirely modern Maithili. Chapter 7 reflects on the language of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript and can be used to compare the language of the *padas* above. The structure of this song from the Nepal Manuscript is more typical of Vidyāpati’s style with two distinct hemistiches in each line, each of which maintain their end rhymes. The lexicon is slightly elevated above the simpler language of Sharda Sinha’s

¹⁶² Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloging Project (NGMCP) – A21/16 ‘Nepal Manuscript’

song.

This second song does not appear in any other source outside of the ‘Nepal Manuscript’, so it is impossible to know if there was a performance legacy for this specific *pada*. It would be more accurate to say that this *pada* became one of many sources for performers who adapted the language and musical structure of this style to produce a more well-defined, modern subgenre that has come to be called the *Maheśvāṇī*. When scholars in contemporary Mithila and Nepal read the manuscript sources or other scholarly editions, they do so through the receptive lens of their contemporary musical culture. Sharda Sinha’s rendition of ‘*Hama Nahin Āju Rahaba*’ is claimed as ‘spiritually’ Vidyāpati’s because it embodies the same aesthetic universe, not because it has a self-evident textual pedigree.

The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* does contain verses describing Parvati and Shiva, but nothing by Vidyāpati that so directly plays into the theme of the *Maheśvāṇī*. Another poem in that manuscript of the poet Sadānanda includes one verse that portrays a similar theme, *i.e.* the incredulity of Shiva’s appearance as a groom:

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — Song 140

(1) śira surasari parijana parihari re	bhūta samāja rahiya kone pari re
(2) umatā re tohi kone mati deli re	turaya teji gaja basaha palāna re
(3) palaṅga teji nita bhumi śayāna re	cādana nahi tanu bibhuti bhuṣaṇa re
(4) maṇi na dhariya phaṇi kaone geāne re	lalita dhāma teji basiya masāna re
(5) amṛta na khāha kariya biṣa pāna re	sukabi sadānanda bipolarita kāja re
(6) apane bhiṣāri sebaka diya rāja re	

(1) Upon your head is the River of the Gods (*i.e.* the Ganges) and you have given up polite company, *Re!* For some reason, you dwell in the company of ghosts. *Re!*

(2) You are intoxicated, *Re!* How can I put some sense into you? Giving up a horse, you sit upon a saddled bull, *Re!*

(3) Abandoning a comfortable bed, you make your bed upon the earth, *Re!* You don’t have sandalwood on your body, [instead] you are adorned with sacred ashes, *Re!*

(4) You don’t hold jewels, [instead you have] snakes. Who is not aware of this!

Re! Abandoning a beautiful dwelling-place, you settle in the cremation grounds,
Re!

(5) You do not eat nectar, but drink poison, *Re!* The good poet Sadānanda [all of your] deeds are contrary [to normal convention].

(6) You have given to your own servant a kingdom! *Re!*

Spanning two manuscripts and a contemporary singer’s repertoire, it is astonishing how long the tradition of imitating a “Vidyāpati-style” extends across time. While this study has emphasized the continuity of Vidyāpati’s Shiva/Devi-related *padas* in several chapters, this continuity of adaptation and imitation is equally present in Vidyāpati’s ‘courtly’ songs as well, even if the exact *padas* do not make the bridge between manuscript and contemporary performance practice.

This ability for *padas* to jump between modes of transmission (textual and performative) is not unique to the contemporary context, even though recorded music is a much easier source to map than premodern musical traditions. The parallel and intertwined nature of the body of oral and textual *padas* attributed to Vidyāpati have been a source of confusion for textual scholars working with a limited source of manuscripts. From at least the time of Caitanya (1486-1534), roughly a half century after the lifetime of the poet, Vidyāpati’s *padas* were known in Bengal. Up to the late nineteenth century, many hundreds of *padas* in a hybrid Maithili-Bengali (Brajabuli) literary language were attributed to Vidyāpati.

2.6 Conclusion

Vidyāpati’s Maithili *padas*, as presented in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript and elsewhere, are diverse in their thematic and aesthetic concerns. Whether devotional, ethical, or concerned with connoisseurship, Vidyāpati’s vernacular aesthetic ‘toolkit’ was quickly adopted by Maithili speakers in India and Nepal, Newari speakers, and the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The emergence of Maithili as a distinctive medium of vernacular literary expression was facilitated by Vidyāpati’s

ability to yoke in elements of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa modes of expressing power. However, it was Vidyāpati's divergences from language and stylistic precedents that cemented him as an inaugural figure within the tradition. His connection with Jayadeva was because of this innovative streak, not in spite of it. All of these elements are represented in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*'s *pada*, which tells us that these functional elements of aesthetics-plus-memory is at the root of his enduring popularity. An accurate analysis of Vidyāpati's vernacular legacy must consider all of these factors.

Part 3: Vidyāpati's Idiom: Language, Text, and Translation

3.0 General Remarks

‘Part 3’ of this dissertation builds upon the reasons that Maithili proved an attractive medium for many communities to construct their own literary cultures across borders and time periods (‘Part 1’) and the social and aesthetic concerns adopted in that process (‘Part 2’). While Vidyāpati and his patrons might have provided a literary regime upon which to capitalize (on the parts of the Mallas, Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, etc.), it was his aesthetic idiom that travelled across borders and established a new vernacular literary cosmopolis. This final section examines how several centuries later (by the eighteenth century), language, history, and thematic-aesthetic concerns had coalesced into a commodifiable vernacular identity. This is done through a consideration of of the language, material elements, and other structural features of Vidyāpati’s idiom in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, prior to presenting my selection of texts and translations from that source. Within each subsection, I address the ways in which certain language, material, or structural features help us to establish the identity of what would be called literary Maithili.

3.1 Sources of the Vidyāpati Tradition

The textual corpus of Vidyāpati’s *padas* that scholars have had access to has been limited to a small set of source materials. Typically, scholars have focused only on their own language tradition of Maithili or Bengali-Brajabuli to the exclusion of the other. Maithil scholars tend to reference, but ultimately discredit Bengali sources as supplementary but not informative of the

original Vidyāpati.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, Bengali scholars working on the Brajabuli tradition have often been blinded by their sources which have cast Vidyāpati as a Vaiṣṇava devotee or a premodern love poet, modern before his time.¹⁶⁴ This general pattern is now changing; in recent years the scholarship from Mithila has become more available in Bengal and vice versa.¹⁶⁵ The contribution of this dissertation is a critical and holistic overview to put the sources across traditions in conversation with one another.

This chapter outlines both the materials, textual and oral, that have been used for modern collections of Vidyāpati's *padas* and the limitations for each source. Each manuscript, print text, or oral-performative source has supplied additional *padas* to the ever-growing body of songs from Vidyāpati, but each presents a slightly different perspective. This illuminates the ways in which anthologized songs were circulated in premodern South Asia. Manuscript sources provide brief windows into moments wherein a living performed traditions were crystalized and preserved. It is difficult to determine whether these texts were then copied in a written chain of transmission and how sustained performance tradition informed further textualized instances. Chapter 6 of this dissertation will delve further into the paleographic evidence for scribal transmission that seems to have developed alongside oral performative input.

The specific purpose here is to place the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript on which I focus in the dissertation within a chronological and textual map, so that it might be dated. The ultimate goal is to better understand the modes by which Vidyāpati's *padas* continued to be circulated and performed right into modernity. The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, like many other collections of Maithili

¹⁶³ See e.g., Mishra 1959: 182-188. Jha 1954: 62-74. Simha & Sinhā 1979: 30-48.

¹⁶⁴ This last sentiment is expressed most clearly by W.G. Archer in his introduction to Deben Bhattacharya's translation of a selection of Vidyāpati's verses: "To those aware of modern literature, it may come as something of a shock that living long before Shakespeare, in the Middle Ages, an Indian poet also should have shown so deep an understanding of modern love." (Archer 1963: 38).

¹⁶⁵ Śaṅkarīprasāda Basu distinguishes between Vidyāpati the 'śaiva-kavi' and Vidyāpati, the poet of beauty and love and recognizes that these characterizations are based on selective readings in the past (Basu 1999: 6).

songs held in the Nepali archives, remains uncontextualized and unattributed. The archival documentation was limited to the language of the manuscript (Maithili) and the genre (*gīta*). Therefore, this dissertation relies on comparison with the existing sources in structure, overlapping *padas*, and material features (orthography, etc.).

While Vidyāpati’s memory is alive and well in contemporary South Asia, the actual trail of manuscripts falls short of leading us back to the “original” Vidyāpati. Generally, three manuscripts from the earlier Maithili period (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries CE) have been used as sources for the Vidyāpati tradition. All but the earliest manuscripts have been destroyed or have disappeared. Even between the three earlier sources, only a handful of *padas* occur in all three. Vidyāpati is no exception. There are similar problems of attribution for other early North Indian poet corpuses and has been much commented upon.

In the case of the burgeoning Kabīr tradition across North and Western India between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries CE, Callewaert describes interaction of oral traditions and scribal-manuscript culture, “act[s] like a fog and pollution, creating a nebulous environment in which it becomes difficult to find the original version of the songs.”¹⁶⁶ Like Callewaert, I seek to turn “fog” itself into insight. Linda Hess, in her study of the same Kabir tradition, advocates for a deep engagement with contemporary traditions that shape out the texts analyzed in isolation by philologists. While not uncovering the “authentic”, as defined by textual scholars, Hess’ approach incorporates sound, embodiment, and the role of memory in the circulation and distribution of South Asian musical traditions, which are poetic at their cores. At the same time, she does not advocate for abandoning the discourse of “authenticity” since it has been foundational in Orientalist scholarship, but merely searches for new voices, often from the

¹⁶⁶ Callewaert, Sharma, & Taillieu 2000: 1.

margins, of those involved in the living tradition. Hess turns Callewaert's 'fog' into an object of study itself.¹⁶⁷

Hess' approach is valuable for this study of Vidyāpati's corpus. When we count the majority of those *padas* attributed to Vidyāpati as "inauthentic" from the outset, what remains to be studied? The questions of authorship and performativity must be considered at the same time. John Stratton Hawley's study of the religious and cultural memories associated with the Braj Vaiṣṇava poet Sūrdās and his *padas* emphasizes the importance of considering memorializations of a poet/saint in association with, but not entirely identical with, the literary corpus of that poet.¹⁶⁸ This appreciation of authorial voice and memory, combined with Hess' appreciation for the performative, can help turn Callewaert's "fog" into a matter of fascination as the diversity of perspectives multiplies *ad infinitum*.

¹⁶⁷ Hess 2015: 112-148.

¹⁶⁸ Hawley 1984: 22-33.

3.1.2 The Manuscript Sources

3.1.2.1 The ‘Nepal Manuscript’

The oldest and most “authoritative” palm-leaf manuscript (*tālapatra*) still available, the Nepal Manuscript (hereafter NM) has been the standard source for twentieth-century scholars of both Mithilā and Bengal as the authoritative source by which later collections were assessed. It is written in the Maithili script, variously called *Mithilākṣara* or *Tirhutā*. This script closely resembles the Bengali and Assamese scripts. Though contemporary Maithili is written in *Nāgarī*, many Maithil Brahmins continue to cultivate *Mithilākṣara* for ceremonial and religious purposes. This manuscript was first reported by historian and Indian nationalist Kāśī Prasād Jayasvāl in 1936 in the Government Library of Nepal (a.k.a. The Nepal Darbar Library).¹⁶⁹ Later, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Kāmeśvara Simha (1907–1964), sponsored two copies of the manuscript to be made and deposited in the Patna College Library and the Patna University Library. Since then, those copies have been “misplaced”. Chronologically, the NM provides the earliest waypoint, by which we can refer all other later manuscripts until such time as an older source can be found.

According to Maithili linguist Subhadra Jha,¹⁷⁰ this manuscript probably dates from the first half of the sixteenth century, though no date, location, or name of a patron or scribe is included in the text itself. I am inclined to date this manuscript a century later to the seventeenth century on the basis of similarities with another manuscript of Vidyāpati’s Sanskrit devotional

¹⁶⁹ This palm-leaf manuscript consists of 108 folia. The last leaf is numbered as 109. Leaf number 104 is marked as number 105 in error. Each leaf is approximately 8 × 2.25. The Nepali label, which is superinscribed in Nepali *Nāgarī*, reads “Vidyāpati ko Gīta” (“the Songs of Vidyāpati”) (Jha 1954: 115).

¹⁷⁰ Jha 1954: 123.

text, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, which has been deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁷¹

This manuscript is remarkably similar in style and presentation. Both the NM and *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* manuscripts are in the palm-leaf style and of roughly the same dimensions. The scribe's hand of both manuscripts is not identical but feature many of the same general stylings as to be ascribed to the same period.

This manuscript contains 288 total *padas*, of which 261 are ascribed to Vidyāpati in the *bhaṇitā*. According to Subhadra Jha, a few stanzas are missing in various *padas*. He assesses that this is not due to any degradation of the manuscript but to scribal omission, through inference from missing end-rhymes and interlinear poetic allusions.¹⁷² Twenty-six other poets' *padas* are included in this collection. Thirteen *padas* are ascribed to eleven different poets, and thirteen are unattributed. Thematically, *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa*, *Śiva*, and *Śakti* are the focal subjects of the *padas*. The poems dedicated to *Śiva* and *Śakti/Devī* (also called *Nacārīs*) are usually interpreted as devotional, while the nominally *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa*-centric *padas* as more overtly erotic, mannerist, and courtly. Many twentieth-century collections of Vidyāpati's *padas* have included the *padas* of the NM with varying levels of acceptance and authority. Bengali scholar Nagendranath Gupta's influential collection included 219 of the 261 *padas*.¹⁷³ This edition has been influential for later editors in Bengali and Hindi language collections alike. A recently republished edition of the NM, by the *Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad*, has made the task of collating occurrences of particular *padas* much easier with its collation between the three main manuscript sources.

¹⁷¹ Vidyāpati. 1522. 'Gaṅgāvākyāvalī'. Palm leaf. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Catalogue A. Cabaton. Cote: Sanscrit 678. Ancienne cote: Sanscrit Bengali 164: 141 folios. 386x60mm, in "Bengali Script"

¹⁷² Jhā 1954: 113–27.

¹⁷³ Gupta 1909.

3.1.2.2 The ‘Rāmbhadrapur Manuscript’

The Rāmbhadrapur Manuscript (hereafter RM), named after the village in North Bihar where it was discovered, has been the second major source of Vidyāpati’s *padas* for twentieth-century scholars seeking to authenticate *padas* found in Bengali sources. Some have regarded the RM as equally old as the NM. This manuscript was deposited in the archives at Patna University, from where it “disappeared” in the late 1980s, presumably it was stolen. Such “theft” is a common story for many manuscripts relating to the Vidyāpati tradition.¹⁷⁴ From the description given in the *Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Parīṣad*’s edition, we know that this palm-leaf manuscript was incomplete, missing the first ten folia. While only sixty *padas* include a *bhaṇitā* that attributes them to Vidyāpati, many later editors assume that a larger number of *padas* from this manuscript is also by Vidyāpati. Maithili scholar of the early twentieth century, Śivānanda Ṭhākura, in his well-regarded and conservative *Viśuddha Vidyāpati Padāvalī* (1938) cites forty of these *padas*.¹⁷⁵ Bengali literary historians, Mitra and Majumdar’s more wide-ranging collection includes ninety-three.¹⁷⁶

3.1.2.3 The ‘Tarauni Manuscript’

The Tarauni Manuscript, also named for the village of its discovery in the Madhubanī district of Mithila, was originally made available to several scholars in Calcutta by the Bengali scholar Mohinimohan Gupta. Nagendranath Gupta eventually came to use the Tarauni

¹⁷⁴ In a recent conversation, Raman Jha of the Department of Maithili at the Lalit Narayan Mithilā University in Darbhanga, Bihar, told me that most likely the manuscripts were destroyed, lost, or misplaced and that “theft” was a convenient excuse given by local bureaucrats and librarians. I cannot confirm or deny these claims, but it is likely due to the current state of these libraries. Sadly, this is the end of the investigative trail as far as the Mithilā-based manuscripts are concerned.

¹⁷⁵ Ṭhākura 1941.

¹⁷⁶ Mitra & Majumdar 19???: 1:102–3.

Manuscript for his influential edition of Vidyāpati’s *Padāvalī*.¹⁷⁷ After completing his work, Gupta donated the manuscript to the library at Calcutta University. Since then, the manuscript, like so many others, has been lost. Nagendranath Gupta’s edition and a more recent edition by the *Bihār-Raṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad* are the only sources available for this manuscript. Whereas Gupta’s edition was based on a reading of the manuscript, the *Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad*’s edition is based upon the work on Gupta and other Bengali scholars. There are a disputed number of *padas* in this text. At the count of the *Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad*’s edition, we can conservatively say that the TM contained 231 *padas*, of which 101 unambiguously contained Vidyāpati’s *bhaṇitā*.¹⁷⁸

3.1.2.4 *Padāvalīs* and *Rāga-Mālās* of the Kathmandu Valley

While the “Nepal Manuscript” represents the oldest preserved layer of the Vidyāpati tradition and provides a snapshot of the corpus of Vidyāpati-related *padas* as present in sixteenth-century Nepal, there are other, up to now unpublished, manuscripts from Kathmandu. These manuscripts, preserved by the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloging Project and held in the National Archive of Nepal in Kathmandu, have thus far escaped scholarly attention, probably due to their haphazard construction, ephemeral design, and lack of contextual information regarding scribes or patrons. These texts are best described a musical handbook. Many are in the hands of several scribes and others are several different texts literally stitched together into a collection. These were the workaday possessions of musicians and performers of the Maithili tradition. While revered for their place within the musical-devotional tradition, they are not permanent objects like inscriptions or religious texts. They were copied dozens of times, with

¹⁷⁷ Gupta 1909.

¹⁷⁸ *Vidyāpati-Padāvalī*, 1:103–5.

older notebooks being discarded after they fell into disrepair. These ephemeral bits of evidence of the performance tradition deserve more attention; especially, owing to the juxtaposition of Vidyāpati's *padas* alongside the Malla poet-kings.

Ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries CE and written in three scripts (*Mithilākṣara*, Newari, and *Nāgarī*), these manuscripts bridge the gap between the Vidyāpati's lifetime in the early fifteenth century CE, and the explosion of Vidyāpati-attributed and imitative *padas* in later centuries in the Bengali *padābalīs* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and in the popular performance tradition across Mithila and Nepal, as evidenced by sources like Grierson's *Chrestomathy*. The *padāvalī* and *rāga-mālā* manuscripts are very diverse in the form, attribution, and content. A few exclusively feature the *padas* of Vidyāpati. Others juxtapose Vidyāpati's *padas* along with excerpts from Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* or the Maithili compositions of Malla kings like Jagajjyotirmalla (r. 1613-1637) Bhupatindra Malla (r. 1696-1722). The interest of these Maithili manuscripts, all designated as books of song, is that they display a remarkable level of engagement with a non-local vernacular language on the part of royal patron-poets and local audiences. They document how Maithili became a trans-local musical language of prestige. They do not constitute the full body of all of the Vidyāpati-related manuscripts held in archives in the Kathmandu Valley, but they do provide a good representative sample of Malla-period Maithili poetry.

Padāvalīs and Rāga-Mālās

Though not using terms prevalent in the centuries immediately following Vidyāpati, Maithili literary historian, Jayakanta Mishra provides two general manuscript categories that are

helpful in this assessment of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript.¹⁷⁹ The first category described by Mishra is the ‘*padāvalī*’ (‘Anthology of Lyrics’). This category of manuscripts is organized by poetic themes and comes in two further subtypes, the “*Vidyāpati Padāvalīs*” that primarily feature the verses of Vidyāpati along with a few other poets, and independent works in the same poetic tradition as Vidyāpati. The ‘*padāvalī*’ grouping is the most appropriate category in which to place the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* since it is indexed by theme and not *rāga*, though the musical modes are listed.

In Nepal, the non-Vidyāpati-centric *padāvalīs* were largely consisted of the compositions of the Malla kings. Interestingly, these Malla-period *padāvalīs* were written down by the lower caste Newar musicians of the Kathmandu Valley in their *Dāphā* songbooks. In the process, the texts became sometimes garbled. Richard Widdess describes the process by which the literary culture of the Mallas was preserved for its semiotic significance, rather than for its poetic qualities, since most contemporary Newari speakers are unable to fully understand the Maithili lyrics of Vidyāpati or the Sanskrit lyrics of Jayadeva.¹⁸⁰ These courtly voices sanctify the songbooks themselves. In a manner similar to the lowland Maithil nostalgia for the ‘golden-era’ court of Śivasimha and the other Oinvāra kings, contemporary Newars of the Kathmandu Valley view the Malla kings of the pre-Gurkha expansion with nostalgia and reverence. Despite the *songs* of their revered monarchs being written in Maithili, rather than Newari, contemporary Newar-speakers deem the musical and textual remnants of their lost kingdoms as part of their contemporary identities.

The second broad category that Mishra describes are the *Rāga-Mālās*, or collections of *padas* indexed by *Rāga* or *Rāgiṇī*. This category can also be further broken down into two sub-

¹⁷⁹ Mishra 1949: 193-196.

¹⁸⁰ Widdess 2015: 238-240.

genres: songbook collections likely used by musicians hence the classification by *Rāga*, and musical anthologies with more explicit musical analysis and meta-criticism. Locana's *Rāgataranṅiṇī* would fall in this category.¹⁸¹ as well as Locana's *Rāgasanṅītasangraha* (no longer extant) and Jagajjyotirmalla's *Saṅgītacandra*. As is mentioned in chapter 8 in regard to musical prosody, the Maithili tradition of musical-poetic analysis is tied in with late-period Sanskrit theoreticians, most prominently with Śubhāṅkara and his *Saṅgīta-Dāmodara*. Although we only have the *Rāgataranṅiṇī* as present evidence, the mere existence of several other texts of the same type confirms a continued interest in the meta-analysis of the tradition.

The Bhāṣā-Saṅgīta Manuscript

Scholar of Bengali and the 'discoverer' of the *Cārya-padas* Haraprasad Śāstrī and Bengali Sino-Indologist P.C. Bagchi identified a text called *Bhāṣā-Gīta* containing eighty-one *padas* and likely dated to the reign of Bhūpatindra Malla (1696-1722).¹⁸² Jayakanta Mishra identified a second *Bhāṣā Gīta* in the Rājaguru Hemaraja Sharma's Library in Kathmandu. This collection contained 173 *padas* in two scribal hands. Jayakanta Mishra also identifies a *padāvalī* that he calls the '*Kaṁsa Nārāyaṇa Padāvalī*'. There is a possibility that this manuscript is the same as the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript of this study. Mishra notes that the *Kaṁsa Nārāyaṇa Padāvalī* includes 146 *padas* from 24 poets, including Vidyāpati. His estimate of 146 is close to the 140 of the currently considered manuscript; however, this manuscript only contains twelve poets other than Vidyāpati. He estimates this manuscript to be two-hundred years old (ca. mid-eighteenth cent. CE). The *Bhāṣā-Saṅgīta* manuscript of this study is an additional source to those identified by Indian Maithili scholars in their surveys of Nepali collections. These twentieth

¹⁸¹ I will use Locana's framing of *rāga* in chapter 8 of this dissertation, but the text is described in brief in 5.3.1.

¹⁸² Mishra 1949: 195.

century surveys of Nepali collection of Vidyāpati’s *padas* are helpful in considering the scope of the Maithili lyric tradition in the Kathmandu Valley from the late seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript seems to be only one of many existing collections of Maithili lyrical poetry that have yet to be identified in the Nepali archives, but is a good representative of the “middle layer” of the tradition between the earlier palm-leaf texts and the early print *padāvalīs* of both Bengali and Mithila/Nepal.

3.1.2.5 Texts of the Bengali-Brajabuli Tradition

It is clear that Vidyāpati’s *padas* had been circulated in Bengali by at least the early sixteenth century CE. The earliest evidence can largely be traced to the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava* followers of Caitanya (1486–1534). Caitanya himself is said to have enjoyed Vidyāpati’s *padas* not as a *rasika* (connoisseur) of literature, but as a *bhakta* (devotee). His biographer, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the influential *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*, also emphasizes that Caitanya ‘listened’ to the *padas* being sung to him as a devotional practice. This secondary account of devotional-performative practices gives us a clue as to the very early phase of Vidyāpati’s adoption in Bengal and one that directly led to the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava* adoption of Maithili-Brajabuli as their medium for song-poetry in later centuries.¹⁸³

From the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, several large compendia of *padas* were assembled in this devotional milieu. These *padāvalīs* are distinct from their Maithili counterparts in their devotional and liturgical orientation. The language of these devotional anthologies of Bengal is usually designated “Brajabuli,” variously claimed as a dialect of Maithili, a *Mischesprache* or a *Kunstsprache*. This artificial language of poetry is usually described as

¹⁸³ *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 1.13.40; 2.2.65; 2.10.113; 3.15.24-25; 3.17.4-7; and 3.17.58. Stewart 1999: 283-284, 364, 487, 939.

Middle Bengali flavored with certain shibboleth inflections of Maithili that remove it enough from premodern quotidian Bengali as to make it exotic or other, but not enough to make it unintelligible.¹⁸⁴ There are varying opinions as to whether this is closer to Maithili or Bengali. This task is made more difficult since both languages are closely related ‘Eastern Indic’ vernaculars that were poorly defined until the modern era. Analogous traditions also exist in Assamese (called “Vrajavali”) and in Oḍia. The tradition of Brajabuli literature in Bengal extends from the time of Vidyāpati until the late nineteenth century CE, when Bengali reformers began using contemporary Bengali (*calita bāṅglā*) as their preferred poetic medium.

Though most of the large Bengali *pada* collections contain thousands of individual *padas* by historically Maithili and Bengali poets, a much smaller number of *padas* can be traced directly from the older Maithili sources. Out of the more than three thousand *padas* in Vaiṣṇava Dās’ (née Gokulānanda Sen) *Padakalpataru* (late eighteenth century CE), only four *padas* can also be found in the NM, and an additional ten can be found in other Maithili sources.¹⁸⁵ Other prominent Bengali/Brajabuli *padāvalīs/pada-saṁgrahas* include Viśvanātha Cakrabartī Ṭhākura’s *Kṣaṇadā Gītacintāmaṇi* (early eighteenth century CE),¹⁸⁶ Radhamohan Thakur’s *Padāmṛta-Samudra* (mid-eighteenth century CE),¹⁸⁷ Dīnabandhu Dās’ *Samkīrttanāmṛta* (1771 CE),¹⁸⁸ and the *Kīrttanānada* (likely early nineteenth century CE).¹⁸⁹

Other than these better-studied larger *padāvalīs*, there exists a large number of small

¹⁸⁴ Sen 1935: 1-10.

¹⁸⁵ This is the largest Bengali/Brajabuli *padāvalī*. The *bhaṇitās* of 161 *padas* mention Vidyāpati (Bhaṭṭāchārya 1963). Mitra and Majumdar use only twenty-four *padas* (Mitra & Majumdāra 19??).

¹⁸⁶ Cakrabartī 1962.

¹⁸⁷ Total 746 *padas*. Sixty-four *padas* are attributed to Vidyāpati by their *bhaṇitās* (Ṭhākura 1984). Mitra and Majumdar use sixty of these *padas* (Mitra & Majumdāra 19??).

¹⁸⁸ Twenty-four poets with 491 *padas*. Ten *padas* are attributed to Vidyāpati. Of these, two are ascribed to the “Bengali Vidyāpati” by Mitra and Majumdar (Mitra & Majumdāra 19??).

¹⁸⁹ The date of the original manuscript is unknown, but the first printed edition was published in 1826. Of the 659 total *padas* of this collection, approximately 580 are attributed to Vidyāpati. Mitra and Majumdar included only thirty-eight in their edition (Mitra & Majumdāra 19??).

pothīs (loose-leaf manuscripts), without attribution of scribe or patron, scattered around Bengal.

These ephemeral songbooks were likely copied and disposed of as personal notebooks. In his dissertation, Tyler Williams seeks to reconcile the proliferation of the *Nirañjanī* manuscript record in the form of anthologized *pothīs*.¹⁹⁰ In the context of the *Nirañjanī* community and larger Braj Bhasha literary production, Williams claims that genre and writing are linked. Intense manuscript production proportionately reflects the length and style of a text. For instance, historical epics, panegyric texts, hagiographies, and commentaries take archival precedent in the North Indian archive (both the modern institution and the practice of preserving manuscripts historically).

Because song and orality escapes these generally ‘literarized’ genres, I make a few suggestions as to their import in this section in the context of disposable songbooks in the Vidyāpati-tradition. I try to search for small textual clues outside of those clearer meta-commentarial clues provided in the larger *padāvalīs*. In my study, I have found that the mixed and varied nature of the *padas* and the side-by-side comparison of Vidyāpati with other Brajabuli poets like Govinda Dās, recasts the poet and his courtly milieu in a devotional manner. The anthologization itself is effective in the process of devotionalizing Vidyāpati as a poet. This can inform our understanding of both Vidyāpati’s reimagining in Bengal and his cultural-political usage by the Malla kings and Newari musicians of Nepal. Both used anthologization, with Vidyāpati at the center, to recast the authority of their own vernacular projects.

In the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries CE, the number of *padas* attributed to Vidyāpati in Bengali *padāvalī* collections multiplied dramatically. Though only rarely coinciding with the older Maithili sources, *padas* attributed to Vidyāpati occur in large numbers in both

¹⁹⁰ Williams 2014: 126, et. al.

large *pada-saṃgrahas* (*pada* collections) and small *padāvalī pothīs*. In the premodern period, the attribution of poems to early and more authoritative poets was a frequent phenomenon.¹⁹¹ This created problems for any would-be stemmatologist trying to assess authenticity. Preferring older sources that exclusively feature the *padas* of Vidyāpati, most modern scholars have discounted and ignored the widely distributed and extant *pothīs* containing *padas* of Vidyāpati along with those of other lyric poets (*padakartās*). However, if we interrogate these sources with other objectives than trying to find the “real Vidyāpati” by relying on stemmatological studies of textual transmission, these “fake” Vidyāpatis in later centuries can tell us about the poetic aspirations and designs of their actual authors and readers. I will investigate instead what quality of Vidyāpati’s they emulate or state explicitly.

The compilers and authors of both Maithili and Bengali *padāvalīs* and *pothīs* capitalized on the literary prestige and authority of Vidyāpati and the court of his patron Śivasimha (r. 1410–1414 CE).¹⁹² Thus, the *bhaṇitās* of each *pada* are often dedicated to the kings and queens of the court of Mithilā.¹⁹³ This goes hand in hand with thematic and narrative elements that were adapted from the courtly Maithili culture of Vidyāpati to the Vaiṣṇava Bengali milieu. While a few dozen *padas* occur across the major Vidyāpati sources, the small, but numerous *pothīs* of later centuries rarely feature any but the most famous *padas*. Evaluating the language, literary style, and historical references of the *bhaṇitās* across these sets of manuscripts uncovers a tradition of literary self-fashioning by the compilers and consumers within the Vidyāpati tradition that hints at a more dynamic history of vernacular transmission and identity-making.

¹⁹¹ A similar phenomenon was established for the tradition of famed Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Sūr Dās by John S. Hawley. This is especially true for the colossal *Sur Sāgar* collection of the poet’s verses which was sometimes expanded to seven to nine thousand poems (Hawley 1984: 35–63).

¹⁹² For a detailed introduction to the most famous king of the Oinvāra dynasty of Mithilā (Thakura 1988: 247–260).

¹⁹³ A *bhaṇitā* is a poetic signature distich that features as the last line of a *pada*.

3.1.3 Musicological Sources

3.1.3.1 The *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁹⁴

Two centuries after his death, Vidyāpati evolved from being a popular local court poet to be the very standard by which Maithili lyric poetry was discerned and emulated.¹⁹⁵ In addition to the *padāvalīs*, there are a few additional textual sources for Vidyāpati's *padas*. Locana Dāsa, under the order of Mahinātha Ṭhākura (c. 1690-1720 CE),¹⁹⁶ wrote the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* ('Waves of Melody'), a trilingual Sanskrit, Braj Bhasa, and Maithili musicological and metric survey of lyric poetry and musical traditions popular in sixteenth century Mithila. The majority of the technical explanations are illustrated with Maithili *padas*. Vidyāpati features as the most prominent poet of this collection, with sixty-three *padas*. The poems of twenty-eight other poets are included, this includes those of Locana himself. It is clear from the prominence of Vidyāpati's *padas* that Locana incorporates them as exemplars of the tradition as a whole, especially since Vidyāpati is also mentioned in the introductory verses of the third *tarāṅga* (lit. 'wave,' here 'section') of the text. These verses are explained in chapter 8.

This text represents a deliberate effort to categorize, amongst other things, traditions of *Rāga* (melodic systems) and *Tāla* (rhythmic systems) that were found distinctly in the local area. The unique feature of this text is that it describes an idiosyncratic *chanda* system (poetic meter) that does not correspond to traditional Sanskrit metrical schemes or even those that were inherited by the late Middle and New Indo-Aryan prosodic systems. Thibaut d'Hubert highlights

¹⁹⁴ This section is meant to introduce the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* in brief. The metrical and musical structures described by Locana Das will be discussed further in section 3.4.

¹⁹⁵ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 3.12–20 (Jha 1981: 64-67).

¹⁹⁶ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 1.7–8 (Jha 1981: 3-4).

The verse is ambiguous as to whether Mahinātha commissioned the RT to honor his younger brother Narapati or Narapati himself commissioned the text. For a more detailed summary of this confusion (Mishra 1976: 127–29).

the repeated distinction that Locana makes between the local (*deśī*) and the classically sanctioned (*mārga*). This dichotomy equally applies to language as it does to the musical structures described in the text. Maithili padas from several fifteenth and sixteenth-century poets were included as illustrative examples of how text is to be paired with music, both thematically and structurally. Because of the prescriptive nature of the *Rāgataranṅiṇī* and its date close to the lifetime of Vidyāpati, it provides a valuable snapshot of Vidyāpati's reception and formative role in the early history of Maithili lyric poetry within the borders of Mithila.

3.1.3.2 Grierson's 'Maithili Chrestomathy'

Without the benefit of modern recordings, our direct evidence for premodern musical traditions is limited to the descriptions of those traditions in textual sources. Because the Vidyāpati-tradition spans over six-hundred years into modernity, we have a variety of sources in premodernity and modernity that give us glimpses into ever-changing ways in which Vidyāpati and his poetry have been adapted. There is one source for the Vidyāpati-tradition that lies between the audio recordings of modernity and the purely textual sources with which scholars are accustomed to dealing.

The chrestomathy included in George A. Grierson's 1881 *An Introduction to the Maithili Language of North Bihār*¹⁹⁷ (Part II) contains 82 songs attributed to Vidyāpati. While employed as a civil servant in Bihar, Grierson collected these songs from, "blind singers, and others whose profession it is to sing these Vaishṇava [sic] songs", and from the then Mahārājā of Darbhanga, Lakshmeswar Singh (r. 1860-1898).¹⁹⁸ Grierson expressed his belief that these were nearly the entire collection of Vidyāpati's songs that remain in current circulation in Mithila in the late

¹⁹⁷ Grierson 1882

¹⁹⁸ Grierson 1882: 36.

nineteenth-century. It is hard to verify this assertion, but it seems unlikely as of the 82 songs only two were *Śaiva* devotional *padas* or those sung by women in the domestic sphere. This was probably due to Grierson's limited access to women's spaces, especially in orthodox brahmin homes.

Grierson is unique in that he based his understanding of Vidyāpati on a combination of ethnographic fieldwork in Mithila and textual-historical scholarship mostly coming from Bengal. Because of this, Grierson sometimes upholds then misunderstandings of Vidyāpati as a historical figure. For instance, Grierson characterizes Vidyāpati as “the first of the Old Vaishṇava [sic] master-singers who spoke and wrote in the language of the people”.¹⁹⁹ This demotic and ‘quotidian’ characterization fits Christian Novetzke’s formulation of the Marathi vernacular cosmopolis and earlier interpretations of a “*bhakti* movement’ inspired by egalitarian social agitators. This would fit in modern interpretations of Caitanya and his *sampradāya* were primarily interested in anti-caste and anti-communal sentiments. This egalitarian cosmopolitanism would not be further removed from Vidyāpati’s orthodox brahmanical context. It’s clear that even though Grierson was speaking with informants in Bihar, he could not escape a nationalist literary historiography.

Grierson was bold in some of his assertions. He did not believe that the Vidyāpati presented in the many large *padāvalīs* current in Bengali, had anything to do with the historical poet of Tirhut. Grierson asserts:

“...a host of imitators sprung up, — notably one Basant Ráy of Jessore, who wrote, under the name of Bidyápati [sic], in this bastard language songs which in their form bore a considerable resemblance to the matter of our poet, but which almost entirely wanted the polish and felicity of expression of the old master-singer. These songs gradually took a form more and more Bangálí, and the latest can hardly, so far as the form of the language goes, be distinguished from, the antique Bangálí of Chaṇḍí Dás and the Bidyá Sundar: they thus naturally became more popular amongst the Bangálí people than the real songs of Bidyápati, and

¹⁹⁹ Grierson 1882: 34.

speedily crowded out the latter from their memories.”²⁰⁰

Grierson than also criticized the Bengali *pada* anthologists and asserts that no more than five or six *padas* could be counted as the Maithili poems of Vidyāpati. Through my own comparison of the Mithila-Nepal manuscripts and the multitude of Bengali-Brajabuli *padāvalīs*, I have come to agree with Grierson’s conclusion.

The language of the *padas* collected in Grierson’s chrestomathy is markedly modern in its form. Many of the older verbal forms have now been modernized and reflect the songs as Grierson heard them, not as textual fossils from Vidyāpati’s era. Because of this, there are not as many direct overlaps between the songs of the manuscript tradition and the oral tradition as one would expect. It seems as if the same divergence between the literary and the performed that had occurred in Bengal had also occurred in Mithila, for which Grierson had not taken account. Still, the forms and structures of the songs contained in the chrestomathy do more accurately resemble the “historical” Vidyāpati’s *padas*. Grierson spends some time in describing the metrical system of Vidyāpati’s *padas* in his own terms, for as he puts it, “as regards Bidyāpati’s prosody, it is needless to say that no rules are in existence: *Pingala’s Prākṛit Sūtras* which are said to apply to Braj Bhāshā will not apply here, for I have tried them.”²⁰¹ A more exhaustive explanation of Grierson’s accounting of Vidyāpati’s metrics will be provided in chapter 8 of this dissertation along with other historical methods for understanding the poet’s idiosyncratic prosody.

²⁰⁰ Grierson 1882: 34-35.

²⁰¹ Grierson 1882: 36.

3.2 The BS Manuscript and its Orthographic & Scribal Features

3.2.1 Physical Description of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* Manuscript

The archival records do not furnish the details of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript's date, origin, or material construction. All three of these must be speculated upon based solely upon its appearance and circumstantial evidence. Since I have only consulted the manuscript in facsimile microfilm form through the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, I have had to rely on the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project's archival description.

This manuscript measures 31cm long by 9cm tall and each folio contains between 6 and 9 lines. This makes the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript less wide, but taller than the palm leaf (*tālapatra*) 'Nepal Manuscript' which measures 36.5cm long by 5 cm tall. Crucially, each folio of the Nepal Manuscript contains 5 lines. This difference makes it more likely that the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript is not made of palm-leaf and instead from some later material (paper, etc.), as it does not match the general size of the palm-leaf manuscript(s) that are available.

What is surprising is that this non-palm leaf manuscript appears to also have a central gap/ellipsis. In palm leaf texts this center gap was used to string the text on a single thread. This is not the case with non-palm manuscripts which were either collated or attached together in a concertina fashion (*thyāsaphu*), the latter is common among the Newari script manuscripts. What this seems to imply is that the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript was copied from an older palm leaf manuscript or is perhaps several copies removed from some original palm leaf source. This structural mimicry between the non-palm leaf and the palm leaf texts along with some of the scribal markings and corrections (discussed below), implies that the scribe was copying from a palm-leaf manuscript (or from a copy of a copy). This preservation of layout, textual breaks, and

structural features indicates that there was some tradition of text-to-text transmission and circulation, and that songs were not always recorded from oral sources. We can then treat the textual tradition as a current to be examined alongside a living performance tradition, rather than as a mere reflection of it.

The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript consists of 33 folia with an additional first folio that is missing according to the catalogue's record. The numbering visible in Maithili script on the edge of certain pages seems to be a later addition, perhaps even at the time of the manuscript's reproduction as a microfilm copy. They are helpful as references for this study but should not be used to draw conclusions about the scribe or usages of this manuscript.

3.2.2 Dating

The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* contains a sampling of *padas* found in older, more easily datable manuscripts and texts like the Nepal manuscript, the Tarauni manuscript, and the *Rāgataranṅiṇī*. This implies that this manuscript operated in the same spaces in which these other manuscripts' *padas* circulated (textually or through performance). Unlike the Newari-script manuscripts which include the *padas* of the Malla kings in a primary position of importance, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* only contains the *padas* of poets primarily from the generation immediately following Vidyāpati and primarily from Mithila. This could imply a slightly earlier date than the more widely available Newari-script *thyāsaphu padāvalīs* used by Newari musicians in Nepal and/or that this manuscript was used by Maithili-speakers in the Kathmandu Valley. The majority of Vidyāpati-style *padāvalīs* and other Maithili manuscripts comes from the late Malla period prior to the Gurkha conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāh in 1743. Because of its style (imitative of palm-leaf renderings) and its exclusion of the Newari Malla poets, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript can be inferred to sit chronologically between the older palm-leaf Maithili script manuscripts and the more easily dated Malla *thyāsaphu* manuscripts. Since the former is dated to the 17th century and the latter to the late 18th-early 19th centuries CE, I have tentatively

dated the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript to the 18th century CE.

3.2.3 Comparison with Other Manuscripts from the Kathmandu Valley

To illustrate my point regarding the manuscript's imitation of the older palm-leaf style and to compare the Maithili script of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, I have provided three manuscript examples below arranged in chronological order. The first example is a folio from the 'Nepal Manuscript'. This is the oldest available manuscript and is on palm-leaf in an older (yet remarkably clear) Maithili script hand. The second is a folio from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* itself. Between these two manuscripts, notice the similarities of structure despite the larger overall size of the latter. Also, notice the more elaborate Maithili hand (less rounded, longer flourishes in vowel diacritics, etc.) of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* which has sharper lines and additional decorative flourishes. The introduction of paper allows for such markings which do not damage the structural integrity of a palm-leaf folio.



Figure 4: "Nepal Manuscript" A21/16. Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloging Project

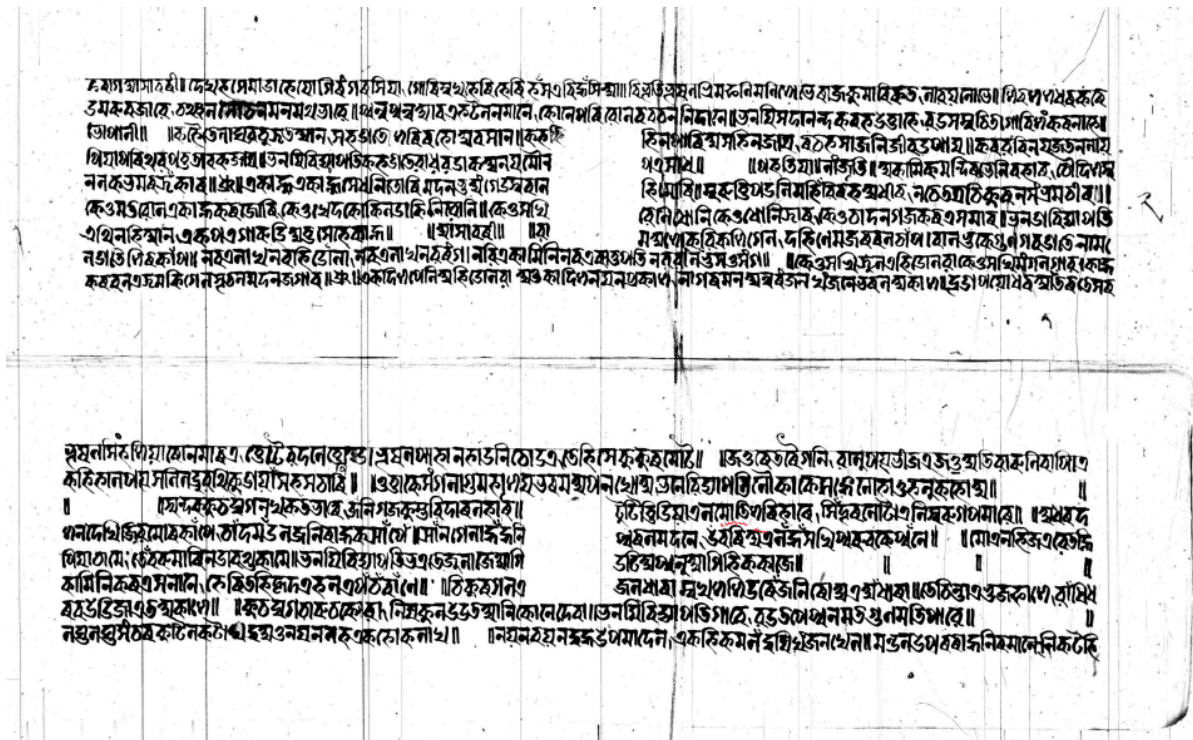


Figure 5: "Bhāṣā Saṅgīta" B286/34. Nepalese-German Cataloging Project

The third example is a *Rāga-Mālā* Newari script *thyāsaphu* manuscript that features the *padas* of various Malla kings in addition to a handful of illustrative *padas* by Vidyāpati. Notice the similar dimensions of this manuscript with *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*. This lends one to think that both were on a similar style material. I have included a second image from another manuscript of the same type featuring the *padas* of Jagajjyotirmalla and Raṇajitamalla that is decorated with ritual illustrations. These are typical of the Newari *thyāsaphu* style which are meant to be revered songbooks carried by Newari *Dāphā* musicians, lower caste Newari ritual musicians. This contrasts with the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* and Nepal manuscripts with their plain text forms. These manuscripts were likely practical in nature and objects of record, rather than devotion.



Figure 6: "Bhajanāvālī" E3013/30 Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloging Project

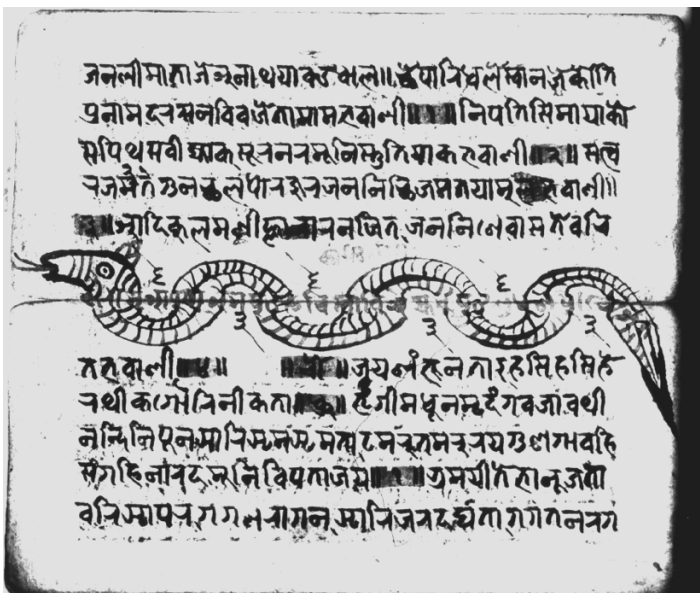


Figure 7: "Rāga-Māla" E588/5. Nepalese-German Cataloguing Project.

The last manuscript from which I have provided is the *pothī* manuscript, obtained from the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Kolkata. This small Bengali-Brajabuli disposable handbook was one of a large number held in that collection. This one is typical of these small notebooks with its clear alternation between the songs of Vidyāpati and Brajabuli poets like Govindadās and Jñānadās and the haphazard style of its hand. It is clearly a practical object for musicians and not an *objet d'art*.

3.3 Vidyāpati's Language in the BS Manuscript

3.3.1 What to Call Vidyāpati's Vernacular?

Vidyāpati's poetic idiom as used in his *padas* is typically identified as 'Maithili', though it is unlikely that the poet or his contemporaries would have used the same name for their language. Scholar of Hindi literature, Imre Bangha has summarized the ill-definition of the early emerging vernaculars of South Asia in relation to one another and also emphasized the difficulty of relying on nineteenth and twentieth century linguistic and literary studies that rely too heavily on modern political (national and state) linguistic boundaries to define their histories and canons.²⁰² In the same regard, Heidi Pauwels discusses the fluidity of both language and religion in the premodern period:

“Rather than regarding these as watertight [linguistic] categories, we could here too speak of a North Indian continuum of literary expression. Linguistic boundaries between these various idioms were often fluid. One could speak of a polyglot situation where choice of idiom of expression is not connected to regional provenance in an essential way.”²⁰³

This leaves us with an ill-defined soup of *bhāṣā* (or 'language') across the early and middle centuries of the last millennium in South Asia. “Maithili” is a relatively modern appellation and developed currency along with the contemporary Maithili nationalist movement that used the oldest name for their region, “Mithila”, instead of the name more prevalent in Vidyāpati's age, Tirhut.

Maithili is a New-Indo Aryan Language in the “Eastern” sub-group along with other languages like Bengali, Oḍia, Assamese, etc. Maithili is most closely related to the other languages of Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, and the Terai of Nepal. These languages, Maithili,

²⁰² Bangla...

²⁰³ Pauwels 2010: 208.

Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Angika, were at one point popularly called the “Bihari Languages”. This linguistic grouping was made well-known by George A. Grierson, who along with his most famous work in the Linguistic Survey of India (1884-1928), wrote extensively on language and village life in Bihar in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.²⁰⁴ Both linguists and social historians have described the inadequacies of such a grouping.²⁰⁵ Though Maithili is defined as an “Eastern” language linguistically, in the modern era, the speakers of these languages have formed their identities as part of North India, the “Hindi Heartland”, and Bihar and constitute a cohesive political and cultural block.²⁰⁶

Colin Masica provides a detailed sketch of the changing lines of language-dialect classification in the early years of Euro-American linguistics.²⁰⁷ His history of subclassifications of the New Indo-Aryan language family illustrates the liminal and ever-changing place of Maithili within and between the subgroups of North India. Defining Maithili and the other languages of the contemporary state of Bihar as part of the “Hindi Heartland” or part of the eastern block of languages differs according to the sources upon which one is drawing, historiographies through which a linguist makes their assessments, and the purpose for that classification (linguistic, social, political, etc.).

‘Desila Vayaṇa’: Maithili or Avahaṭṭha?

Vidyāpati is unique in his self-reflection upon the nature of his language usage across his corpus and more especially in his vernacular texts. In the *Kīrttilatā*, Vidyāpati calls the local

²⁰⁴ Grierson also grouped Maithili with the other Eastern Indo-Aryan literature in a group he called the “Outer Languages” of the Indo-Aryan family (Grierson 1881 & 1918).

²⁰⁵ Yadav 2003: 478-479

²⁰⁶ Paul Brass describes what he portrays as a “weakness” or “failure” of the Maithili Nationalist Movement in its dual loyalty to the promotion of Hindi as a language of the nation and Maithili as the language of a Maithil homeland (Brass 1974: 51-116).

²⁰⁷ Masica 1991: 446-463.

vernacular speech “*desila vayanā*” (“country speech”) and explains the reason for choosing to compose this text in Avahaṭṭha (Skt. *Apabhraṣṭha*) over the more established classical languages of Sanskrit or Prakrit. What is not immediately clear is whether Vidyāpati equates ‘*desila vayanā*’ with Avahaṭṭha or if these refer to two separate linguistic idioms. Vidyāpati leaves us a short, but often quoted, reflection on his choice in the introduction of the *Kīrttilatā* when he considers the merit of his own writing:

sakkaa vāṇi buhaaṇa bhāvai, pāia rasa ko mamma na pābai |
desila vayanā saba jana miṭṭha, te taisana jampau avahaṭṭha²⁰⁸ ||

Learned men understand Sanskrit and no one thinks Prakrit is attractive,
Everyone finds their own country’s language sweet; therefore, I compose [this
text] in Avahaṭṭha.

South Asian scholars of Maithili, Hindi, and Bengali have understood that ‘*desila vayanā*’ refers directly to Avahaṭṭha. Many nuance this further to say Avahaṭṭha is only a more archaic designation and style for the emerging Maithili vernacular. Hindi scholar Vasudevasharan Agarwal speaks of these two faces or styles (‘*śailiyām*’) that either adhere to the *Prākṛtapaiṅgala*’s model for the Avahaṭṭha of the *Kīrttilatā* or Jyotirīśvara’s model presented in the *Varṇa-Ratnākara*, in the case of the Maithili of the *padāvalī*.²⁰⁹ In this model, the verse above refers to only three languages: Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the vernacular, which is to be identified as an offshoot of Avahaṭṭha. This trilingual analysis of Vidyāpati’s formulation emphasizes the

²⁰⁸ *Kīrttilatā*, 1.13

²⁰⁹ Agravāla 1962: 73-74.

emergent status of Maithili-Avahaṭṭha as separate idiom of literary expression that was still defining itself during Vidyāpati's lifetime. In this case, Vidyāpati's Avahaṭṭha is a spectrum from the narrative mixed prose and verse of the *Kīrttilatā*, to the mannerist poetic style of the *padas*.

Andrew Ollett argues that Vidyāpati equates his own '*desila vayanā*' with Apabhraṃśa and sees it as distinct from the synthetic nature of Sanskrit and the waning knowledge of Prakrit usage in South Asia.²¹⁰ In the same vein, Herman Tieken emphasizes that Apabhraṃśa was an important vehicle for popular songs in the middle phase of vernacularization and this process is not well understood. He cites Halla's *Sattasai* as an example of the *gīta-kāvya* genre that closely aligns with the style and goals of Vidyāpati's Maithili *padāvalī*. This strengthens the general consensus argument that Avahaṭṭha and Maithili were two faces of an emerging literary vernacular engaged for different purposes.²¹¹

In his recent book, Thibaut d'Hubert differs from previous scholars who have identified the *desila bayanā* (Maithili) and Avahaṭṭha as two separate linguistic idioms and that Vidyāpati's formulation refers to four total languages.²¹² D'Hubert's understanding hinges upon the progression from Sanskrit to Avahaṭṭha in this formulation and upon the structure of this verse. In terms of logical progression, D'Hubert sets Avahaṭṭha apart from the three other mentioned languages because it does not fit into the linear narrative of degradation in which Sanskrit devolved into the Prakrits, and the Prakrit into Apabhraṃśa and then into the New Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Avahaṭṭha is left to stand apart from Vidyāpati's song-poetic language as solely for the purpose of composing his historical prose-poetry.

²¹⁰ Ollett 2017: 177 & 186.

²¹¹ Tieken 2008: 356-369.

²¹² d'Hubert 2018: 255-262.

D'Hubert's analysis hinges upon the phrase "*tem taisana jampaño avahaṭṭha.*" Other than the poetic symmetry between four poetic feet and the four linguistic-poetic registers, the "*tem*" (therefore) of the last line reads as a conclusion. Recognizing that both Sanskrit and Prakrit are ill-fitted to the current task of composing the *Kīrttilatā* each for their own reasons. Maithili is cast as too local and too quotidian for the purpose of composing the historical panegyric text. The appeal of Avahaṭṭha is understood in its so-called cosmopolitan appeal, in that it was not limited to the local as was the '*desila bayanā*' (I.e. Maithili) but still partook of local aesthetic tastes

Two models are presented across these very recent studies. In one, Maithili has not fully emerged from Apabhraṃśa. It is but a local manifestation of a tradition that extended several centuries before Vidyāpati. In the other (d'Hubert's), Maithili and Avahaṭṭha/Apabhraṃśa had already developed clear usages and identity by the lifetime of the poet. Both are reasonable readings based upon the verse alone; however, these readings do not take into account other descriptions of the Vidyāpati-tradition other than the poet himself. Locana Dās describes the language of Vidyāpati and his imitators as *Mithilāpabhraṃśa* in his *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*.²¹³ Locana's text is from a century after the death of the poet (seventeenth cent. CE). It is likely that Vidyāpati's contemporaries from the same region (lowland Mithila) would have referred to their own language in a like manner.

3.3.2 A Snapshot Grammar

Several other representative grammars of Old Maithili have been produced in the past. Subhadra Jha's 1954 edition of the Nepal Manuscript presents the linguistic peculiarities of that

²¹³ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 3.11 (Jha 1981: 64).

text that set it apart from standardized grammars of both historical and contemporary Maithili (and perhaps closer to Avahaṭṭha). This “snapshot grammar” of the language presented in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript is intended to be used as an additional point of data by which Vidyāpati-tradition manuscripts can be assessed in the future. It can also be an indicator of the degree of linguistic change or conservatism displayed in the middle or even later phases of Maithili literary production in the Kathmandu Valley.

Despite Vidyāpati's statement about his own choice of language, which seems to presume a permeable border between MIA and NIA, the Avahaṭṭha of his *Kīrttilatā* is more archaic in form than the Old Maithili of his *padāvalī*. The most effective way of defining his vernacular idiom is to describe how it exists “on the ground” in the manuscripts that remain to us. This descriptive task is made more urgent by the lack of extensive grammars on Vidyāpati's language specifically other than those based on individual sources²¹⁴ or those on contemporary or historical forms of Maithili writ more broadly.²¹⁵ The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to systematically laying out Vidyāpati's vernacular idiom as presented in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript.

The grammar and language of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* is consistent with the general grouping of Mithila-Nepal origin manuscripts, but just as Maithili diverged (or merged) into the Brajabuli tradition in Bengal and developed its own idiosyncratic standard, the grammar of the manuscripts of Mithila-Nepal does not remain identical between each manuscript source or across time. The focus of this snapshot grammar is to emphasize its similarities and differences with those language descriptions that do already exist. This will effectively draw the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* relationship closer in relationship to the Nepal, Tarauni, and Rambhadrapur manuscripts while also explicating the manner in which it differs as a later example of the *padāvalī* genre.

²¹⁴ Grierson 1882 & Jha 1954

²¹⁵ Grierson 1882, Jha 1954, Jha 1963, Jha 1967, Jha 1985, Yadav 1996, et al.

3.3.3 Phonology

3.3.3.1 Vowels

The vowel system of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript does not diverge greatly from those examples from the Nepal Manuscript and the *Kīrttilatā*, which were described by Subhadra Jha's²¹⁶ and Shivaprasad Sinha's²¹⁷ editions, respectively. What follows is a description of a small number of features that stand out in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*'s presentation of Vidyāpati's language.

3.3.3.1.1 Diphthongs

A feature preserved in some *padas* from Avahaṭṭha is a preference for diphthongs over semi-vowel replacements or nasalization (usually -ñ-).

e.g.
premaī (BS 1), *kahaīte* (BS 2), *cintāe* (BS 6) *et.al.*

However, this tendency does not remain constant across the manuscript:

e.g.
bhanayi (BS 1) vs. *bhanai* (BS 12)

In extreme instances, this diphthongization is accompanied by nasalization in order to compensate for lost consonant stops.

e.g.
Skt. kāka → *Pkt. kāuā* → *kaüṃāem̃* (BS 63)

3.3.3.1.2 Nasalization

One of the phonetic features that predominates the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript is frequent

²¹⁶ Jha 1954.

²¹⁷ Sinha 1955.

nasalization. This especially seems to be the case before palatal and retroflex consonants. Often, the same word is written with or without the *candrabindu* without affecting metre or meaning. In places, this also seems to replace instances where the palatal nasal consonant (-ñ-) has replaced a semi-vowel in the Nepal Manuscript.

e.g.

Skt. pañcabāṇa ('cupid') → paṁcabāna (BS 9)/paṁcaṁbāṁṇa (BS 6)

3.3.3.2 Consonants

3.3.3.2.1 Vocalizations

Often, consonants may be vocalized, usually when followed by a nasalization:

e.g.
-k- → -g-
taṅka ('loss from separation') → taṅga (BS 40)

3.3.3.2.2 Rhotic Metatheses

One of the more striking phonetic transformations is the proliferation of rhotic metatheses. It could be argued that this is the effect of Maithili's direct contact with Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language that often displays the same tendency

-l- → -r-

e.g.
jāla (net, snare') → jāra (BS 3)
hera- ('see, look') → hela- (BS 1, 6, 13, 16)
santali ('appease, conciliate') → santari (3 P.Ind.) (BS 32)
gāli ('insult, abuse') → gāri (BS 34)
ujala ('shining') → ujara (BS 44)

-l-/-r- → -ḍ-

e.g.
kheli → kheḍi (BS 72)

3.3.3.2.3 Loss of Aspiration

Similar to conclusion drawn from the preponderance of rhotic metatheses in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, the large number of instances in which a consonant loses its aspiration hints at the influence of Newari.

e.g.
jhula- ('swing') → jula- (BS 4)
upacha- (Skt. *upakṣaya-*) ('bail out') → upaca- (BS 36)
harakha- (Skt. *harṣa*) ('to be glad') → haraka- (BS 56)

3.3.3.2.4 Geminatio

In the cases of *-m-* and *-j-*, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* maintains geminated clusters that were also present in Avahaṭṭha. These instances usually are preceded by *-r-*.

e.g.
nirmala ('pure') → nirmmala (BS 50, 62)

3.3.3.2.5 Sibilant Shift

The distinctions of sibilants already being flattened in the MIA languages is also present in this period of Maithili.

e.g.
Śiva → Siba (BS 61)

In other place, the sibilant is lost, but usually shifts the adjoining consonant to its aspirated version or maintains that syllables aspiration.

e.g.
sthambha ('pillar') → thambha (BS 62)

3.3.4 Morphology

3.3.4.1 The Nominal System

3.3.4.1.1 Case

Nominative

-e

e.g.
nāha > nāhe ('lord, husband') [BS 1]

-i

e.g.
kokila > kokilāi ('the cuckoo bird') [BS 3]

-hi

e.g.
naba > nabahi [ḍomlā] ('a new swing') [BS 4]

Objective (Accusative/Dative)

-ke

e.g.
bālabhu > bālabhuke ('to my husband/beloved') [BS 4]

-i

e.g.
sura > surāi ('musical note; tune') [BS 9]

-hi

e.g.
bāla > bālahi ('ḍasu bālahi mori': '[it] bit my daughter')

-o

e.g.
śiyāra > [siṃgha] śiyāro [na mārae] ('the lion does not kill the jackal') [BS 4]

-hu

e.g.
mukha > mukhahu ('in/on the face, mouth') [BS 17]

Instrumental

-i

e.g.
prema > premaï ('in love, with love') [BS 1]

-hi

e.g.
saba > sabahi ('by all') [BS 19]

-e/eṁ

e.g.
khaṁjana > khaṁjane ('with wagtail birds') [BS 4]
jhāṁpa > jhāṁpeṁ ('with a cover/canopy') [BS 5]

-ṁ

e.g.
amia > amiaṁ ('with nectar') [BS 15]

Genitive

-ka

e.g.
kāṅha > kāṅhaka ('of, belonging to *Kāṅha* [*I.e. Kṛṣṇa*']) [BS 4]
rāhu > rāhuka ('of, belonging to *Rāhu*') [BS 5]

-hika

e.g.
āgi > āgihika ('of fire') [BS 5]

-ke

e.g.
kasani > kasanike ('of a bodice/girdle') [BS 42]

Locative

-e

e.g.
kara > kare ('in hand') [BS 1]
uchāha > uchāhe ('in excitement, festivity') [BS 1]
badana > badane ('on the face') [BS 4]

-ṁ

e.g.
mahi > mahiṁ ('on the earth, ground') [BS 3]

-hu

e.g.
geha > gehahu ('in the home/room') [BS 11]

-ha

e.g.
nara > naraha ('in/amongst mankind') [BS 15]

3.3.4.1.2 Gender

Like most other Eastern Indic languages, Maithili had already lost much of its gender inflection by the time of Vidyāpati. In contemporary Maithili there are no gender markers; however, in the language of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, gender is evident in some substantives still. The default gender of noun and adjectives is usually masculine. In a limited number of instances, feminine inflections are evident in those nouns that naturally indicate a female human or animal ('*kāminī*').

3.3.4.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives, wherever present, agree in case and gender with the nouns they qualify.

Case Agreement

e.g.
-e (instrumental)
śobha > śobhe

Gender Agreement

e.g.
-i (feminine)
naba raṅga → nabi kāmini

3.3.4.1.4 Postpositions

Maithili of the Vidyāpati tradition employs a number of postpositions in the place of or in addition to case inflections.

e.g.

sao	‘with, from; by means of’: + <i>saṅga</i> (‘with’)
lae	‘with; by, by means of; for, with the view of’
āñtara	‘space in between; between’
maha	‘in between, inside; amongst’
kerā	‘of, belonging to’
dae	‘through, by means of’

Vidyāpati’s Maithili often redundantly employs both the case inflection and post position for a pronoun, noun, or adjective. This can be for emphasis or prosodic balance.

e.g.
tinuhu (loc.) + maha (loc. post.p.) (‘in three...’)

In a few instances, the genitive post position -ka can be feminine. This is especially true with the reflexive pronoun and adverbs.

e.g.
apanuka (‘of one’s self’) → apanuki (BS 63)
takhanuka (‘of that time, then’) → takhanuki (BS 47)

3.3.4.1.5 Pronouns

As with the nominal system in general, Maithili has lost the distinction of grammatical number by the time of Vidyāpati.

Table 2: Pronouns

Case	1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Nominative	hama moe		se huni (hon.) tanhi i (prox.)

			tañmeñ sa (fem.)
Accusative/Objective	hamahi		
Instrumental			
Genitive	mora mori (fem.) mae/mañmeñ hamara hamarahi (emph.)	tori (fem.) tua tohara tohari (fem.)	tehi tahi tasu
Locative			takarā/ṁ

Reflexive Pronouns

e.g.
 apana
 apanuka (gen.), apanuki (fem.)

Indefinite Pronouns

e.g.
 ke ‘who? what person?’
 kabanu ‘who?’
 kaha ‘how?’

Relative/Correlative

e.g.
 jā ‘as long as; until’
 tā ‘for that long; until then’

3.3.4.2 The Verbal System

3.3.4.2.1 The Present Tense

This form can also be used as a near-future imperative or simple future.

1st Person

- No ending

e.g.

mera- vt. (*mil-*) ‘meet, mix, unite’: -a (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8

2nd Person

-si

e.g.

māra- > māra^si (‘you strike/kill’) [BS 22]

de- > de^si (‘you give’) [BS 23]

jāṁna- > jāṁna^si (‘you know’) [BS 28]

3rd Person

-a/ya

e.g.

bisara- > bisara/bisara^ya (‘he/she forgets’) [BS 52]

- i/yi/ī

e.g.

bhana- > bhana^yi (‘he says, declares’) [BS1]

tho-/thoe- > thoi/thoyi/thoeⁱ [BS 19]

buja- > bujaⁱ (‘he/she understands’) [BS 36]

- e/eṁ

e.g.

ḍara- > ḍara^ṁ (‘he/it fears’) [BS 6]

-ṅe/ne

e.g.

namā- > namā^{ṅe} (‘he bows down’) [BS1]

-ve

e.g.

bajā- > bajāve ('he plays [an instrument]') [BS1]
bhāva- > bhāve ('he seems good, agreeable') [BS1]

-thi (hon.)

e.g.

bola- > bolathi ('he/she says') [BS 63]
guṇa- > gunathi ('he/she enumerates') [BS 63]
ḍuba- > ḍubathi ('he/she sinks') [BS 63]

3.3.4.2.1.1 Present Progressive

absol. + raha- + aux. -ach

e.g.

sāji rahali achi ('she is decorating')
'Tikha kaṭākha bhaūha dhanu guṇa kae sāji rahali achi bāmā'

3.3.4.2.2 Imperatives

2nd Person

-no ending

e.g.

suna- > suna ('listen!') [BS S]

-u

e.g.

teja- > tejaū ('abandon!') [BS 5]
Suna- > sunu ('listen!') [BS 61]

-iya/ia

e.g.

suna- > sunia ('listen!') [BS 25]
suna- > suniya ('listen!') [BS 8]

-e

e.g.

kara > karae ('do!') [BS 2, 6]

-i

e.g.

kara- > karaī ('do!') [BS 8]

-ha/-haha

e.g.

kaha- > kahaha ('speak!') [BS 10]

kahi-> kahihaha ('speak!') [BS 14, 18]

-hi

e.g.

basā- > basāhi ('dwell, inhabit!') [BS 9]

-iahe

e.g.

kara- > kariahe ('do!') [BS 26]

3rd Person

-o

e.g.

uga- > ugao ('may it rise!') [BS 16]

hoa- > hoao ('may it be!') [BS 16]

-thu (hon.)

e.g.

de-> dethu ('let it be given!') [BS 37]

pāba- > pābathu ('may it be attained!') [BS 51]

On occasion, the present imperative may be used as the present indicative:

-ha

e.g.

basā- > basaha ('he/she dwells') [BS 141]

suta- > sutathu ('he/she sleeps') [BS 53]

3.3.4.2.3 The Past Tense

-L- forms

1st person

-lahu/ahu

e.g.

a-/ae- > aelahu/alamhuṃ ('I came') [Bs 5, 34, 38]

cuka- > cukalahu ('I missed; made a mistake') [BS 13]

-lāhu/lāhuṁ*e.g.*

gela > gelāhuṁ ('I went') [BS 5]

-lanhi (pl. and/or hon.)*e.g.*

buḍa- > buḍalanhi ('I was lost') [BS 44]

3rd person**-la***e.g.*

haṭa- > haṭala ('he moved back, receded') [BS 1]

suta- > sutala ('he slept') [BS 4]

-lā*e.g.*

gā-/gāu-/gāo- > gāola ('he sang') [BS 33]

pasāra- > pasārala/lā ('it was spread') [BS 33]

-laha*e.g.*

ropa- > ropalaha ('it was placed') [BS 36]

-lanhi (hon.)*e.g.*

kae- > kaelanhi ('he did') [BS 25]

mela- > melalanhi ('they made me meet') [BS 25]

-ila*e.g.*

māra- > mānila ('it killed, slew') [BS 5]

-ela*e.g.*

chiḍiā- > chiḍiāela ('it was scattered') [BS 5]

The 3rd person simple past can also take a feminine ending, beginning with *-li*. Not all female subjects necessarily take these endings, but they are sometimes used to maintain rhyme or assonance.

-li (fem.)*e.g.*

sedha- > sedhali ('she chastised') [BS 3]

baha- > bahali ('she/it flowed, blew') [BS 8]

-lihu (fem.)

e.g.

cala- > calalihi ('she moved/went') [BS 21]

-ili (fem.)

e.g.

gamā- > gamāili (she wasted/squandered') [BS 20]

-eli (fem.)

e.g.

loṭā- > loṭāeli ('she threw herself down and wallowed') [BS 5]

Other 3rd Person Forms

-u

e.g.

ḍasa- > ḍasu ('it bit') [BS 3]

paḍhā- > paḍhāu ('he recited/read out') [BS 17]

kara- > karu ('it/they did') [BS 37]

ūdhasa- > ūdhasu ('he was dishevelled') [BS 61]

dekha- > dekhu ('he saw') [BS 62]

-halu (metathesis of -lahu)

e.g.

sīmca- > sīmcahalu ('it was sprinkled') [BS 62]

3.3.4.2.4 The Future Tense

The present and future tenses often share the function of describing the near future.

-b- Forms

1st person

-be

e.g.

jae- > jaebe ('i will go') [BS 5]

-bahu

e.g.

hera- > herabahu ('I will see/search for') [BS 36]

3rd Person

-ba

e.g.

hoa- > hoaba ('he/she will be/become') [BS 1]

kara- > karaba ('he will do, make') [BS 2]

-t- Forms

3rd Person

-ta

e.g.

buja- > bujata ('he/she will understand, comprehend') [BS1]

jāe- > jāeta ('he will go') [BS 6]

The feminine form of the -ta future usually ends in '-i'.

-ti/-iti/-yiti (fem.)

e.g.

le- > leiti

ho- > hoyiti ('she will be/become') [BS 19]

3.3.4.2.4.1 The Future Imperative

2nd Person

-bi (fem.)

e.g.

kaha- > kahabi ('you [fem.] speak') [BS 9, 28]

-be

e.g.

pā- > pābe ('you get/attain!') [BS 27]

3.3.4.2.5 Imperfective Participles

-ite

e.g.

kaha- > kahaite ('speaking, saying, telling') [BS 1]

saha- > sahaite ('bearing, tolerating, suffering') [BS 1]

gaba- > gabaite ('singing') [BS 4]

kara- > karaïte ('doing') [BS 24]

3.3.4.2.6 Perfective Participles

-ia

e.g.

ḍaḍha- > ḍaḍhia ('burnt/consumed') [BS 5]

-iā

e.g.

bihuṃs- > bihuṃsiā ('smiled, was smiling') [BS1]

-io/iyo

e.g.

jāga- > jāgiyo ('awakened') [BS 14]

-ie

e.g.

meṭa- > meṭaie ('effaced, removed') [BS 19]

3.3.4.2.7 Infinitives & Gerunds

Infinitives

-e/-bae

e.g.

khepa-> khepabae ('to cross over') [BS 40]

bisara- > bisarae ('to forget') [BS 44]

chaḍā- > chaḍābae ('to abandon') [BS 56]

chapā-> chapābae ('to hide') [BS 58]

ka- > kaie ('to do') [BS 58]

Gerunds

-le

e.g.

pura- > purale ('having accomplished') [BS 19]

dūkha- > dūkhale ('having been distressed') [BS 24]

bhela > bhele ('having become, been') [BS 35]

pa/pao- > paole ('having attained') [BS 53]

gaṃtha- > gaṃthale ('having been entwined') [BS 53]

3.3.4.2.8 Absolutives

-i

e.g.

hera- > heri ('having seen') [BS 1]

- e

e.g.

bhara- > bhare ('having been filled') [BS 37]

3.3.4.2.9 Compound Verbs

Absol. + Finite verb

e.g.

tīkha kaṭākha bhaūha dhanu guṇa kae sāji rahali achi bāmā [BS 18]
kae saji rahali (absol. + absol. + 3 fem. P.Ind.)

āe paḍalahu ('he suddenly came') [BS 34]

3.3.4.2.10 Passives

Absol. + Jā-

e.g.

Sahi na jaya - cannot be tolerated, suffered (BS1)

W/ aux. verb 'jā-'

e.g.

śiraṃ surasari bhare geli baḍhi yāyī [BS 37]
bhare geli ('completely filled')

Modal Sense

e.g.

sahi na jaya ('cannot be tolerated') [BS 1]

3.3.4.3 Misc.

3.3.4.3.1 Number

One (1) - eka [BS 4]

Two (2) - dui [BS 4]

Four (4) - cāri [BS 12]

Ten (10) — daśa [BS 44]
-hu (loc.)

Lakh (100,000) — laka [BS 3]

Ordinals

First (1st) — prathama [BS 21]

Second (2nd) — dosara [BS 12]

Third (3rd) — tesara [BS 4]

3.3.4.3.2 Conjunctives

aokā — ‘and, more’ [BS 4]

jao — ‘if, in case’ [BS 4]

ta/taṁ — ‘in that case, then; of course, indeed’ [BS 48]

3.4 *Rāga* & Prosody

3.4.1 General Overview

Along with thematic elements and language, both the Mithila-Nepal and the Bengal/Brajabuli branches of the Vidyāpati-tradition of lyric poetry adopted Vidyāpati's prosodic methods. The metrical system at work in the Maithili tradition is highly idiosyncratic and do not closely align with more the more widely established poetic structural features of the Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Apabhraṃśa traditions. It is not to say that Vidyāpati does not creatively employ or mirror lyrical-sung elements of other poets like Jayadeva, etc., but simply that the prescribed nomenclature and sets of metrical features do not draw upon a single authoritative source. Heidi Pauwels in her analysis of the creative mixed usages of classical and vernacular meters by Harirām Vyās, especially in his *Rāsapañcādhyāyī* and his *Mān kī Śṛṅkhalā*, describes such a situation in which many students of NIA prosody find themselves, with too much theoretical information regarding classification and a paucity of information regarding basic features as used in song and practice (stress, rhyme, breaks, etc.)²¹⁸ In Vidyāpati's case, it is important to establish how meter became one of the structural elements that define the tradition.

The transference of a new vernacular prosodic system represents one of the indirect manners by which Vidyāpati's idiom moved laterally beyond the borders of Mithila. This can be observed when examining later examples of the tradition, like the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. We can assess how faithful later examples of the tradition are to Vidyāpati's precedent and to the tradition as a whole and map divergences and innovations as they occur in the performance tradition, especially. In this section, I will discuss the musical and prosodic structures of

²¹⁸ Pauwels 1999: 313.

Vidyāpati's *padas* in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript in comparison with some of the theories laid out by Locana in the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*. After my comparison of the *rāga-chanda* system established by Locana with the 'real-world' examples found in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript it becomes apparent that Locana was working hard at establishing a new system for a vernacular tradition still in development. In this case, theory (*śāstra*) follows on from usage (*prayog*).

As previously argued, the manuscripts found in Nepal are relatively conservative in their language and faithfulness to the lowland-Maithili tradition, this extends to the musical/metrical elements. The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* as a middle layer of the Vidyāpati textual tradition in Nepal provides evidence that the style of Vidyāpati (themes + language + prosody/musical elements) remains largely intact and consistent several centuries later. This contributes to the larger goal of this study, namely, to define what the "Vidyāpati-tradition" is and what are the implications of its shift across borders (linguistic & geographic) and time.

3.4.2 A Backwards Rationalization?: Reconciling Locana's *Rāga-Chanda* System

The first explicit model of a new Maithili prosodic system is presented in Locana Dās' *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*.²¹⁹ Among the several topics covered in this text, the metrical system (*chanda*) that Locana presents is categorized by *rāga*. This manner of classification is a trend in Sanskrit prosody made prominent by Śubhāṅkara's *Saṅgīta-Damodara* (c. 1500 CE).²²⁰ These combined musical-metric patterns are called *dhyānas*, a term also adopted from Śubhāṅkara's precedent.²²¹ Although adopting the illustrative language and manner of late-Sanskrit studies of song and meter, Locana's treatise is unique in that it seeks to define local musical styles (*deśī*) rather than

²¹⁹ The provenance of this text is discussed in 3.1.3.1.

²²⁰ Acharya 1998: 3.

²²¹ d'Hubert establishes this precedent that Locana has likely drawn upon in his didactic musicological treatise, though of course Śubhāṅkara lived a century after Vidyāpati (d'Hubert 2018: 276-280).

only classical-cosmopolitan styles (*mārga*).²²² Locana, and his patron Mahīnāth Thākur (c. 1660-1690) by extension, sought to aggrandize their own locality and Maithil identities. Locana suggests that it would be most appropriate for him to comment upon the local/*deśī* features of his own region.²²³

Locana presents Vidyāpati's *padas* as the primary examples for most of the metrical patterns established in his text. Only afterwards does Locana try his own hand at imitating the master's model. He also often provides an appropriate Maithili *pada* of another poet. The explanation of each *dhyāna* is provided in Sanskrit with an accompanying Braj Bhasha ('*madhyadeśa-bhāṣā*') translation so that others might understand.²²⁴ It is unclear whether Locana is referring to those not literate in Sanskrit or to Braj speakers outside of Mithila. Either way, this multilingual strategy has the effect of specifying what is uniquely Maithili almost solely defined through the model of a single poet, Vidyāpati.

The most effective manner to illustrate Locana's system would be through his own method — by providing examples. Of the six *padas* that overlap between the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* and the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, only two share the same *rāga* (and therefore metrical) designation. I provide by way of example one *pada* that shares Locana's *rāga*, in name at least, in order to examine whether Locana's analysis survives in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. Afterwards, I will provide another example of an overlapping *pada* that does not share the same *rāga* designation to examine if such a difference represents adherence or departure from the Maithili tradition closer to the lifetime of the poet.

²²² *iha tu mārgā 'bhāvānnodāhrtāḥ te agretu kvacidudāhartavyāḥ | deśyāmapī svadeśīyatvāt prathamam mithilāpabhramśabhāṣayā śrīvidyāpatikavinibaddhāḥ tāsya maithilagitagatayaḥ pradarśyante || Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 3.11 (Jha 1981: 64).*

²²³ *śrīmadvidyāpatikavayituh kāvyavarṇā 'nubaddhām stattaṭprāyānatha tadanugakhātāgītairvibaddhān | Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 3.20 (Jha 1981: 66-67).*

²²⁴ *idantu sakalalokasādhāraṇajhaṭityudbodhahetu madhyadeśabhāṣāmāśrityāpi likhyate | Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 1.15 (Jha 1981: 5).*

In the *Bihār-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad* edition of the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*,²²⁵ the following *pada* is cited as belonging to the family of *Bhīmapalāsī* (specifically *Ramyā Bhīmapalāsikā*), which is classified under the larger *rāga* grouping of *Ahirānī*.²²⁶

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī - 57

Ramyā Bhīmpalāsikā -

- (1) suraja sindura bindu cāndane lihae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
viparita abhisāra barisa amiña dhāra aṅkuśa kaela ti(la)ke ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) he Mādhava bheṭali pasāhani beri |
Ādhara haralaka puchi (on ne puchalaka catura sakhi ja)na meri||
- (3) ketaki dala lae campaka phula daya kabarī phoelaka ānī |
mṛgamada kuṅkumeṃ ṅagarucita laōlaka samae niveda sayāṃni ||
- (4) bhanaī Vidyāpati sunu varajauvati kuhu nīkaṭa paramāne |
Rājā Śiva-Simha rūpa narāēna lakhimā devi ram(ā)ne ||

In the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*, the same song is recorded as belonging to *Rāga Bhīmaparāśī*.²²⁷

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — 46

Bhīmaparāśī Rāge —

- (1) sūraja sindhūra bindu cāṁdane lihae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
Biparita abhisāra amia barisa dhara aṅkuśe kaela alake ||
- (2) mādhava bheṭali pasāhali berā |
Ādare analanhi puchi ela puchalanhi catura sakhījana morā |
- (3) campaka phula lae ketaki dala dae, kabari thoelanhi, ānī |
Mṛga-maya kuṅkuma agaru ruci laelanhi samae niya dṛśa ānī ||

²²⁵ Śaśināth Jhā's edition lists this *pada* as *Rāga Deśī*, showing the inherent instability of the *rāga* designations (Jhā 1981: 146-147).

²²⁶ Locana describes this *rāga* family as one of the local specialties of Mithilā and a major focus of the fourth 'tarāṅga' of the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*. Many of these are those most popular in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*:

tatra prathamam mithilāmātrasuprasidhāḥ |
te ca —
vibhāsī cāhirānīśca gopīvallabha eva ca ||
śāraṅgī cāpi koḍāro dhanachī-gauḍamālavau |
rājavijaya-nāṭau ca navaite tīrabhuktijāḥ ||
Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 4.1 (Jhā 1981: 143).

Of those [*saṁkīrṇa rāgas*], these are the ones popular only in Mithilā.

They are —
Vibhāsī, Ahirānī, Gopīvallabha, Śāraṅgī, Koḍāra, Dhanachī, Gauḍamālava, Rāja-Vijaya, and Nāṭa. These nine [*rāgas*] originate in Tirhut (Skt. *Tīrabhukti*).

²²⁷ As discussed in 7.2.2.2, the trend towards rhotic metatheses is prevalent in later Nepali manuscripts and is evidence of the influence of Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language which has the same phonetic pattern.

(4) bhanayi bidyāpati dūti sucetana kuhu niramala parimāna | rājā śiti.²²⁸||

Locana Dās describes the metrical structure of *Ramyā Bhīmapalāsikā* as follows:

kalikā-ṣoḍaśopeta-dhruvakādyardha-bhūṣitā |
pūrvatulyapadā sā 'pi ramyā bhīmapalāsikā ||

That [meter] Kalikā in which the first half of the refrain and others (druvakādi) pada has sixteen *mātrās*,
[and] whose last *pada* has the same arrangement of the previous [*rāga* (i.e. *Ahirānī*)],²²⁹
that is '*Ramyā Bhīmapalāsikā*'

So, let us now evaluate Vidyāpati's *pada* which is given as a model for this *rāga-chanda*. The Maithili metrical system is quantitative and is divided into poetic feet (*morae*) like Apabhramśa as one would expect from New Indo-Aryan languages (like Braj Bhasa). However, Locana defines the irregularity ('*amānaka*') as an important feature with 'adorns' *deśī* songs and language.²³⁰ There are many exceptions to the regular rules for counting long/heavy (*guru*) and short/light (*laghu*). The one most pertinent in this study is Locana's willingness to count normally long vowel/syllables like -e- and -o- as alternatively short. Similarly, normally long syllables, such as those preceding conjunct clusters, can be counted short if it is the last *mātrā* of a foot.

²²⁸ This likely refers to "Rāja Śivasimha-ityādi..", a quick shorthand reference to the fuller final hemistich of this bhaṇitā praising Vidyāpati's patrons Śivasimha and Lakhimā Devī.

²²⁹ e. *chandolakṣaṇam* —
śadvimśatiṃ samārabhya yatronatrimśadantikāḥ|
padārdha-kalikāḥ kiṃ ca dhruvādyardhe trayodaśa ||
sā tu bhīmapalāsī syādahirānīriti śrutā ||
Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 4.5 (Jhā 1981: 145).

This is the description of this *chanda* —

That [*chanda*] whose first half has between 26 and 29 *mātrās*,
and whose refrain *pada*'s first half has thirteen *mātrās*, that [*rāga/chanda*] is known to be *Ahirānī*.

²³⁰ Thibaut d'Hubert emphasizes the foundational centrality of this concept for Locana and the subsequent Maithili and Brajabuli traditions (d'Hubert 2018: 274).

Table 3: A Dhruvapada Compared

<i>Dhruvapada</i>					
<i>Rāgataranṅiṇī</i> 57	(he) <i>mādhava</i>	<i>bheṭali</i>	<i>pasāha</i>	<i>ni beri</i>	[total <i>mātrās</i>]
	s	s	s	s	16
<i>Bhāṣā Saṅgīta</i> 46	<i>mādhava</i>	<i>bheṭali</i>	<i>pasāhali</i>	<i>li berā</i>	
	s	s	s	s s (alt. s)	17 (alt. 16)

The *dhruvapada* presented in both the *Rāgataranṅiṇī* example *pada* of *Rāga Bhīmapalāsī* and the one presented in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript do seem to adhere to the definition established by Locana in his explanation of the *rāga-chanda's lakṣaṇas*. The important variation between the two is the long final foot which displays the *amānaka* principle highlighted by Locana and displays a normally long syllable that may be counted as metrically short. Let us turn to the last line of the *pada*:

Table 4: A Bhaṇitā Compared

<i>Last pada line (4)</i>								
<i>RT</i> 57	<i>bhanai vi</i>	<i>dyāpati</i>	<i>sunu vara</i>	<i>jauvati</i>	<i>kuhu nī</i>	<i>kaṭa para</i>	<i>māne</i>	[total <i>mātrās</i>]
	S	S		S	S		S orS	27/28
<i>BS</i> 46	<i>bhanayi vi</i>	<i>dyāpati</i>	<i>dūti su</i>	<i>cetana</i>	<i>kuhu nira</i>	<i>mala pari</i>	<i>māna</i>	
	orS	S	S	S			S	27/28

Unlike the *dhrupapada* of this song, this last half-line is almost a new line, but it still adheres to the same structure. Both last lines can be counted to have a total of 27 or 28 *mātrās*, which matches the structure of an *Ahirānī*-family *rāga*-metre. Both versions of this line use alternative counting of *mātrā* lengths (*amānaka*), though in different places. This variation is a theme and defines Vidyāpati's songs and hence the Maithili tradition.

Unlike the previous example in which the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*'s *rāga* designation matches the *Rāgataranṅiṇī*'s *rāga* designation for the same *padas*, many of the *padas* across the Mithila-Nepal manuscripts do not share the same *rāga*. What follows is a metrical description of a *pada* in its citation from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript and its variant found in the *Rāgataranṅiṇī* with different *rāga* designations:

Bhāṣā Saṅgīta — 131²³¹

Bhupālī Rāge —

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (1) jaubana ratana achala dina cārī | se dekhi ādara kaela murāri |
| (2) se ābe jāri kusume bhela chūcha | rāśi bināśini keo nahi pucha |
| (3) hamari o binati kahaba sakhi roya | supuruṣa bacana anta nahi hoyā |
| (4) jābe se dhana raha apanā sātha | tābe se ādara kara saṅga sātha |
| (5) dhanikaka ādara sabatahu hoyā | niradhana boli puchaya nahi koya |
| (6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati rākhaba śīla | jao jibe jībia nabao nidhi mīla ²³² |

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī — 50

atha Drāviṇī —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) jauvana rūpa achala dina cārī | se dekhi ādara kaela murāri |
| (2) aba bhela jhāla kusuma sabe chūcha | bāri bihuna sara keo nahi pūcha |
| (3) hamari o vinati kahaba sakhi roe | supuruṣa vacana aphala nahi hoe |
| (4) jābe rahae dhana apanā hātha | tābe se ādara kara saṅga sātha |
| (5) dhanikaka ādara sabatahu hoe | niradhana bāpura pucha nahi koe |
| (6) bhaṇai Vidyāpati rākhaba śīla | jañō jaga jībia navo nidhi mīla ²³³ |

Locana describes the metrical structure of *padas* sung in *Rāga Āsāvarī-Drāviṇī* as:

Satvaradvitayam madhadvayam tālacatuṣṭayam |
Etad-rāga-gatam bhāti guṇibhiḥ prakāṭikṛtam || 3.126

atha drāviṇī

e. [sic] vṛtta lakṣaṇam —

ācaturdaśakāt saptadaśaparyantakāḥ kalāḥ |
yaṭpadārdhe samākhyātā’ ‘sāvarī drāviṇī tu sā || 3.127²³⁴

In this *rāga* there are four *tālas* (rhythmic patterns) — two in *druta* (fast-speed) and two *madhya* (medium-speed). The progression of this *rāga* is known by [these] qualities.

This is ‘*drāviṇī*’

This is the symptomatic metrical pattern —

That [*rāga*] whose first hemistich has between 14 and 17 *mātrās*,

²³¹ This song also appears in the Nepal Manuscript listed under *Rāga Āsāvarī*, this is the general family of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* under which ‘*Drāviṇī*’ is listed in the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* (Jha 1981: 137).

²³² *Trans.*

In *Rāga Bhūpālī* —

- (1) The jewel of youth lasted only for a short time (*lit.* ‘four days’). Seeing her only then, Murāri gave her reverence.
- (2) Now she is like a dried up blossom and is left empty. No one asks after a lady whose *rasa* has been destroyed.
- (3) Tell him of my request, oh *sakhī!* I weep. There is no limit to the word of a good man.
- (4) As long as one’s wealth is maintained, one’s company [continues to] sing praises.
- (5) The praise of a wealthy man is universal. No one asks after a pauper.
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “One should maintain propriety, so that while one lives in the world one can attain the ‘nine-treasures’.”

²³³ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*, Song 50 (Jha 1981: 137).

²³⁴ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 3.126-127 (Jha 1981: 137).

that is called *āsāvarī-drāviṇī*.

This is to be contrasted with Locana’s description of the structure of *Rāga Bhūpālī*, the *rāga* with which this *pada* is sung according to the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*:

*atha bhūpālī
chandolakṣaṇam —
sarasā...[sic]’sāvarītulyapadārdhaghāṭanā ‘nvitā |
mithilābhūmibhūpālī gīyate gītisattamaiḥ || 3.136²³⁵*

This is *Bhūpālī*:

This is the symptomatic metrical pattern —

That which has a similar ordering of poetic feet, *i.e.* *Sa-Ra-Sā*²³⁶, [but is otherwise] like that of *Āsāvarī* —

That is [*Rāga*] *Bhūpālī* and is sung in this way by those knowledgeable in music in the land of Mithila.

Unlike Locana Dās’ prescription, his recipe for the meter associated with *Rāga Bhūpālī* prescribes specific orders of *gaṇas* for each foot. Because it resembles *Āsāvarī*, *Bhūpālī* is categorized as part of that *rāga* family. But can this latest *pada* fit within Locana’s system?

Table 5: An Opening Line Compared

RT 50 & BS 131	<i>Jauvana</i>	<i>rūpa a</i>	<i>chala dina</i>	<i>cāri/cārī</i>	[Total <i>mātrās</i>]
<i>Metrical Pattern</i>	S	S		S orS	15/16

The total *mātrā* count seems to fit within Locana’s guidelines for *rāgas* designated as belonging to *Rāga Drāviṇī*, as could be expected. Similarly, this hemistich seems to fit the *mātrā* count of

²³⁵ *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī* 3.136 (Jha 1981: 141).

²³⁶ This likely refers to the mnemonic designation of syllabic ordering used in Sanskrit prosody. In this case ‘Sa-ra-sā’ corresponds with, *anapest* (||S) + *cretic* (S|S) + *anapest* (||S)+ S .

Āsāvārī (15 to 18); however, the designated ordering of syllables (| | S + S | S + || S) does not match. In this same manner, Locana’s metrical and *rāga* designations are not always consistent across the older manuscript sources. Those designations that do match, typically the *mātrā* counts, are typically broad enough that most *padas* could fit that pattern. Those more specific prescriptions of *gaṇa* ordering seem to only apply for certain exemplar *padas* chosen by Locana for his illustrations and for his copied model *padas*.

George Grierson describes a simpler systemization for Vidyāpati’s *padas* that applies to all *padas* in the tradition in a somewhat exasperated tone, “as regards Bidyāpati’s prosody, it is needless to say that no rules are in existence: *Pingala’s Prākṛit Sūtras* which are said to apply to Braj Bhāshā will not apply here, for I have tried them. I have therefore been compelled to analyze the meters for myself...”²³⁷ Grierson provides a large number of “acceptable” orderings of the four-*mātrā* feet that fit within each hemistich of a *pada* line. He provides the general rule that the end of the third foot should generally end in a short/light (*laghu*) *mātrā*. He also notes that the *dhruvapada* and the last line of a *pada* containing the *bhaṇitā* (called the *ābhoga pada*), can be more irregular. In Grierson’s general analysis, he only distinguishes between the 15/16 and 28 *mātrā padas*. This guideline is generally effective because of its emphasis on accent in scansion which Grierson describes as arising naturally. This hints at the inherent and inbuilt musicality of this genre of poetry.

Unlike Grierson’s general scansion technique, Locana’s analytical system of *rāga-chanda* in the *Rāgataranṅiṇī* does not allow for much more than micro-level description. *Padas* are described as they exist, rather than how they should be funneled through the pre-set prescriptions of a Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Apabhraṃśa system of prosody. Locana’s method of analysis is highly

²³⁷ Grierson 2009: 36-38.

specific to each *pada* and makes it very difficult to rationalize a larger system beyond the descriptive. Understanding Locana's motive is still valuable because it provides a window into a still developing vernacular system that needed to rationalize innovation using Sanskrit/Prakrit tools, comparison with *padas* that were considered authoritative, and comparison with other vernaculars (Braj Bhasha). For the purpose of this study, it gives us the strong impression that by just one century after Vidyāpati there was a clear sense of what was unique to Maithili vernacular expression and that Vidyāpati was central to that identity.

3.5 The Script of the BS Manuscript







3.5.1 The Script of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* Manuscript



According to the archive’s catalogue, this manuscript is written in the ‘Maithili script’ which is also sometimes called *Mithilākṣara* or *Tirhutā*. This is an Eastern Indic script that is closely related to the Bengali and Assamese scripts. In fact, in the Nepali archives the Bengali and Maithili scripts are often confused for one another,²³⁸ both being prominent scripts used by lowland brahmin migrants to the Kathmandu Valley. The scribal hand of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* errs towards the lowland styles with many features of Bengali and Nāgarī evident, though entirely different in many letter forms. This chapter’s description of the scribal features of the manuscript and the individual letter and conjunct symbols should enable readers to engage with the manuscript along with my edition and translation. Also, there are few orthographic studies of the Eastern Indic scripts, especially Maithili. This study can provide an additional data point for future studies of these manuscripts from Nepal and elsewhere across South Asia.

²³⁸ Dragomir Dimitrov describes the “Old Bengali” script of Nepali-origin manuscript of Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyadarśa* (“Mirror of Poetry”) that was labeled as “Maithili” in the Nepal National Archives. Dimitrov 2002: 29.



















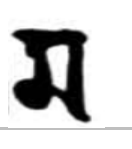



3.5.2 Basic Letters

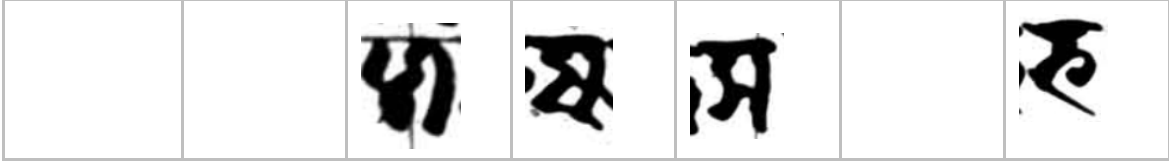
3.5.2.1 Initial Vowels

<i>a</i>	
<i>ā</i>	
<i>i</i>	
<i>ī</i>	
<i>u</i>	
<i>ū</i>	
<i>r</i>	

<i>e</i>	
<i>ai</i>	
<i>o</i>	
<i>au</i>	

3.5.2.2 Consonants

	<i>Kaṅṭhya</i> (<i>Velar</i>)	<i>Tālavya</i> (<i>Palatal</i>)	<i>Mūrdhanya</i> (<i>Retroflex</i>)	<i>Dantya</i> (<i>Dental</i>)	<i>Oṣṭhya</i> (<i>Labial</i>)	
<i>V-/A-</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pa</i>	
						
<i>V-/A+</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ṭha</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>pha</i>	
						
<i>V+/A-</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ba</i>	
						
<i>V+/A+</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>jha</i>	<i>ḍha</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>bha</i>	
						
<i>Nasal</i>	<i>ṅa</i>	<i>ña</i>	<i>ṇa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ma</i>	
						
<i>Sonorants</i>		<i>ya/ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>va</i>	
						
<i>Sibilants</i>		<i>śa</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ha</i>	



3.5.2.3 Numerals



3.5.3 Conjunct Consonants

3.5.3.1 Conjuncts with a following velar stop

<i>With -k-</i>	
<i>-kt-</i>	
<i>-ky-</i>	
<i>-kru</i>	
<i>-kṣ-</i>	
<i>With -g-</i>	
<i>-gdh-</i>	
<i>-gr-</i>	

3.5.3.2 Conjuncts with a following palatal stop

<i>-jñ-</i>	
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3.5.3.3 Conjuncts with a following dental stop

<i>With -t-</i>	
<i>-ty-</i>	
<i>-tr-</i>	
<i>With -d-</i>	
<i>-dy-</i>	
<i>-dvi/-dvaṃ</i>	
<i>With -dh-</i>	
<i>-dhru</i>	

3.5.3.4 Conjuncts with a following labial stop

<i>With -p-</i>	
<i>-pr-</i>	
<i>With -bh-</i>	
<i>-br/-bhru</i>	

3.5.3.5 Conjuncts with a following nasal

With -ñ-	
-ñc-	
-ñj-	
With -ṅ-	
-ṅd-	
With -n-	
-nt-	
-ntr-	
-nd-/ndu	
-ndh-	
-nm-	
-ny-	

-nh-	कृकृ
With -m-	
-mb-	म्ब
-mbh-/ mbhu	म्बुम्बु

3.5.3.6 Conjuncts with a following semi-vowel

With -r-	
-rnti	रन्ति
-rtu	रन्तु
-rnnā	रन्ना
-rmm-	रम्म-
With -l-	
-ly-	ल्य-
-vy-	व्य-

--	--

3.5.3.7 Conjuncts with a following sibilant

With -ś-	
-śy-	
-śl-	
With -ṣ-	
-ṣṇu	
With -s-	
-sti/-stu	
-sphu	
-sye	

3.5.3.8 Conjuncts with geminates

-jj-	
------	--

-nn-	न्न
-mm-	म्म

3.5.4 Diacritic Vowels

This is not a complete listing of all diacritic vowel markers in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. Instead, a few characteristic examples are provided. Multiple examples are provided in the case of several different orthographic representations for the same diacritic mark.

3.5.4.1 with -ā

-kā	का
-dyā	द्या

3.5.4.2 with -i

-pi	पि
-ni	नि

<i>-hi</i>	हि
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3.5.4.3 with -ī

<i>-tī</i>	ती
<i>-bī/-vī</i>	बी

3.5.4.4 with -u

<i>-chu</i>	चु
<i>-tu</i>	तु
<i>-thu</i>	थु
<i>-nu</i>	नु
<i>-ndu</i>	ण्डु

<i>-ndhu</i>	
<i>-pu</i>	
<i>-bhu</i>	
<i>-ru</i>	
<i>-lu</i>	
<i>-su</i>	
<i>-hu</i>	

3.5.4.5 with -ū

<i>-rū</i>	
------------	--

3.5.4.6 with -ṛ

<i>-kr</i>	ক
<i>-dr</i>	খ
<i>-nr</i>	গ
<i>-mr</i>	ঘ
<i>-bhr</i>	ঙ
<i>-hr</i>	চ

3.5.4.7 with -e

<i>-ke</i>	কি
<i>-ge</i>	গি

3.5.4.8 with -ai

<i>-jai</i>	জি
-------------	----

<i>-pai</i>	পি
-------------	----

3.5.4.9 with -o

<i>-ho</i>	
<i>-co</i>	

3.5.4.10 with -au

<i>-jau</i>	
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<i>-yau</i>	
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3.5.5 Other Symbols & Scribal Corrections

3.5.5.1 Anusvāra/Candrabindu

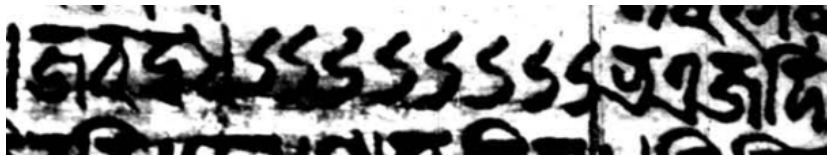
-am	
	
	

3.5.5.2 Visarga

-ah	
-----	--

3.5.5.3 Avagraha

This is the only occurrence of an *avagraha* in the Bhāṣā Saṅgīta manuscript. In this instance, it seems to indicate missing words or fragments of word that the scribe/copyist was unable to read/understand:



3.5.5.4 Other Symbols

Several other scribal symbols are included in the Bhāṣā Saṅgīta manuscript that seem to be unique to this scribe. I have had to make my best guess as to their meaning. This symbol

intervenes between the letters -i- and -thi- which form a single word ('ithi' [here or 'this']). The purpose of this scribal mark appears to indicate that a single word has been split over a line break or over the center break, as is the case in this example:



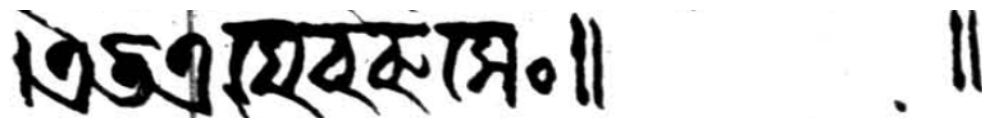
Towards the end of the manuscript, several *padas* have two sets of double-*danḍas* with intervening marks that resemble the *candrabindu*. These have been used by the scribe to indicate a missing line of a *pada* or just a missing hemistich:



In the case of a tribble set of double-*danḍas*, it likely indicates a whole missing *pada*. This also includes a circular mark indicating the inclusion of a missing verse. This is another piece of evidence that leads me to believe that this *padāvalī* was copied from an older copy that the scribe had difficulty reading in places:



At the end of the manuscript, the same circular mark and a double set of double-*danḍas*. Since this full-stop mark appears before this set of *danḍa* it likely indicates the conclusion of the text:



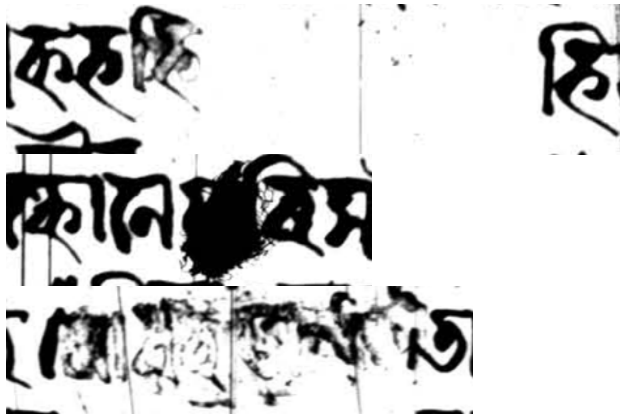
3.5.5.5 Scribal Features & Corrections

It is lucky for any would-be reader of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript that the scribe was clear and systematic in his emendations and corrections in the manuscript. It is also clear from the places of these corrections that the scribe was working from an older copy that was difficult

to understand in places. This could be because the text itself had degraded or the linguistic forms made little sense at the time. The following are examples of scribal corrections that I have used to prepare more accurate versions of each *pada* in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, should anyone consult the manuscript at a later point.

Erasures & Crossed-out Letters and Words

In places, the manuscript's scribe has attempted to erase and/or cross-out words or individual letters to correct reduplications or the inclusion of incorrect lines.



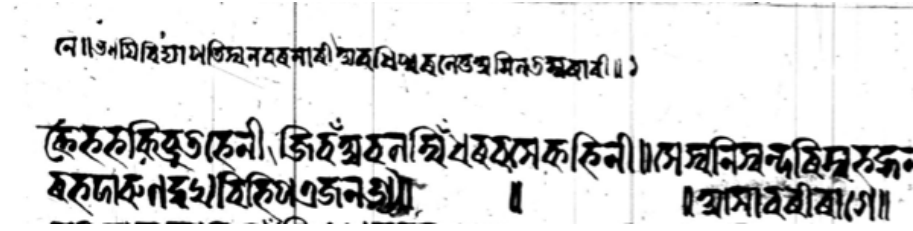
Insertions & Replacements

In some instances, the scribe has written a word incorrectly and commenced the next word prematurely. Because of the 'unbroken' script, this does not allow for in-line corrections. Often, the scribe will write the omitted letter as a superscript with or without a small arrow-like symbol indicating the place for proper insertion:



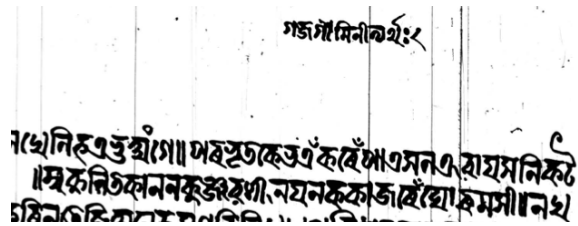
In a similar manner, entire lines or parts of lines are inserted in the upper and side margins of the

manuscript:



दनेदि
॥
॥माडा
वेयदि
हदन
॥
कड
नि ॥

In one instance, the scribe has taken on the role of a commenter and includes a Sanskrit gloss in the superscript. Its features are remarkably similar to the original text's, so it is difficult to remark as to whether this is a later reader or the scribe himself.



Symbol for Lengthening/Strengthening a Vowel

The scribe has used a symbol above certain syllables to indicate that the vowel of that syllable should be lengthened. In many instances, this can be assumed in order to preserve end-rhyme or just intelligibility. This applies to both full vowel symbols and vowel diacritics. It is unclear whether the scribe is emending their own mistake or indicated where the text of the original copy was mistaken.

अच्छं दयं भवि

3.6 Conclusion

The structures and language features of literary Maithili are just one aspect of the idiom established by Vidyāpati and adopted as a useful tool expressing vernacular power by the Mallas and others. While Vidyāpati's person and aesthetic were coalesced within the Maithili lyric idiom which moved from lowland Mithila into Nepal, Bengal, and beyond, certain linguistic and structural features also travelled laterally. 'Part 3' of this dissertation has elaborated upon several of those features as present in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript. This was done to provide a picture of the Vidyāpati-tradition as it existed at one time in a midpoint of the tradition, by which time Vidyāpati's idiom was well-established but still adapting to the needs of those in the Kathmandu Valley still seeking to align themselves with the cultural prestige of Mithila.

I established the way in which the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript fits within the textual and performance traditions related to Vidyāpati's *padas*. This manuscript sits between the lowland sources of Mithila, especially the Tarauni manuscript, and sources found in the highlands, like the Nepal Manuscript. Connecting the two neighboring regions, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* shares much more than just individual *padas* found across sources. I have described the linguistic, metrical, and material features of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript that prove a close and enduring consistency of the Maithili sources found in Nepal and Mithila. This conservative preservation of linguistic features, in addition to the aesthetic themes discussed in 'Part 2', helps to characterize a lateral development by which Maithili took on its own life in Nepal. Though not in the purview of this study, a comparison with the linguistic transformation of Maithili to "Brajabuli" in Bengal would help to elucidate the manner in which a single vernacular can develop in divergent manners when it does not revolve around a single sphere of patronage.

Part 4: A Selection of Padas from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* Manuscript

4.0 Editorial and Translation Principles

The text presented first is that of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, and all the translations are based on these texts. I have indicated those few instances in which I have chosen the variants found in another manuscript source. These edits only occurred in cases wherein the original found in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* did not make grammatical sense, could not be found in any lexicon, or could not be translated with the help of a native speaker of Maithili. The purpose behind my decision to transcribe and translate a selection from a single manuscript is to present a snapshot into a particular layer of the Vidyāpati's vernacular corpus, rather than a conflated "best text" based on different traditions.

To accomplish this goal of providing the material for a complete overview, I have chosen to present the complete transcription of each alternative *pada* as found in other sources alongside the text and translations of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*. These alternative sources include the Nepal Manuscript, the Tarauni Manuscript, and Rambhadrapur Manuscript, and the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*. Because of the complex rearrangements that sometimes occur between sources (such as omission/addition of individual *pada* lines and emendations, traditional footnote citations of textual variants become awkward and unwieldy for the reader. Side-by-side presentation of different versions has the benefit of allowing the reader to see the development of a single *pada* over some time and geographical distance. These cross-occurrences are left untranslated, but in many cases, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*'s translations provide a rough approximation. This method has been influenced by a similar presentation of the diverse citations of the saint Kabīr's Winand Callewaert, Sapna Sharma, and Dieter Taillieu's *Millennium Kabir*.²³⁹ Similar to that textual collection, this collection aims to represent a survey of multiple streams within the tradition.

²³⁹ Callewaert, Sharma, & Taillieu 2000.

Each variant *pada* represents a momentary snapshot in the development of Vidyāpati's tradition.

My translations aim to maintain the poetic structures and placements of actors, objects, and emotions, as presented in the main text. However, I have prioritized accessibility and a functional poetic text, instead of one only accessible to those who know the original linguistic features undergirding those translations. I have chosen to maintain the original Maithili word or its *tatsama* Sanskrit equivalent when it is untranslatable, or if the English term is not used in contemporary language. This is also true for proper names and epithets. If the name of a particular figure has some bearing upon the *rasa* or understanding of a *pada*, then I have chosen to break that epithet down into its constituent units for translations (*e.g.*, pañcabāṇa > 'the one who possesses five arrows, *i.e.*, the sense').

There are many difficulties in the presentation and translation of Vidyāpati's *padas* that are unique to the nature of tradition. Each *pada* can represent a coherent poetic scenario, but in many cases they do not. This can frustrate any would-be reader and certainly any translator. The reason why many *padas* appear to be random collections of small poetic vignettes, either unique or stereotypical to Indic poetics, can be attributed to the sung/performed medium for these songs. Anyone familiar with Indian classical music or dance would recognize that singers and/or dancers do not present the complete narrative visions of classical poets. Certain lines are omitted, emphasized, or mangled in subservience to the aesthetic presentation of music. Vidyāpati's lyric poetry is primarily a genre of song, and as such does not align with the goals of a textual scholar, such as me. I seek to extract coherent and satisfying scenarios from each *pada*, when in reality it is probably the case that each song was only meant to evoke a rough aesthetic vignette or impression. This is a significant point of difference between Vidyāpati's vernacular *padas* and Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, that are normally so aligned in their concerns, the latter being a dramatized series of songs that coherently hang together.

Despite the difficulty of approaching the meanings and scenarios of Vidyāpati's *padas*, I have provided short "scenario notes" following each of the *padas* that are included in my translation. These notes are meant to clarify obscure references, background information,

characterizations, and points of confusion for the reader. It is exceedingly common for the speaker in a poetic scene to change in the middle of that song without clear designations. Maithili being a language that is only occasionally marked by gender means that unless a hero or heroine is explicitly named, it is left to more subtle details to determine the speakers and referents. I have endeavored to indicate these details in cases of obscurity or absence. I have also used English conventions of punctuation (such as quotation marks) to help with this issue.

4.1 The *Supuruṣa* and *Upadeśa* Padas

Song 20²⁴⁰

(Folio 5b, lines 2-4 [PDF p. 6])

Āsābarī rāge —

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| (1) tua bisabāse kusume bharu seja | basantaka rajanī cādaka teja |
| (2) mana utakaṅṭhā kata hoa mora | caüṁdiśa śuna nayana baha nora |
| (3) beri beri hari tua darasana lāgī | nāgarim̃ rayani gamāili jāgī |
| (4) supuruṣa bhae nahi kariya e rose | baḍa bhae kapaṭī ū baḍa dose ²⁴¹ |
| (5) bhaṇayi vidyāpati eho rasabhāsa | je nira bāhia tā diya āsa |

Trans.

In *Rāga Āsāvarī* —

- (1) “Trusting that you [would come], I have covered the bed with flowers. The spring night is illuminated by the moon.
- (2) How excited is my heart [in expectation]! [But], every direction remains empty and tears flow from my eyes.”
- (3) “[This happens] again and again, oh Hari! Because of that one glimpse of you. The cultured, urbane lady wastes the night awake.
- (4) If he were really a ‘good man’, one would not be so angry. [But it] would increase if he turns out a great deceiver, that would be a grave mistake.”
- (5) Vidyāpati says, “This is an improper manifestation of such a *rasa* (*rasābhāsa*). The one who causes those tears to flow, is the one who gave her hope.”

Scenario Note:

This is a *pada* of contradictions. The *nāyaka*, here the ‘*supuruṣa*’, arrives late for a romantic rendezvous and the heroine is distraught. Despite being a “good man”, he still is deceptive and causes the heroine suffering. Halfway through, the poetic voice switches from that of the heroine to her envoy (either the *sakhī* or the *dūtī*). She reproaches the hero for the anguish he causes for not keeping the promise of the tryst. Vidyāpati in turn rebukes the hero for not acting like a proper *supuruṣa* and causing tears to be shed by the *nāyikā* needlessly.

²⁴⁰ TM: 159

²⁴¹ Originally written as ‘*dosa*’, I have corrected it to maintain the end-rhyme with the first hemistich.

Song 25²⁴²

(Folio 6b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 7])

[*Mālaba Rāge*]²⁴³ —

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) durajana bacana lahae saba ṭhāma | yābe na bujala rahae pariṇāma |
| [<i>Dhruva.</i>] | |
| (2) tatahi dūra jā yatahi bicāra | dīpa dela ghara na raha aṁdhāra |
| (3) guṇa abaguṇa nahi kaelanhi bicāra | durajana bacane barisa laha khāra |
| (4) kata kanu jāṁkhaba tanhi prabhu lāgī | para kara bale hameṁ melalanhi āgī |
| (5) bhaṇayī bidyāpati suniya murāri | sujana rosa kara dosa bicāri |

Nepal Manuscript - Song 75

(Folia 27a, lines 3-5; Folio 27b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 30])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) durajana bacana lahae saba ṭhāma | bujhala na rahae jābe parināma |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) tatahi dura jā tatahi ²⁴⁴ bicāra | dīpa dele nahi raha ghara andhāra |
| (3) madhura bacane sakhi kahaba murāri | supahu rosa kara dosa bicāri |
| (4) se nāgari tohe guṇa nidhāna | alapahi māne bahuta abhimāna |
| (5) kake bisarali he puraba paripāṭī | lāḍali ²⁴⁵ latikā kī phala kāṭī |
| (6) bhanai Vidyāpatīyādi | |

Trans.

[In *Rāga Mālava*] —

(1) The speech of ‘wicked men’ succeeds in all places. Until you understand this, there will be [negative] consequences.

[*Refrain.*]

(2) Consider how far it[’s influence] extends! [But,] when a lamp is put in a house, darkness does not remain.

(3) [A ‘wicked man’] does not consider [the difference] between virtues and vices. The ‘wicked man’s’ speech that comes to fruition is like harsh (or brackish) rain.

²⁴² NM manuscript: 75

NM (BRBP ed.): 70

NM (Jha ed.): 69

TM (BRBP ed.): 153 *missing from ed

NG ed.: 495

MM ed.: 129

²⁴³ Written but crossed out.

²⁴⁴ BRBP & SoV: jatahi

It appears to be written as *titahi* and the scribe has crossed out the *-i- mātra*.

²⁴⁵ SoV: lāgali

BRBP: la(ta)ḍali

(4) For how long will she conceal herself for the sake of her husband? The force of other people has thrown me in the fire.

(5) Vidyāpati says, “Listen Murāri! A ‘good person’ considers the faults of anger.’

Scenario Note:

This is another *pada* that is ostensibly concerning the virtues and vices of ‘good men’ (*sujana*) versus ‘wicked men’ (*durajana*). It is placed in the context of a female companion advising the heroine on the dangers of believing what a wicked man says. Vidyāpati then also admonishes Krishna (Murāri), the hero, to reconsider his own behavior and to become a *sujana*.

Song 26

(Folio 6a, lines 6-8; Folio 6b, lines 1 [PDF p. 7])

Mālaba rāge —

(1) garala gāri jani amia sānī punu bhāṣa dāṣa sama nītī |
binu dūkhale dukha na dea sabatahu sahaja piśuna jana rītī ||

Dhruva.

(2) āre durajana uraga samāne |
mana paisi marama māra binu kāraṇe biṣa sama tasu parimāne ||
(3) hāsa adhika kae pāsaṃ baīsa gae apathaṃhuṃ dea e caḍhayī |
anukhane saṅga, raṅga raha karaite āpadaṃ jāya naḍāyī ||
(4) Vidyapati kaha piśuna tābe laha yābe na sujana samāje |
tilahu tāhi lahu hoa gae sabatahu pāche kichu o na chāje ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

(1) Do not produce nectar by extracting it from poison. [Similarly], what is spoken is the same as one's character.

Without suffering, do not cause sadness everywhere. Such would be the natural behavior of 'wicked people'.

Refrain.

(2) Alas! A wicked person is the same as a snake.

Striking the subtle points of the mind without reason and without purpose. They're the same as poison.

(3) She laughs a lot and sat down nearby [to him]. She goes down the wrong path.

She is always in his company and continues her amorous enjoyment. She [should] abandon this evil.

(4) Vidyāpati says, "a villain is successful so long as they are not in the society of good people.

For only a moment is he successful, but everywhere afterwards no one will think them to be good."

Scenario Note:

Here the *dūtī* is warning the heroine of the wicked character of her would-be suitor. Vidyāpati's discourse on good vs. bad men of his *Puruṣaparīkṣā* seems to have extended to his vernacular poetic corpus as well. Vidyāpati concludes that the wickedness of a *piśuna* will be revealed in the company of better men.

Song 27

(Folio 6b, lines 6-8 [PDF p. 7])

Āsābarī Rāge —

(1) hame nabi nāri mādhyāyī |
[*Dhruva.*]²⁴⁶

(2) karaṁṁ janu dharaha hamarā |

(3) puruṣa bhamara sama bhule |

(4) bujali tua caturāyī |

(5) vidyāpati kabi gābe |

hamara parasa śiri madana dohāyī ||

hama mālati tohe²⁴⁷ bhūṣana bhamarā ||

mukulita kusuma bhamara nahi bule ||

āratiṁ para dhana kabahu na pāyī ||

bālā ramaṇi purube pune pābe ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Āsāvārī* —

(1) “I am [just] a young woman, oh *Mādhava*! Madana requests to grab hold of my head!
[*Refrain.*]

(2) Do not grab my hand! I am [just] a jasmine flower and you are the jewel of bees.”

(3) A man, like a bee, forgets. A bee does not speak to just blossomed flowers.

(4) She has understood your cunning. One will never attain prosperity by harming others.

(5) The poet Vidyāpati sings, “Before [attaining] a lovely young girl, first attain merit (*puṇya*).”

Scenario Note:

The focus is again on social behavior, rather than *śṛṅgāra*. The heroine is a very young girl, and perhaps too young for Krishna to approach. She is compared to a ‘just blossomed flower’. The *sakhī* tries to warn Krishna off his action which could harm the young girl and himself. She advised him to spend his time performing good deeds before he can be worthy of this young maiden. Lines 3 and 4 focuses upon the proper and improper times to employ charm to obtain *kāma*. The scenario of this *pada* is not such a time.

²⁴⁶ This is not indicated in the manuscript, but the location and content indicate that this would be the best candidate for the *dhruvapada*.

²⁴⁷ ‘e’ is written over the line break.

Song 34

(Folio 8a, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 9])

Korāba —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) ekali aelahu re gurujana kaṭhorīm̃
[<i>Dhruva.</i>] | āe paḍalahu re hari āiti torī |
| (2) āṁcaraṁ na dhara re hame para piyārī | |
| (3) mora phuṭata balaya ²⁴⁸ re ura bhāṁgati colī | sakhinhi lajae bahuṁ re kata kautuka bolī |
| (4) phujata cikura re arujāeta hārā | rasikeṁ bela bare śaśi bo...se ²⁴⁹ mārā |
| (5) trasana karaba re puraṁ jānala koī | pema sohāona re jaṁo rākhiya goyī |
| (6) adhika bilambaṁ re ²⁵⁰ ghara hoeta biśaṅkā | lāgi jāeta re duhu kula kalaṅkā |
| (7) haṭha anucita re kulaṁ hoīti gārī | bhane vidyāpati re rādhā bhaja murārī |

Trans.

[In Rāga] *Korāva* —

- (1) “She came alone, alas! The elders of the community are cruel. She has come and fallen [before you]. Alas! She is in your control.”
[Refrain.]
- (2) “Do not hold on to the end of my sari, alas! I am the wife of another man!
- (3) My bangles will break, alas! My bodice will break off of my breasts. I am so ashamed in the face of my companions. Alas! How many tales will they make up in their curiosity!
- (4) My locks of hair will be loose, alas! And will get tangled in my necklace. *A rasika* chooses the best.....”
- (5) She will be afraid, alas! That someone from the village has come to know about this. Love is [only] wonderful, Alas! when it remains hidden.
- (6) After a long while, alas! The household will start to suspect [something]. There will be a blemish on both of their families.
- (7) If there is not the appropriate amount of obstinacy, alas! Then, there will be insult to the family. Says Vidyāpati, “Alas! Rādhā adores Murārī!”

Scenario Note:

The primary narrative is told by a *sakhī* or *dūtī* who bemoans the lack of discretion shown by Krishna or Radha, despite the fact that both seem aware of the bad name and shame that this illicit tryst will cause both of their families. The first half seems to highlight the illicit affair itself and the second half seems to focus on the friend/messenger’s worry about their decision’s social ramifications. Lines 2-4 is the direct speech of the heroine who worries about the marks that will garner her societal shame. “*Kula kalaṅka*”, or a blemish upon a family, is the primary fear of the heroine and her female attendants.

²⁴⁸ The initial -ba- is written as -be- but the -e- is marked out by the scribe.

²⁴⁹ This is obscured by ink

²⁵⁰ Written as ‘re re’. It appears that the first is marked partially. Perhaps a mistake?

Song 47

(Folio 10b, lines 3-7 [PDF p. 11])

Rāja Bijaya —

- (1) madhuripu sama nahi dekhia sohāona kī deba tanhika upamā he |
Tasu mukha neṃochala śarada sudhākara paṅkaja leba kī nama he ||
Dhruva.
- (2) āju madhuripu dekhala baṭiā locana jugala juī ela he |
- (3) adhara e locane jakhane nihāralanhi manda kaīe bhaūhāṃ bhaṅgā he |
takhanuki kahinī kahahi na pāria, thāne thāne gela aṅgā he ||
- (4) supuruṣa boli pasāra dela mahi sakhi mukheṃ sunu baḍa rasi he |
dekhi upaju rasa bhelaḥuṃ parabasa biśarala dūdhahu kalaśi he ||
- (5) bhanāi bidyāpati, suna bara jaubati puruba suhr̥ta phala torā re |
teṃ tapeṃ milana hari rahaba caraṇa dhari sundara nanda kiśorā re ||

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Rāja-Vijaya* —

- (1) I have not seen such loveliness like that of the ‘Enemy of Madhu’ (*i.e.* Krishna). What could I possibly give as a comparison, oh!
His smile is like the winnowed [crescent] moon of autumn. But, does the nectar-giving moon ever bend itself down to the lotus in the mud, oh!

Refrain.

- (2) Today I saw the ‘Enemy of Madhu’ (*i.e.* Krishna) upon the path. I have become yoked to his pair of eyes, oh!
- (3) My lips are slowed when I catch a glimpse of his eyes with their crooked brows, oh!
I cannot even speak about what happened then. My body roamed about from place to place [in bewilderment].
- (4) What a ‘good man’ says is spread far and wide by the mouths of the *sakhīs*. They listen and are greatly cheered, oh!
When I saw what *rasa* had arisen, I fell under his control. I even forgot [to put] milk in the pitcher, oh!
- (5) Vidyāpati says, ‘Listen best of all young women. That which you previously wanted will come to fruition, oh!
By performing penances, you will be about to continue meeting Hari. Hold on to the feet of that beautiful young son of Nanda (*i.e.* Krishna), oh!’

Scenario Note:

The *nāyikā* is the one spying on her beloved Krishna, that she has only seen once. She is so overwhelmed that she expresses her inability to give a proper comparison for Krishna’s beauty, though of course she eventually does. The heroine’s companions also conspire and gossip about their love affair. The poet urges on the heroine and reassures her that she will be able to see her beloved again after performing penances. This *pada* represents the meeting of aesthetic *kāma* (‘erotic desire’) and the social concerns that Vidyāpati prescribes for a “good man”, or in this case, a “good woman”.

Song 57²⁵¹

(Folio 13a, lines 6-7; Folio 13b, line 1 [PDF p.14])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) tohe pura ṭhākura hame kula nāri | adhipati anucite kichu na gohārī |
| (2) suna suna mādhaba bacana hamārī | apadaṃ na aṃḡiria apajasa bhārī |
| (3) se suni mane guṇi na karia kāja | bāgha o mānae āṃkhika lāja |
| (4) piṣuneṃ haṃsaba suni mātha ḍolāe | baḍāka kahini baḍe o dūra jāe |
| (5) bhaṇayi bidyāpati sunaha murāri | jā aṃḡiria tā na guṇiya gāri |

Nepal Manuscript - 123

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) tohe kula ṭhākura hame kula nāri | adhipaka anucite kichu na gohārī |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) pisune hasaba punu mātha ḍolāe | baḍāka kahinī baḍi dura jāe |
| (3) suna suna sājani bacana hamāra | apada na aḡiria apajasa bhāra |
| (4) parataha paratiti ābia pāsa | baḍa boli hamahu kaela bisabāsa |
| (5) se ābe mane guni bhala nahi kāja | bājū rākhae āṃkhika lāja |
| (6) bhaṇāi Bidyāpatītyādi | |

Trans.

In Rāga Korāva —

(1) “You are the lord of the town and I am a woman of a reputable family. I beseech you not to do anything inappropriate against my husband.

Refrain.

- (2) Listen! Listen to my words *Mādhava!* Do not pursue me without cause, for I bear the burden of infamy [as a woman].”
- (3) He heard [what she said] with his mind but did not consider his actions. That tiger [of a man] agreed because of the shame expressed by her eyes.
- (4) Hearing [that], wicked men will laugh and shake their heads. On the order of the elders [the hero] goes far away.
- (5) Vidyāpati says, “Listen *Murāri!* As long as you pursue her, do not consider the insults [of the elders].”

Scenario Notes:

Here the *parakīyā-nāyikā* (heroine who is married to another man) tries to ask the hero to stop pursuing her lest she be ostracized and censured by her community. In her estimation, it is the woman who bears the brunt of social stigma. This *pada* expresses the odd tension between social norms considered in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* and the romantic-erotic concerns of *kāvya*. In the end, Vidyāpati’s *bhaṇitā* urges Krishna on in his quest to meet with the heroine.

²⁵¹ NM manuscript: 123
NM (BRBP ed.): 118
NG ed.: 480
MM ed.: 269
SoV ed.: 117

Song 58²⁵²

(Folio 13b, lines 1-5 [PDF p.14])

Rāja Bijaya —

- (1) rāmā adhika caṅgima bhela |
katane jatane kata adabuda bihi bihi tohi dela ||
- (2) cañcala locana baṁke nihārae añjana śobhā pāba |
jani indībara pabane pāola ali bhare ulaṭāba ||
- (3) sundara badana sindūre bindura cikura śāmara bhāra |
rabi śasi dui saṅgahi ugala pāchu bhela aṁdhakāra ||
- (4) unata uraja cireṁ chapābae punu punu daraśāe |
kateka jatana kaie goae hemagiri na chapāe ||
- (5) aisani yubati guṇe guṇamati pune punamata pāba |
rājā śibasimgha rupa nārāyaṇa kabi bidyāpati gāba ||

Taraunī Manuscript - 37

- (1) rāmā adhika caṅgima bhela |
katane jatane kata adabuda bihi bihi tohi dela ||
- (2) sundara badana sindura bindu sāmara cikura bhāra |
jani rabi sasi saṅgahi ugala pāchu kae andhakāra ||
- (3) cañcala locana bāṁke nihārae añjana sobhā pāe |
jani indībara pabane pelala ali bhare ulaṭāe ||
- (4) unata uraja cire jhapābae punu punu darasāe |
jaīao jatane goae cāhae himagiri na nukāe ||
- (5) ehana sundari gunaka āgari pune punamata pāba |
i rasa bindaka rūpa narāāna kabi bidyāpati gāba ||

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Rāja-Vijaya* —

- (1) The lovely woman became even more splendid.
The ‘Lord of Fate’ has taken great pains to give her this wonderful destiny!
- (2) His roving eyes glance about crookedly. They fall up the lady who is beautiful with her lamp black [upon her eyes].
It is as if a big black bee, blown in the wind, has found a blue lotus [to alight upon], which overturns from its weight.
- (3) She has a beautiful face, a dot of vermillion, and a lock of hair upon her lustrous brow.
It is as if the sun and moon have both risen from behind the darkness.
- (4) She [tries] to hide her full breasts, but again and again, she [accidentally] reveals them.
How much effort she makes to hide them! [But after all, one] cannot conceal golden mountains.

²⁵² TM (BRBP ed.): 37

NG ed.: 117

MM ed.: 23

(5) Such a young woman, due to her virtues is a 'woman of quality' and by her merits she will obtain a 'man of merit'.

The poet Vidyāpati sings of King Śivasimha, who is the very form of Nārāyaṇa.

Scenario Note:

In a reverse of the scenario presented in 'song 57', a beautiful woman is spied by the hero. She is described as exceedingly beautiful, so much so that she cannot hide this fact from the world or the hero. This woman is given merit for having shame and trying to cover herself and is forgiven since her beauty outmatches her ability to conceal herself. Vidyāpati not only defines a 'supuruṣa' in this *pada* but also the ideal woman, who is beautiful but aware of social *mores*. In the end, Vidyāpati declares that the hero and heroine deserve each other. She is a 'woman of virtue' and he is a 'man of merit'.

Song 60

(Folio 14a, line 7; Folio 14b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 15])

Mālaba —

(1) kaela binaya jata jata mana lāyī	pahu paricaye para pataka jāyī
(2) dhandha dhairaja parihari patha sāce	karamaka dose kanaka o hoa kāce
(3) niṭhura bālaṁbhu saṁṁo lāola nehā	na purala abhimata na teju saṁṁo dehā
(4) puruṣa bacane māna dhana delā	kughaṭane malina manoratha bhelā
(5) parijana carita nahi paratāṁre	dhara khane jība katae nahi dhābe
(6) yadi dūṣaṇa guṇa pahila bicāre	baḍa bhae bāḍha o piṣuna pasāre
(7) hame abadhāri hanala parakāre	danda samuda hoeba jiba dae pāre
(8) bhanaī Vidyāpati dharama sarūpa	Lakhimā dei pati Śīvasiṅha bhūpa

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Mālava* —

- (1) “I was as modest as he could bring my mind to be. Meeting with my lord will cause the sin of another (*i.e.* my husband).”
- (2) Abandoning [both] anxiety and patience [consider] the path of truth. Because of the sinful deeds, that which is gold becomes ‘raw’ (*i.e.* ruined).
- (3) She got her affection from her cruel beloved. Neither was her desire fulfilled or nor did it leave her body.
- (4) Because of the [broken] word of that man the young woman dispensed her anger. Because of this inauspicious incident *Kāmadeva* has been tarnished.
- (5) Her kin did not [sufficiently] verify his character. She held her tongue for a moment and did not run anywhere.
- (6) If only she had considered this ‘wicked man’s’ qualities previously. The obstacles [to reach] that villain are growing larger and wider.
- (7) I accept that I was transfixed in this manner [by *Kāmadeva*]. One must cross an ocean of difficulties in this life.
- (8) Vidyāpati says, “King Śīvasiṅha is the very form of *Dharma* and is the lord of Lakhimā-Devī.

Scenario Note:

This *pada* focuses on the moral dilemma of a *pāraṅkṛtā-nāyikā*, or the woman who is married to another man. She will entail social stigma and rebuke should she pursue her lover. In the end, it is unclear, but she seems to accept her fate of being lovestruck as part of the suffering inherent in material existence. It is significant that Vidyāpati calls his patron, Śīvasiṅha, the ‘very image of *Dharma*’. This confirms the notion that Vidyāpati drew the world of *kāvya* and *dharmā/nīti* closer together in his vernacular corpus. At the same time, Vidyāpati compares the poor behavior of the would-be suitor to his own patron, suggesting that he would not behave so badly.

Song 61²⁵³

(Folio 14b, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 15])

[*Śāraṅgī* —]

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) alaseṁ aruṇa locana tora | amiya mātala cāṁda cakora |
| (2) nicala bhauha lela bisarāma | raṇa jiti dhanuṣa tejala kāme |
| (3) na kara sundari gamana lāthā | ukutim bekata guputa kathā |
| (4) kuca śiriphalaṁ karaja śirī | śiśu kusumita kanaka giriṁ |
| (5) tilaka rahala ūdhasu keśa | haṁsi parichala kāmme śaṁdeśa |
| (6) bhane bidyāpati sunu sayānī | rasa biśeṣae lakimā rānī |
| (7) rūpa nārāyaṇa ī rasa jāna | rāe Siba-Siṅgha lakhimā dṛḍha māne |

Nepal Manuscript - Song 112

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) alase aruṇa locana tora | amiñe mātala cānda cakora |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) nicala bhauṁha na le bisarāma | rana jīni dhanu tejala kāma |
| (3) e re rādhe na kara lathā | ukuti guputa bekata kathā |
| (4) kuca sirīphala sahaja sirī | kesu bikaśita kanaka girī |
| (5) alaka rahala udhasu kesa | hasi palichala kāme sandeśa |
| (6) bhane bidyāpatītyādi | |

Taraunī Manuscript - Song 83

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) alase purala locana tora | amiñe mātala cāṁda cakora |
| (2) nicala bhauṁha je le bisarāma | raṇa jini dhanu tejala kāma |
| (3) are re sundari na kara lathā | ukuti bekata guputa kathā |
| (4) kuca sirīphala sahaja sirī | kesu bikasita kanaā girī |
| (5) rahala tilaka udhasu kesu | hasi parichala kāme sandesa |

Trans.

[In *Rāga Śāraṅgī* —]

- (1) Your eyes are reddened with exhaustion. They are like those of the *cakora* bird which are intoxicated on the moon's nectar.
- (2) [Your] motionless eyebrows have taken rest. It is as if *Kāmadeva*, after being victorious in battle, has abandoned his bows.
- (3) Do not delay going, making excuses, beautiful lady! Your secret story will be revealed.
- (4) Her wood-apple breasts were beautiful with nail-marks upon them. Upon that young girl blossomed mountains of gold.
- (5) Her *tilaka* and hair were disheveled. I laughed examining the mark of *Kāmadeva*.

²⁵³ NM (Manuscript): 112

NM (BRBP ed.): 107

TM (BRBP ed.): 83

NG ed.: 267

MM ed.: 298

SoV ed.: 108

(6) Says Vidyāpati, “Listen clever lady! Queen Lakhimā [can] discern this *rasa*.”

(7) The one who is in form like Nārāyaṇa, knows this *rasa*. He is Śivasimha, who steadfastly considers his queen Lakhimā.

Scenario Note:

Initially, the heroine is described as exhausted because she stayed awake all night enjoying the union and sexual company of her lover. Lakhimā, the wife of Śivasimha, is praised for her ability to understand the *rasa* of this poetic scenario. There is also the implication that she is skilled in the arts of lovemaking as well. The royal couple is identified with the *rasa* filled scene on display in this song. This song could very-well have been used within the private residence of the king and queen. There are several other songs that imply the usage of these erotic songs in a private court setting.

Song 74²⁵⁴

(Folio 17b, lines 4-6 [PDF p. 18])

Mālaba Rāge —

- (1) adhara sudhā miṭhi dūdhe dhavali ḍiṭhi madhu sama madhurima bānī re |
ātitha bastu jata jatane na pāia se bihiṃ tohi dela ānī re ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) janu rusaha bhābini bhāba jānāi |
tua guṇe lubudhala supahu adhike dine pāhuna āela kanhāyī re ||
- (3) yāṃ lāgi jaṃkhaṃṃite jāṃ mari bheli he raeni gamaolaha jāgī re |
se nidhi bihiṃ anurāge milala tohi kānha samayaṃ anurāgī re ||

Taraunī Manuscript - Song 227

- (1) adhara sudhā miṭhi dūdhe dhabari ḍiṭhi madhu sama madhurima bānī re |
ati arathita je jatane na pāia sabe bihi tohi dela ānī re ||
- (2) janu rusaha bhābini bhāba janāi |
tuya guṇe lubudhala supahu adhika dine pāhuna āela madhāi ||
- (3) jasu guna jhakhaṃṃite jhāmari bheli he rayani gamaolaha jāgī re |
se nidhi nidhi anurāge milala tohi kanhu sama piā anurāgī re |
- (4) bhanaī bidyāpati guṇamati rākhae bālabhu ke aparādha re |
rājā śiba-siṃha rūpa narāena lakhimā debi arādha re ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) His speech is sweet like honey. It seems like shining white sweet nectar from his lips, oh!
Whatever is given out of hospitality [does not have to be] gained through effort. Fate
simply brings [it] before them, oh!
[*Refrain.*]
- (2) Do not be upset! Know this to be the natural state of a noble woman!
Having desired your qualities, the ‘good husband’ has come as a guest after many days, oh
that *Kanhaiya*!
- (3) For that person for whom you are lamenting, for whom you have [almost] died, and for
whom you have squandered away the night awake, oh!
Fate has put you together with he who is a treasure-trove. You have a passionate one like
Kānha oh!

Scenario Note:

This *pada* describes the heroine’s good fortune in obtaining the best husband, *i.e.* Krishna. This is attributed to the work that fate enacts on behalf of a woman full of *bhāva* (sympathetic emotion). This is one qualification of a connoisseur of *rasa*. This *pada* is a logical thematic successor to those like *pada* 69 which feature a heroine asking for a good mate. Its conclusion is

²⁵⁴ TM (BRBP ed.): 227

NG ed.: 817

MM ed.: 137

that a woman of virtue is naturally matched with a mate of her own caliber.

Song 113

(Folio 26b, lines 6-7; Folio 27a, lines 1-3 [PDF pp. 27-28])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) mālati madhukara kara madhu pāna | kupuruṣa na bujaya guṇaka nidāna |
| (2) abuja na bujaya bhala o bola manda | bheṃbha na pibaya kusuma makaranda |
| (3) ki kahaba age sakhi apanu raṅga | sapanahu janu hoa kupuruṣa saṅga |
| (4) katane jatane darasāyīya guṇa | kichu bala buja hṛdaya kara śūna |
| (5) bheṃbhahi bhamara bhela sata bhāba | o guṇi nidhi o dīpa mijāba |
| (6) saṅkare dūdhe paṭāyīya nita | sahaja na teja karailā tīta |
| (7) bhelā ratana mada ki bolata āna | bāṃdara mukha nahi śobhae pāna |
| (8) bidyāpati kabi kahathi bicāri | khasala kheta raha koḍia āri |

Trans.

In *Rāga Dhanāśrī* —

- (1) The bee drinks the nectar of the jasmine flower. A ‘wicked man’ does not understand the man that is a treasure of virtue.
- (2) An ignorant person does not understand what is good and speaks only profanities. [After all,] a beetle does not drink the nectar of flower blossom.
- (3) What should I say, oh *sakhī*, of my own passion? I would definitely not entertain the company of a ‘rogue’ even in my dreams.
- (4) It is so troublesome to demonstrate one’s virtues [adequately]; but, no one will understand anything if their heart is empty.
- (5) A beetle becomes a bee only when true emotion has come about. [Otherwise,] the man who is a treasure-trove of virtue is extinguished, like a lamp.
- (6) Does butter come about from mixing dirt and milk? A bitter gourd does not abandon its own bitterness.
- (7) If there are jewels, who would call for some wine to be brought? A monkey’s face is not made beautiful with *pāna*.
- (8) The poet Vidyāpati says all this, having considered the matter carefully. Upon a field which has been plowed there are ridges (*i.e.*, the *supuruṣa*) and furrows (*i.e.*, the *kupuruṣa*).

Scenario Note:

This *pada* is a broad reflection on the nature of a virtuous man (*supuruṣa*). This particular *pada* seems to imply that one’s nature is inborn and that someone lacking such quality could never properly understand or aspire to virtue that they are not due by nature. Vidyāpati uses the bee, one who drinks nectar (compared with *rasa*), and the beetle (who consumes waste), to symbolize the natural characteristics of a *supuruṣa* and a *kupuruṣa*, respectively. The majority of this song is in the voice of an authoritative third-person narrator (Vidyāpati perhaps) and could be classified as *upadeśa* song. Though, the third line, likely the *dhruvapada*, seems to frame this whole diatribe as conversation between a young lady and her companion.

Song 117²⁵⁵

(Folio 27b, line 7; Folio 28a, lines 1-3 [PDF pp. 28-29])

Kedārā Rāge —

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) abalā aṁśuka bālabhu lelā | pāṇi pallabe dhani āṁtara delā |
| (2) ābe jao jaubana samaya nihārī | apanahi bekata hoyata paracārī |
| (3) haṭha na karaha kānha na purata kāme | prathamaka rabhasa bicāraka ṭhāme |
| (4) mukulita locana nahi paragāse | kāṁpa kalebara hṛdaya tarāse |
| (5) madana bhaṁḍāra surati rasa ānī | mohore mudala acha asamaya jānī |
| (6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati nabi anurāgī | sahia parābhāba piya hita lāgī |

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī — Song 12

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) abalā aṁśuka bālabhu lelā | pāṇi palaba dhani ṅāṁra delā |
| (2) haṭha na karaha kānha na purata kāme | prathamaka rabhasa bicāraka ṭhāme |
| (3) ābe naba jaubana samaya nihārī | apanahi bekata hoeta paracārī |
| (4) madana bhaṁḍāraka surata sayānī | mohara sunala acha asamaya jānī |
| (5) mukulita locana nahi paragāse | kāṁpa kalebara hiradae tarāse |
| (6) bhaṇai bidyāpati naba anurāgī | sahia parābhāba piā hiā lāgī |

Taraunī Manuscript — Song 48

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) abalā aṁśuka bālabhu lelā | pāṇi palaba dhani āṁtara delā |
| (2) haṭha na karihu pahu na pūrata kāme | prathamaka rabhasa bicāraka ṭhāme |
| (3) madana bhaṁḍāra surata rasa ānī | mohare mundala acha asamaya jānī |
| (4) mukulita locana nahi paragāse | kāṁpa kalebara hṛdaya tarāse |
| (5) ābe naba jībana samaya nihārī | apanahi bekata hoyata paracārī |
| (6) bhaṇai bidyāpati naba anurāgī | sahiya parābhāba piya hita lāgī |

Trans.

In Rāga Kedārā —

- (1) That woman's beloved stole her clothing. She [hid] herself between the water and the branches.
- (2) Now it is clear that her youth [has not arrived]. It will make its own presence known [in time].
- (3) Don't be stubborn Krishna! Now your desires will not be fulfilled. Think [of the future] of that place of your first sexual intercourse.
- (4) There was no light [of passion] in her just blossomed eyes. Her body trembles and the heart is terrified.
- (5) *Kāmadeva* brought the *rasa* of sexual passion from his storehouse. But he sealed it up with his lock, considering the time to be incorrect.

²⁵⁵ RT (BRBP ed.): 12

TM (BRBP ed.): 48

NG ed.: 164

MM ed.: 281

(6) Says Vidyāpati, “[Such is] new sexual passion, such that one can tolerate suffering for the sake of one’s beloved.”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* describes a common Krishna-related trope, the *vastra-haraṇa*, or theft of clothing. Krishna steals away the clothing of the *gopī* when she is bathing in the river. It is made clear that she is too young and that she has not yet reached adolescence. Vidyāpati warns Krishna to be patient and wait for the right time for *Kāmadeva* to unlock his store of passion. This is an interesting juxtaposition between a common scene in Krishna-lore and Vidyāpati’s consideration of the nature of proper *rasa* and social propriety.

Song 135

(Folio 32a, lines 4-6 [PDF p. 33])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) jaṭakaka jāṭala chāḍala ṭhāma | dekhi mahā-taru lela bisarāma |
| (2) tejala na jiba rahata hamāra | śeṣa dāri ṭuṭi paḍala kapāra |
| (3) ayalahu mādhava tua guṇa jānī | sāgara achala thāha bhela pānī |
| (4) hastika dāta ki supuruṣa bola | thira jao rahaya tao lahaya amola |
| (5) hama rehu bajaite hoyata birāma | phekale o cepa pāra gaya ṭhāma |

Trans.

In *Rāga Dhanāsrī* —

- (1) A gale of a storm blew in and she abandoned the place [where she was waiting]. Seeing a great tree, she took shelter.
- (2) “If I have been abandoned, then I will surely not survive!” The end of a tree-branch broke and fell upon her head.
- (3) Along came *Mādhava*! Everyone knows of your virtue. It is a vast ocean, [who can] measure the depth of the water.
- (4) Don’t they call ‘good men’ the one who reaches a helping hand? As long as you remain steadfast, you will attain what is invaluable.
- (5) “Because I was called [out], I will remain here and rest.” When she abandons her modesty, she will be delivered from that place.

Scenario Note:

The *nāyikā*, waiting for Krishna in the middle of the night, is caught in a storm. She fears for her life as she remains out in the storm in the shelter of a tree. She refuses to speak up for herself and is stuck in a predicament of her own making. The fourth line remains a bit mysterious. It speaks of the virtue of patience held by a *supuruṣa*. Such a man, as if hunting for ivory, only reaps as much as he is willing to be patient.

Song 137²⁵⁶

(Folio 32b, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 33])

Mālaba Rāge —

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) jābe rahia tua locana āge | tābe bujābaha diḍha anurāge |
| (2) nayana ota gele tata kichu āna | kaṭaṭa hema kata ghana dhara bāna |
| (3) bujala madhurapati tua anurītī | hṛdaya kaṭaṭa mukhe karaha pirītī |
| (4) jata kichu bola laha sabe bhela dhamdha | madhu bikhe mākhala tua anubandha |
| (5) bhaṇayi bidyāpati na karia rosa | tohe supuruṣa hamare dila dosa |

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) “As long as I am in front of your eyes, you show me strong affection.
- (2) When your vision is obstructed, it’s different. How many different colors does ‘fool’s gold’ have?
- (3) I have understood your ways, Oh Lord of Mathura! your heart is false, though in front of [my] face you show affection.
- (4) Whatever you said, it has all turned out to be deceit. Attachment to you is like honey mixed with poison.”
- (5) Vidyāpati says, “Do not be so mad! You are a ‘good man’, it’s my heart that is to blame.”

Scenario Note:

The heroine directly rebukes Krishna for being deceitful in love. She accuses him of speaking nicely to her in person but then breaking her trust in private. In the *bhaṇitā*, Vidyāpati affirms the essential morality of the hero as a ‘*supuruṣa*’ despite his temporary moral failing. It is possible that Vidyāpati is expressing this sarcastically, in which case, the rest of the song could be reread as a moment of tension between two would-be lovers of the heroine, one a so-called “hero” and one genuine *supuruṣa*.

²⁵⁶ BS manuscript: 136
NM manuscript: 144
NM (BRBP ed.): 134
NG ed.: 341
MM ed.: 380
SoV ed. 134

4.2 Padas on Rasa & the Rasika

Song 8

(Folio 3a, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 4])

Mālaba rāga —

- (1) kusume racala sejā dīpa bahala tejā parimala agara candane |
Jābe jābe tua merā niphale bahali berā tābe tābe piḍali madane ||
Dhruva.
- (2) mād̥hava [... ..] tori rāhi bākaśajā |
caraṇa śabada ghana caudiśa āoe kāna, piya lobhe parimita lajā ||
- (3) suniya sujana nāma bacana na chāḍa ṭhāma jani ghana pasana rehalā |
Te tua gamana āse nida o na āba pāše locana lāgala deharī ||
- (4) kabi bhane vidyāpati mahaghi basanta rāti gamana na kari abilambe |
Devasim̥ha deba suta sabe guṇe samucita śiri Śivasim̥ha abalambeṃ ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) The bed has been made with flowers. The lamp's flame glows. There is the scent of agarwood and sandal.
Until I meet you, all is useless. The time wasted away. Meanwhile, *Kāmadeva* has caused me pain.

Refrain.

- (2) Oh Mād̥hava! She, who has decorated the bed, has remained for you.
The sound of footsteps, many in all directions, comes to [her] ears. Her desire for her lover obfuscates her modesty.
- (3) She's heard you have the reputation of being a virtuous person. Upon your word, she has not abandoned [this] place, as if she has become a dense stone.
In hopes of your coming, she does not sleep. Her eyes are fixed on the doorway.
- (4) The poet Vidyāpati says, "Rare is [such a] spring night, so don't delay your coming"
Devasim̥ha, the son of the gods, he has all the proper qualities. The head/crown of Śivasim̥ha is dependent on him.

Scenario Note:

The *vāsakasajjā*, or heroine who has decorated the bed/home in expectation, is waiting for Krishna to arrive for their tryst. He still does not come, and she grows anxious more anxious. The third line suggests that the virtuous woman is tempted to break social conventions and go out to search for her lover, though in the end she remains steadfast in the place appointed for their rendezvous. In the end, the poet urges Krishna to come quickly since this is a rare and fortuitous occasion. Devasim̥ha could refer to Śivasim̥ha's father (r. 1342-1401/1411). In this case, Śivasim̥ha's head is dependent to Deva Sim̥ha. A case could be made for this since the last half of the *bhaṇitā* would be in praise of his father. He is described in Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparīkṣā*

and in the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*. It is likely Vidyāpati served under both Devasimha and his more famous son Śivasimha.

Song 18²⁵⁷

Folio 5a, lines 2-6 [PDF p. 6]

- (1) tribali taraṅgini pura dūgama jani manamathe mantra paḍhāu |
sumari tohari riti yaubana dalapati ṛtupati dūra paṭhāu ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) mādhava abe sāji e dahu rādhā |
tasu śaiśabe tohe je jasa pāola se cali āuti bādhā ||
- (3) kuṇḍala cakra tilaka aṅkuśa kae caṁdana kabaca abhirāmā |
Tīkha kaṭākha bhāuha dhanu guṇa kae sāji rahali achi bāmā ||
- (4) kara paṁkaja lae kuca kuṁkuma daya bara māṁṁgae nahi āne |
jaṁho hari keli beri eka pāoba bisaraba niya abhimāne ||
- (5) bhanayi vidyāpati suna bara ṛtupati rasa bujāe rasamantā |
Hāsini dei pati Deba-Simha narapati sakala kalā guṇamantā ||

Nepal Manuscript — 249

Baralī rāge —

- (1) tribali taraṅgini pura duggama jani manamathe patra paṭhāu |
Jaubana dalapati samaya tohara ratipati duta paṭhāu ||
Dhruva.
- (2) mādhava ābe sājiā dahu bālā |
Tasu saisabe tohe je santāpali se sariāuti bālā ||
- (3) kuṇḍala cakka tilaka aṅkusa kae candana kabaca abhirāmā |
Nayana kaṭākha bāna guna dhanu dae sāji rahali acha bāmā ||
- (4) sundari sāji kheta cali āli vidyāpati kabi bhāne ||

Trans.

(1) As if a difficult to assail a city [surrounded] by a three-veined river, *Kāmadeva* is invoked to recite *mantras*.

Battling on account of your love,²⁵⁸ the ‘General of youth’, has dispatched the ‘Lord of seasons’ (*i.e.* spring) far away.

[*Refrain.*]

(2) Oh *Mādhava*! AT that time Radha, burning [in anger] is equipped [for battle].

She will come along and take revenge for that glory which you attained in her childhood.

(3) Earrings for discus and forehead mark for the goad, this lady has her gorgeous armor of sandalwood-paste.²⁵⁹

With sharp glances, on her quality bow. That woman adorned herself.

²⁵⁷ NM manuscript: 249 NM (BRBP ed.): 229

NM (Jha ed.): 228

NG ed.: 233

MM ed: 478

²⁵⁸ I have taken the reading to be *rati* (erotic love) rather than the recorded *riti* (season). This maintains the rhyme and makes better thematic sense.

²⁵⁹ This is an inversion of the ‘*candana-carcita*’ imagery of the *Gītagovinda*

(4) With lotus-hands, she put vermilion on her breasts, she has not come to ask for some favor.
[But] if Hari, having played about, would get her just once [in his embrace], then she would forget her haughtiness.

(5) Says Vidyāpati, “Listen good ‘Lord of Seasons’! [Only] a connoisseur of *rasa* can understand it. The husband of Hāsini Devi, Devasimha, is lord of all men and possess all of the arts and virtuous qualities.”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* describes lovemaking as a battle scene. This trope compares the bodily and ornamental features of the heroine to parts of the battlefield. For instance, the opening line compares the genitals of the heroine to a guarded city surrounded by a three-veined river, usually a reference to the folds in the waist of an ideally attractive woman. This *pada* describes the heroine as dressed up as if she has come to do battle. Radha’s, normally feminine and beautiful adornments, are described as equipment and armor for war. The poet warns Krishna that he only needs to embrace his beloved in order to subvert her angry attack. In the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*’s citation this verse names Radha; whereas, the Nepal manuscript leaves the *nāyikā* as a vaguer “girl”. In general, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*’s reading is more robust and elaborate.

Song 32²⁶⁰

(Folio 7b, line 3-7 [PDF p. 8])

*Ke[da]rā*²⁶¹ —

- (1) gurujana nayana pagāra pabana jini santari sumukhi calālī²⁶² |
jani anurāge²⁶³ taūli kahu pelali kare dhari kāme tiralī²⁶⁴ ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) he mādhava nabi abhisāraka rītī |
ke jāna kaona bidhi bihi paṭhāuli kāmīni tribhubana jītī ||
- (3) sāmara sakala kalebara²⁶⁵ ambaraṃ ghanatara²⁶⁶ timira samarī |
patha jāyite kehuṃ lakhahi na pārāli jani masi ḍubali²⁶⁷ bhamarī ||
- (4) bhanayi bidyāpati suna bara yaumbati rasa bujae rasamantā |
Lakhimā deī-pati Śiba-Siṅgha nara-pati sakala kalāṃ guṇamantā ||

Taraunī Manuscript - 89

- (1) gurujana nayana pagāra pabana jaṅao sundari satari calālī |
jani anurāge pāchu dhari pelali kare dhari kāme ṭḍalī ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) ki āre nabi abhisāraka rītī |
ke jāna kaone bidhi kāme paḍhāuli kāmīni tihuyana jītī ||
- (3) ambara sakala bibhūšana sundara ghanatara timira sāmārī |
kehu katahu patha lakhahi na pārāli jani masi buḍali bhamarī ||
- (4) cetana āgu caturapana kaīsana bidyāpati kabi bhāne |
Rājā Sibasiṃha rūpa narāyana Lakhimā devi ramāne ||

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] ‘*Ke[da]rā*’ —

(1) Just as the walls of a fort [try to stop] the wind [but are ultimately unsuccessful]; similarly, despite the eyes of the community elders, that beautiful lady passed over them and departed.

It was as if ‘Passion’, assessing her power, pushed her somewhere and Kāmadeva, grabbing her by the hand pulled her [somewhere else].

Refrain.

(2) Oh Mādhava! This is the manner of a young woman who goes to meet her lover at night.

Who knows for what purpose the Creator has sent this amorous woman who will win over the entire universe (*lit.* ‘The Three Worlds’)?

²⁶⁰ TM (BRBP ed.): 89

²⁶¹ This word is marked out by the scribe.

²⁶² Written as ‘*calālī*’, but the middle *-ā-* mātrā crossed out.

²⁶³ The ‘*e*’-*mātrā* is written across the center space.

²⁶⁴ Both ‘*-i-*’ and ‘*-ī-*’-*mātrā*-s are written around ‘*-l-*’. The scribe has written the long *-ī-* to accord with the end of the first hemistich.

²⁶⁵ In-line only ‘*kabera*’ is written. There are small marks above and below the ‘*-e-*’-*mātrā*, indicating and amendment. In the margins ‘*le*’ is written to indicate that is what is to be inserted.

²⁶⁶ Written as ‘*gharatara*’. This reading does not make sense, so I have selected the TM reading of ‘*ghanatara*’.

²⁶⁷ unclear.

(3) Black was all of her body, her gown was densely black was the [night]sky.

Going along the path, she was not perceptible to anyone. It was as if she was a black bee dipped in ink.

(4) Vidyāpati says, “Listen! Best of the young women! Only one who possesses *rasa* can understand [this] *rasa*.”

Lakhimā Devī’s husband and the lord of men, Śivasiṅha, is accomplished in all of the arts.

Scenario Note:

The *abhisārikā*, or woman going out on a late-night tryst, overcomes the obstacles of her village/family elders to go out of her home at night. She is a younger woman whose stunning beauty is described as something that could conquer the universe. The heroine is unlikely to be Rādhā, since she is described as dark complexioned. Her dark skin and the pitch-black night of her rendezvous make her nearly invisible on her trek. This is a relatively unique depiction, though several *Rāgīṅīs*, like Āsāvarī, also have dark skin and are depicted going out at night into a storm.

Song 33

(Folio 7b, line 7-8; Folio 8a, line 1 [PDF pp. 8-9])

Dhanāchī rāge —

- (1) namiteṁ alaka beḍhalā mukha kamala śobhe | rāhu ki bāhu pasāralā śaśi maṇḍala²⁶⁸ lobhe
||
[*Dhruvapada*]
(2) madane sare muruchalī cira cetana bālā ||
(3) kuca kalasa loṭāilī ghana samara belī | kanaya pābaya sutali jani kāri nāginī ||
(4) bhane bidyāpati gāolā rasa bujae rasamantā | hāsini dei pati nāgarā deba siṅgha debakantā
||

Trans.

In *Rāga Dhanāśrī* —

- (1) Her locks of hair wrapped around her bowed flower-like face, [like] Rāhu’s arms, stretched out in greed for the orb of the moon.
[*Refrain.*]
(2) The young girl fell in a faint when the arrow of cupid pierced her heart.
(3) [Her hair, like] thick dark creepers, spilled over the pitchers of her breasts, or like a black female serpent has fallen asleep, encountering [a pile of] gold.
(4) So, sings out Vidyāpati, “The one who possess a *rasa* can understand it.” The husband of Hāsini Devī, the urbane Devasiṁha, is the beloved of the gods.

Scenario Note:

The beauty of the *nāyikā*’s skin shines in bright and golden colors. This is contrasted with the thick blackness of her beautiful hair. It is compared to Rāhu’s darkness covering the moon and to a black snake upon a pile of gold. The *bhaṇitā* is an often-repeated trope in Vidyāpati’s canon. The poet describes that only a proper *rasika* can understand the *rasa* presented in this poetic vignette. He further says that Devasiṁha, his patron, is one such connoisseur.

²⁶⁸ Written as ‘*maṇḍale*’, but the ‘e’-*mātrā* seems to be marked over in correction.

Song 42

(Folio 9b, lines 2-4 [PDF p. 10])

*Korāba rāge*²⁶⁹ —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) apuraba sapana dekhala sakhi āja | takhanuka kahinī kahaīte lāja |
| (2) harakha sahita heralahi mukha kāmtī | pulakita tana mora dhara kati bhāti |
| (3) ānanda nore nayana bhari gela | pemaka ākure pallaba dela |
| (4) jakhane harala hari ācara mora | rasa bhare saṁśaru kasanike ḍora |
| (5) bure kuca maṇḍala rahaliḥu goe | kamala kanaka giri jāpi na hoe |
| (6) bhaṇayi vidyāpati sapana sarūpa | rasamae rūpa nārāyaṇa bhūpa |

Trans.

In *Rāga Korāva* —

- (1) “I saw a remarkable dream today, Oh sakhī!” She told her tale while being abashed.
- (2) Her face appeared splendidous because it was joyful. “How many ways was my body enraptured?”
- (3) Her eyes became filled with tears of joy. “I was given a flower bud, which caused me to be confounded by [his] love.
- (4) Then Hari stole the end of my Sari.” The threads of her bodice, which was filled with *rasa*, were broken.
- (5) Her groin and the orbs of her breasts remained hidden. [But] a lotus and mountains of gold cannot be hidden [in such a manner].
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “I saw such a form in my dreams. Oh king! The King is one who is like Nārāyaṇa and is filled with *rasa*.”

Scenario Note:

A *nāyikā* recounts dream of sexual passion to her companion. Behind an expected veil of modesty, her lust is revealed. Vidyāpati puts himself in the place of the *nāyikā* and seems to imply that he himself saw the vignette of this song in a dream. He finishes by extolling his patron’s ability to understand the *rasa* of such a moment.

²⁶⁹ Appears to be marked over by the scribe.

Song 48

(Folio 10b, line 7; Folio 11a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 11-12])

*Rāja bijae*²⁷⁰ —

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) ālaseṁ āṁgana sutali gorī | duhu anumata ānana herī |
| (2) rāhu ta bhamara bhae gela danda | o bola kamala o bola canda |
| (3) bhauhe chaḍāola sīmā danda | ādhā kamala ādhā canda |
| (4) bihiṁ purāola duhuka sādha | bāṁṭa dayi ehanu ādhe ādha |
| (5) dhani ki kahati apana kathā | aṁgari bhūṣita kanaka latā |
| (6) bhane bidyāpati kautukeṁ gāola | ī rasa rupa narāyana pāola |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Rāja Vijaya* —

- (1) A fair lady slept lazily in the courtyard. Both [lovers] gazed at her beautiful face.
- (2) Then, both the demon *Rāhu* and the black bees fell into conflict. One called her a lotus and the other called her the moon.
- (3) They ascended upon the line of her brows and fought. Half was a lotus, and the other half the moon.
- (4) Fate fulfilled both of their desires. He apportioned to each half and half.
- (5) Oh, fortunate woman! Will you not tell me about yourself, you whose bodice is adorned with curling golden creepers?
- (6) Vidyāpati declares, singing in wonder, “The one who is in form just like Nārāyaṇa has attained this kind of *rasa*.”

Scenario Note:

The face of a sleeping beauty becomes the battlefield between a black bee and the demon *Rāhu*. They both covet her face because they think it appears to be a lotus flower and the moon, respectively. The poet extolls the heroine’s beauty even further by saying that she is both a lotus and the moon, each apportioned by fate to the bee and *Rāhu*. Vidyāpati again describes his patron’s ability to understand and appreciate such a *rasa* properly. Specifically, that he is able to understand the whole beauty of this woman, something that both the bee and *Rāhu* fail to do.

²⁷⁰ Crossed out

Song 51

(Folio 11b, lines 6-7; Folio 12a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 12-13])

Korāba rāge —

- (1) hamarahi aṅgaṁnā bāhara śāhara tareṁ gela |
ehi bāṭe bhamara gatāgata kichu puchio na bhela ||
Dhruva.
- (2) bhane o bhela bhamiā bathu pābathu mane khedha |
eka rasa puruśā na bujae guṇa dūṣaṇa bheda ||
- (3) kaminike lobhe dhāola pāola nahi pāśa |
madhu punu ḍiṭhihu na dekhala arajala upahāśa ||
- (4) kamini aili ketaki gela saurabha rahu purī |
kaṁṭake kabanu karebara mukhe mākhala dhurī ||
- (5) bidyāpati kabiṁ gāola rasa bujae rasamanta |
Deba-Simha naba nāgara Hāsini-Devi kanta ||

Trans.

In *Kolava Rāga* —

- (1) Outside of my courtyard a mango fell to the earth.
On that road, [some person] was wandering back and forth. [Though it did not seem like] he had anything to ask [of the household].
Refrain.
- (2) It looked like some object had vexed him while he was wandering about.
Until a man can understand even a single *rasa*, he cannot distinguish between virtue and vice.
- (3) Desiring that ardent woman, he ran forward, but he did not fully approach [her].
Madhu (*i.e.*, Krishna) did not manage to get another glimpse [of her], though he received [much] ridicule.
- (4) When the woman came out of her house, there was the fragrance of the screw-pine pervading [from within].
“What troublesome person has smeared dirt upon your face and body!?”
- (5) The poet Vidyāpati sang, “Only the person that possess a *rasa*, understands that *rasa*.
Devasimha is a young urbane man and the beloved of Lady Hāsini.”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* emphasizes what is not mention and the ability of a properly educated *rasika* to understand those hidden implications. A stranger comes to the courtyard of a house, where a woman dwells. From the outside, this man seems to be confused and unsure of himself. He becomes the object of ridicule to other observing who do not understand the reality of the situation. In line four, we find out that the heroine is perfumed and is disheveled. It is implied that the heroine and the stranger have engaged in a love affair. The enjoyment of this verse is derived from the fact that the reader and heroine know more than is implied in the verse. Vidyāpati’s patron, Devasimha, is then described as someone who also has the proper qualifications.

Song 69

(Folio 16b, lines 4-6 [PDF p. 17])

[*Rāja-Bijae* —]

- (1) gori caraṇa cite cinta om̐ binati kara om̐ kara jori |
piya saṅgama sukha māṁga om̐ āsā purabathu mori ||
Dhruva.
- (2) piya mora baḍa rasiyā re ||
- (3) je dina hoeta piyā saṅgama karaba moe soraha simhāra |
Saṅgame saba sukha pāoba chāḍata madana bikāra ||
- (4) kāma bhāba rasa upajata puna keṁ pulata mera deha²⁷¹ |

Trans.

[In *Rāga Rāja-Vijaya*] —

- (1) Thinking of the feet of Gaurī in her mind, [a girl] bows with her hands joined together [in supplication].

She asks for the happiness of being with her beloved. “May my wish be fulfilled.”

Refrain.

- (2) “My beloved should be a great *Rasika*, Oh!
- (3) On that day when I will be with my beloved, I will fully adorn myself [with the 16 adornments].

In union, I will attain every joy, when he leaves me, the poison of *Madana*.”

- (4) Such a *rasa* will be produced from the *bhāva* of *kāma* (lust) Who has caused my body to horripilate in this way?

Scenario Note:

This *pada* describes a young girl who is praying to the goddess Gaurī in order to obtain a good husband. She asks for a *rasika* so that she will be able to properly enjoy the *rasa* due to a married woman.

²⁷¹ There are three stacked *candrabindu*-like marks at the end of this hemistich. This indicates a missing *pada* or hemistich.

Song 116

(Folio 27b, lines 3-7 [PDF p. 28])

Āsābarī Rāge —

- (1) āja dekhali gaja-gāmini bhāmini bharamali bhāba |
dāmini jake dīṭhi darasa kata mana kara pacatāba ||
- (2) tahā tahā gela duo locana jahā jahā geli bara nāri |
āsā lubudhala na tejae kṛpanaka pācha bhiṣāri ||
- (3) catura sakhījana caū-diśa hāse dekhali rada dāmtī²⁷² |
jani nakṣatra gati maṇḍala śaśi pahirali gaja motī ||
- (4) candane caraci payodhara śobhaya gṛma hāra²⁷³ |
jani kanakācala²⁷⁴ upara lāoli surasari dhāra ||
- (5) rupe aheli dhani sundari baḍa pune puna mata pāba |
rājā siba simgha nāgara sukabi bidyāpati gāba ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Āsāvārī* —

- (1) “Today I saw your lady, with an elephantine gait, I was confused by the emotion (bhava).
He glance was like lightning; how much did my heart repent for seeing her!”
- (2) Wherever that excellent woman went, both of [these] eyes followed behind.
The greedy do not give up hope. Like beggars running after a miser?”
- (3) “The clever *sakhī*-s all around laughed and I kept seeing their teeth everywhere [while they ridiculed him].”
They are like planets that swirl around the orb of the moon, like the pearls produced by elephants.
- (4) Her breasts are smeared with sandalwood-paste, her neck is beautified by a necklace.
It appeared as if the [white] stream of the Ganges was flowing over golden mountains.
- (5) Seeing this form of that beautiful lady, one’s mind will become intoxicated again and again.
Of King Śivasimha, an urbane man, the good poet Vidyāpati sings.

Scenario Note:

A companion or messenger is telling Krishna of the suffering of the *nāyikā*. The ridicule of her group of companions is quite evocative, with the heckling mouths of the *sakhīs* being focused on. They are compared to an orbiting group of planets around the moon (Krishna) with elephant-produced pearls upon them.

²⁷² These are synonyms and redundant.

²⁷³ This seems to be taken from Jayadeva’s *Gīta-Govinda* (Candana-carcita nila kalebara...).

²⁷⁴ An example of internal *sandhī* in a nominal compound

4.3 Devotional Padas

Song 22

(Folio 6a, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 7])

Korāba —

- (1) kām̃ eṃ madana māraṣi mohī | maṃeṃ abalā bali śaṅkara nāhi ||
(2) bibhuti bhūṣaṇa phaṇi na hārā | bicitra aṃbara na bagha chālā ||
(3) anala tilaka jaṭā na belī | gāṃga nahi śiraṃ kusuma senī ||
(4) bhane vidyāpati indu na bindū | rupa nārāyaṇa bhūpati bandū ||

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Korāva* —

- (1) “Why, oh *Madana*, did you strike me [with you arrows]? I am a feeble woman, not the strong Śaṅkara.
(2) I do not have his ornaments of sacred ash, not a garland of serpents. I have neither his variegated clothing nor a tiger’s skin.
(3) I do not have a *tilaka* of fire, not creepers upon my matted hair. It is not the Ganges upon my head, it is a row of flowers.”
(4) Vidyāpati says, “I am not the dot of the moon [above his head]. [The king], who is in form just like Nārāyaṇa and is the associate of the lord of the earth.”

Scenario Note:

Here, *Gaurī/Pārvatī* asks why *Madana* (*Kāmadeva*) struck her with his arrows that cause amorous desire. Shiva is usually described as the enemy of *Kāmadeva*. *Gaurī* describes the features Shiva as a way of both praising him and asking contrasting her own feminine beauty.

Song 23

(Folio 6a, lines 3-6 [PDF p. 7])

Mālava Rāge –

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) katana vedana mohi desi madanā | hara nahi bānā hame yuvati janā |
| (2) bibhuti bhūṣana nahi candanaka reṇu | bāgha chāla nahi netaka vasanu |
| (3) nahi morāṃ kālakūṭa mṛga-mada | cāru phani-pati nahi morā mukutāka hāra |
| (4) caṃdana tilaka morā nahi īndu goṭā | lalāṭa pāvaka nahi sindūraka photoṭā |
| (5) nahi morā jaṭā bhāva cikuraka veṇī | surasari nahi morā kusumaka melī |
| (6) bhanāi Vidyāpati suna deva kāma | eka dosa acha morāṃ nāme pae bāmā |

Trans.

In *Mālava Rāga* –

- (1) “How much pain do you give to me, oh *Madana*! I am not *Hara* in disguise, I am a young woman.
- (2) This adornment is not of sacred ash; it is the dust of sandalwood. This is not a tiger’s skin; it is clothing made of fine cloth.
- (3) I do not have the *Kālakūṭa* poison (a.k.a. *Halāhala*), this is deer-musk. I am not the beautiful lord of serpents; this is my necklace of pearls.
- (4) I have a *tilaka* of sandalwood [on my head] and not the moon. It is not fire upon my brow, but a spot of vermillion.
- (5) This is not my matted hair, it is my charming lock of plaited hair [and in it] it is not the Ganges, but it is braided with [white] flowers.”
- (6) Vidyāpati says, “listen *Kāmadeva*! If there is even one misstep, then I will get infamy as a woman”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* thematically follows from the last. Gaurī tries to prevent *Kāmadeva* from attacking her when he mistakes her for her husband Shiva, his usual enemy. Gaurī then describes each feature of Shiva that is mistaken for her own. Though not exactly describing Shiva and Gaurī as *Ardhanarīnareśvara*, the feminine and masculine features of these male and female deities are identified with each other and juxtaposed side-by-side.

Song 38

(Folio 8b, lines 7-8; Folio 9a, line 1 [PDF pp. 9-10])

Mālaba —

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) hara he sebae aelahu sukha lāgī | biṣama nayana anukhana bara āgī |
| (2) baṁsaha parāela āge | paīsi patāla rahala gae lāge |
| (3) śaśi uṭhi calala akāśe | gori calali girirājaka pāse |
| (4) ucita kahae nahi jāyī | umata arādhaha kaone upāyī |
| (5) Vidyāpati kabi sebā | dethu abhaya bara śankara debā |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Mālava* —

- (1) “Oh Hara! I have come in order to serve you for the purpose of [obtaining] happiness.” Fire burns continuously in his tempestuous eyes.
- (2) He came forth upon his bull. When you enter into the underworld you will remain stuck there?
- (3) The moon rises and climbs the sky. Just as Gaurī returns to the ‘Lord of the Mountains’ (the *Himālayas*).
- (4) [Such a scene] cannot be described adequately. Who is the one with a means to worship the intoxicated one (i.e. Shiva)?
- (5) [Such] is the service of the poet Vidyāpati. Oh Lord Śankara! May the gift of fearlessness be given.

Scenario Notes:

This devotional *pada* is very similar to song 37 by Sadānanda. It seems like Sadānanda’s verse is based on this one, lending it some poetic credentials. Vidyāpati, and potentially the singer, ask Shiva for the proper means to serve him to obtain happiness and avoid hell. Shiva’s characteristics are described in a stereotypical fashion.

Song 141

(Folio 33a, lines 6-7; Folio 33b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 34])

- (1) buḍhāri bayasa śibe beśana na chaḍali kī phala basaha daūḍāyī²⁷⁵ |
bhāge more śiba hāḍala ṭhuṭale kīdahu hoiti upayī ||
- (2) basaha biḍabi gela ke jāna kataya gela hāḍa māla kī bhelā |
phuṭi gela ḍamaru bhasama chiḍiyāyala apathe saṁpati dura gelā ||
- (3) hamara haṭala śiba tohahi na mānaha apanahi haṭha byabahāre |
saba kā sabatahu jaga bhari suniya gharinika bole byabahāre ||
- (4) bhaṇayi bidyāpati suniya maheśa rāi jāni kariya tua sebā |
etae ye baru se.||

Trans.

- (1) “Even in old age, Shiva does not leave his vices (smoking, etc.). What benefit is there from worrying?
Such is my fate, Oh Shiva! That even if my skull (*fig.* fate) would break, there would be some kind of way of it still coming true.
- (2) Who knows where that odd man has gone to dwell? What happened to the one who wears a garland of skulls?
His *ḍamaru* drum has broken open. His sacred ashes have been scattered about. On some impassable road his belongings have gone far away.
- (3) You chide me, Oh Shiva! Do not be angry. Your behavior is so obstinate.
Why is it that all of existence is filled with nothing by emptiness?” Such is the manner of how your mistress speaks (*i.e. Parvatī*).
- (4) Vidyāpati says, “Listen *Māheśa!* The King knows and performs your service.”
Her husband is just like this.

Scenario Note:

This concluding *pada* is dedicated to Shiva. It is similar in theme to the preceding number *pada* by Sadānanda (number 140 in the appendix). Here, the poet, imitating the voice of Shiva’s wife Parvati, describes her bewilderment. She laments that Shiva is missing and causing suffering to all of existence. She does not speak to anyone in particular, but out into the ether. This is very similar in its central theme to a popular *pada* sung in contemporary Mithilā (*uganā re mora katae gelā*), about the Ugnā *avatāra* of Shiva. In that poem, the poet Vidyāpati replaces Parvati in lamenting Shiva’s absence.

²⁷⁵ daūḍāyī?

4.4 Vidyāpati & Jayadeva

Song 35²⁷⁶

(Folio 8a, lines 7-8; Folio 8b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 9])

Korāba —

- (1) sāmara purusā hama gharaṃ pāhuna raṅge bibhābari gelī |
kācā siriphala naha muti laolanhi kesu paṃkhuriyā bhelī ||
- (2) sehe piyā dae gela²⁷⁷ keśa²⁷⁸ paṃkhuriā²⁷⁹ dhaela mae āṃcare goyī²⁸⁰ |²⁸¹
[kā]jare²⁸² kāra sakhījana locane dīṭhi(hi)²⁸³ maīla januṃ hoi(li)²⁸⁴ ||
- (3) nūtana²⁸⁵ neha saṃsāraka sīmā upacita kaisana corī ||
byādha kusuma-śareṃ sara bighaṭāuli rāja kuraṅgini morī |
- (4) cāri bhāve hame bharamali achalihu samadi na bhele mohi sebā |
kāṃnha rupa śiri śiba-siṅha āela kabi abhinaba jayadebā ||

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- (1) sāmara purusā majhu ghara pāhuna raṅge bibhābari gelī |
kācā siriphala nakhamuti laolanhi kesu pakhuriyā bhelī ||
[Dhruva.]
- (2) se piā dae gela kesu pakhuriā dharaya na pārāla moṅe re |
- (3) sasi nava chande anurāgaka āṃkura dhaela moṅe āṃcare goi ||
kājare kāja sakhījana locana dīṭhihu malina janu hoi ||
- (4) nūtana neha sasāraka sīmā upacita kaīsani corī |
byādha kusuma-sara saṅo bighaṭāuli raṅga kuraṅgini morī ||
- (5) cāri bhābe hame bharamali achalāha samadi na bhele mohi sebā |
kānhu rūpa siri sibasimha āela kabi abhinaba jaādebā ||

²⁷⁶ TM (BRBP ed.): 173

NG ed.: 600

MM ed.: 77

²⁷⁷ It is written as ‘geli’; however -i- is partially marked out. This reading would agree with TM.

²⁷⁸ The TM reads this as kesu. This would make sense with the previous line, but is it not too repetitive?

²⁷⁹ Orthography: unusually -u- *mātrā* under -kh-

²⁸⁰ This is written as āṃcara with -a- crossed out and -re- written immediately afterwards.

²⁸¹ After ‘goyī’ several characters are blacked out. There seems to have been some confusion on the part of the scribe. This line consists of the first half of line 3 and the second half of line 4 from the song as presented in the TM. This could represent a scribal eye-slip since these lines end with similar hemistiches (*dharaya* and *dhaela*). It could also be the result of the performer who felt the lines were too repetitive.

²⁸² -kā- seems to have been marked over by the scribe. This reading was clarified from the TM version.

²⁸³ The -hi- is marked out, but it is difficult to tell if this is intentional. This correction is most likely because of the meter since this ending is pleonastic.

²⁸⁴ *Orthography/Scribe*: -li- is written in the right margin to be added to ‘hoi’. This seems to be added to produce a matching end rhyme with -goyī- of the first half. This is not a satisfactory end rhyme. It seems to be forced.

²⁸⁵ There seems to be an -ā- *mātrā* or a *danḍā* at the beginning of this line. It is unclear whether this is read with the previous line or a mistake and this word is supposed to read ‘anutana’.

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Korāva* —

(1) “A dark-complexioned man [came as] a guest in my house. The night was spent in passion.

On her unripe wood-apples [breasts] he put his nailmarks. They [seemingly] became the red petals of *Kesu/Palāśa* tree.

(2) That very beloved was given petals of the Kesu tree. I ran away and disappeared behind the end of my *sārī*.

It is as if I have become dirty from the black soot eyeliner cast by my group of female companions.

(3) New love is the upper most limit of this world[’s happiness]. How can it be stolen away once accumulated?

The flower-arrowed one (*i.e. Kāmadeva*), as a hunter, breaks up [this new love] of mine with an arrow, like a king [hunting] a female deer.

(4) I am lost in the ‘four-*bhāvas*’.²⁸⁶ That is why I was not given this service.²⁸⁷

The poet ‘*Abhinava-Jayadeva*’ (*i.e. Vidyāpati*) has come to serve Śrī Śivasīṅha, who is in form like Krishna.

Scenario Note:

The *nāyikā* expresses her joy and trepidation after her sexual encounter with the hero who appeared at her door. She laments that her experience of love is broken up by her companions, whose glances are like black arrows, and by Kāmadeva who pursues her like a king hunts a deer with an arrow. The most important feature of this *pada* is the mention of Vidyāpati as ‘*Abhinava-Jayadeva*’ (the ‘new Jayadeva’) in the *bhaṇitā*.

²⁸⁶ The BRBP ed. indicates that these are the *vibhāva* (Krishna), the *anubhāva* (romāñca), the *sañcārī bhāva* (*harṣa*, *āvega*, etc.), and the *styāyī bhāva* (rati).

²⁸⁷ This is based on the BRBP’s reading.

4.5 Rāga & Prosody

Song 46²⁸⁸

(Folio 10a, line 7; Folio 10b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 11])

Bhīmaparāśī Rāge —

- (1) sūraja²⁸⁹ sindhūra bindu cāṁdane lihae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
biparita abhisāra amia barisa dhara aṅkuṣe kaela alake ||
- (2) mādhava bheṭali pasāhali berā |
ā dare analanhi puchi ela puchalanhi catura sakhījana morā |
- (3) caṁpaka phula lae ketaki dala dae, kabari thoelanhi, ānī |
mṛga-maya kuṅkuma agaru ruci laelanhi samae niya dṛśa ānī ||
- (4) bhanayi bidyāpati dūti sucetana kuhu niramala parimāna | rājā śīti.||²⁹⁰

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Vibhāsa Rāge —

- (1) suraja sindura bindu cāṁdane lihae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
viparita abhisāra amiṅa galae dhāra aṅkusa kaela alake ||
Dhruva.
- (2) mādhava bheṭali pasāhana berī |
ā dara haralaka puchio na puchalaka catura sakhījana melī ||
- (3) ketaki dala lae campaka dala dae kabari thoelaka ānī |
candane kuṅkume aṅga ruci kaela ka samaya niveda sayānī ||
- (4) bhanai Vidyāpatīyādi ||

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Ramyā Bhīmpalāsī -

- (1) suraja sindura bindu cāṁdane lihae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
viparita abhisāra barisa amiṅa dhāra aṅkuṣa kaela ti(la)ke ||
[*Dhruva.*]

²⁸⁸ NM manuscript: 261

NM (BRBP ed.): 241

NM (Jha ed.): 240

RT (BRBP ed.): 25

TM (BRBP ed.): 78

NG ed.: 248

MM ed.: 88

²⁸⁹ Written as *guruja* in manuscript; which is not attested as a word in lexicons and does not make sense.

²⁹⁰ This line is written above the main text and indicated with two tick marks at the end of the concerned *pada*. The end text of ‘*rājā śīti.*’ is included but unclear as to its meaning.

- (2) he Mādhava bheṭali pasāhani beri |
 Ādhara haralaka puchi (on ne puchalaka catura sakhi ja)na meri||
- (3) ketaki dala lae campaka phula daya kabārī phoelaka ānī |
 mṛgamada kuṁkumem ṅagarucita laōlaka samae niveda sayāṁni ||
- (4) bhanāi Vidyāpati sunu varajauvati kuhu nīkaṭa paramāne |
 Rājā Śiva-Simha rūpa narāēna lakhimā devi ram(ā)ne ||

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- (1) suraja sindura bindu camdane likhae indu tithi kahi geli tilake |
 viparita abhisāra amiya barisa dhāra aṅkusa kaela alake ||
 [Dhruva.]
- (2) mādhava bheṭala pasāhani beri |
 ādara haralaka puchiona puchalaka catura sakhī jana merī ||
- (3) ketaki dala dae campaka phula laē kabarihi thoelaka ānī |
 mṛgamada kuṁkuma aṅgaruci kaelaka samaya nibeda sayānī ||
- (4) bhanāi Vidyāpati sunaha abhayamati kuhū nikaṭa paramāne |
 Rājā Śivasimha rūpa narāyana Lakhimā dei biramāne ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Bhīmpalāsī* —

- (1) The sun is a spot of vermillion and the moon is a spot of sandalwood written as the mark [upon her forehead]. The date has been told from her *tilaka*.
 The woman, returning from a rendezvous, holds a torrent of nectar in her hair which she has goaded into submission.
- (2) Oh Mādhava! You have encountered her at the time of her adornment!
 In adoration, he has brought his plight to plead before the group of clever female-companions!
- (3) They (the *sakhīs*) bring and place *campaka* blossoms and the leaves of the screw-pine upon her plait of hair.
 The scented paste of saffron and imbued with musk, which made her lovely, was brought. “Bring me a vision of yourself from that time!”
- (4) Says Vidyāpati, “Oh Messengeress! Such is the measure of the notable and pure night upon which the moon and sun are in conjunction (*i.e. amāvasyā*).”
 King Śivasimha is in form just like Nārāyaṇa and is the beloved of Lakhimā Devī.

Scenario Note:

The hero and the audience are given a glimpse of the *nāyikā* during the time of her adornment and decoration by her companions. Special emphasis is given to her forehead adornment (*tilaka*) which resembles both the sun and moon together in the sky. This is compared with *amāvasyā*, the period in which this happens during the lunar cycle. The hero is meek and shy in approaching the heroine during this time.

Song 131²⁹¹

(Folio 31a, lines 5-7; Folio 31b, line 1 [PDF p. 32])

Bhupālī Rāge —

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) jaubana ratana achala dina cārī | se dekhi ādara kaela murāri |
| (2) se ābe jāri kusume bhela chūcha | rāśi bināśini keo nahi pucha |
| (3) hamari o binati kahaba sakhi roya | supuruṣa bacana anta nahi hoyā |
| (4) jābe se dhana raha apanā sātha | tābe se ādara kara saṅga sātha |
| (5) dhanikaka ādara sabatahu hoyā | niradhana boli puchaya nahi koya |
| (6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati rākhaba śīla | jao jibe jībia nabao nidhi mīla |

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Āsāvarī Rāge —

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) jauvana ratana achala dina cārī | tābe se ādara kaela murāri |
| <i>Dhruva.</i> | |
| (2) ābe bhela jhāla kusuma rasa chūcha | bāri bihuna sara keo nahi pūcha |
| (3) hamario vinati kahaba sakhi goe | supuruṣa sineha anta nahi hoe |
| (4) jābe se dhana raha apanā hātha | tābe se ādara kara saṅga sātha |
| (5) dhanikaka ādara sabakā hoe | niradhana bāpula pucha nahi koe |
| (6) bhaṇāi Vidyāpatīyādi | |

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī — 23

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) jauvana rūpa achala dina cārī | se dekhi ādara kaela murāri |
| (2) aba bhela jhāla kusuma sabe chūcha | bāri bihuna sara keo nahi pūcha |
| (3) hamari o vinati kahaba sakhi roe | supuruṣa vacana aphala nahi hoe |
| (4) jābe rahae dhana apanā hātha | tābe se ādara kara saṅga sātha |
| (5) dhanikaka ādara sabatahu hoe | niradhana bāpura pucha nahi koe |
| (6) bhaṇāi Vidyāpati rākhaba śīla | jañō jaga jibia navo nidhi mīla |

Trans.

In Rāga Bhūpālī —

- (1) The jewel of youth lasted only for a short time (*lit.* ‘four days’). Noticing this, she worshiped Murāri.
- (2) Now the lover will come, when the flower is left empty. No one asks after a lady whose *rasa* has been destroyed.
- (3) “Tell him of my request, oh *sakhī!* I weep.” There should not be a limit to the word of a good man.

²⁹¹ BS Manuscript: 133

NM Manuscript: 143

NM (BRBP ed.): 133

RT (BRBP ed.): 23

NG ed.: 667

MM ed.: 455

SoV ed.: 132

- (4) As long as you keep wealth to hand, your company [continues to] sing (your) praises.
(5) Everyone respects a wealthy man. No one asks after a pauper.
(6) Says Vidyāpati, “One should maintain propriety, so that while one lives in the world one can attain the ‘nine-treasures’.

Scenario Note:

The *nāyikā* is left alone for many days and her body and love has withered. Her companion is asked to go bring her case before Krishna. This companion then assures her of the reliability of a ‘good man’. The category of *supuruṣa* is addressed which ties into Vidyāpati’s theories on manhood presented in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. Lines ‘4’ and ‘5’ seem to equate wealth and virtue in the nature of a *supuruṣa*. The poet advises loves to enjoy love when they have it to hand.

4.6 Other Courtly Padas

Song 3²⁹²

(Folio 2a, Line 4-7 [PDF p. 3])

|| pahatiyā || lām̃jati ||

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) akāmika mandira bheli bahāra
<i>Dhruva.</i> | caudiśa suna laka bhamara jam̃kāra |
| (2) e kānha e kānha sedhali tori | madana bhuaṅge ²⁹³ ḍasu bālaha mori |
| (3) muruchi paḍali mahiṃ viraha adhīra | na cetaya cikura na saṃbhrama ²⁹⁴ cīra |
| (4) keo mata bolae kānha kara jori ²⁹⁵ | keo kheda kokilāi ki niboli |
| (5) keo sakhi beli dholi keo dholi jāra | keo cādana gaja karae samāra ²⁹⁶ |
| (6) bhanai Vidyāpati ethi nahi āna | eka pae gāruḍi acha sehe kānha |

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- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) akāmika mandira bheli bahāra | caūdisa sunalaka bhamara jham̃kāra |
| (2) muruchi khasala mahi na rahali thīra | na cetae cikura na cetae cīra |
| (3) keo sakhi gābae keo kara cāra | keo cāndana gade karaya saṃbhāra |
| (4) keo bola materṃ kāna tara joli | keo kokila kheda ḍākinī boli |
| (5) are are are kānha ki rahasi bori | madana bhuaṅge ḍasu bālaha tori |
| (6) bhanai vidyāpati eho rasa bhāna | ehi viṣa gāruḍa eka pae kānha |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] Pahāḍi — In “lām̃” jāti²⁹⁷ —

(1) She suddenly rushed out of the house. It was deserted in all directions, [but it seemed to her] as if there were thousands of bees.

Refrain.

(2) “O *Kānha*, O *Kānha*! She chastised you. Oh *Madana*! (i.e. *Kāmadeva*) A snake bit my daughter!²⁹⁸”

²⁹² BS Manuscript: 2

TM (BRBP ed.): 210

NG ed.: 755

MM ed.: 647

²⁹³ There is some ambiguity here. Cupid could be a vocative or could be taken in conjunction with the snake. Cupid in the form of a snake.

²⁹⁴ This word for “confusion” hints at the *saṃbhrama ālaṅkāra* in which objects are confused for one another for effect. Bees are a common symbol in this regard because of their association with *Śṛṅgāra rasa* and Krishna, who is often compared to a bee chasing after the nectar of flowers (the *gopīs*).

²⁹⁵ The BRBP ed. understands this as ‘*zor se*’. The use of a Persian loan would be highly unusual here.

²⁹⁶ The second hemistiches of lines 4 and 5 are metrically short.

²⁹⁷ This is unclear.

²⁹⁸ The two hemistiches contrast in their voice. It is perhaps the worried voice of the mother in the first half and the knowing *sakhī* in the second half. The mother thinks that her daughter has fainted due to a snakebite. The *Sakhis*

(3) [In reality,] she fell faint to the earth, restless in her separation. She does not realize [that the supposed bees] are her locks of hair. The confusion doesn't last long.

(4) Someone recites a mantra that she might be reunited with Krishna. Some of the cuckoos fall silent in their pain.

(5) Some *sakhī* swings on a vine, another swings on a net[-swing]. Still others were like elephants tussling in the sandalwood trees.²⁹⁹

(6) Says Vidyāpati, “Don't bring her here. We have a snakebite-doctor, but he is that very *Kānha*.”³⁰⁰

Scenario Note:

A young woman, madly in love with Krishna, is so bewildered that she thinks her own untied hair to be a swarm of bees. This is a common trope and is reminiscent of the *bhramara-gīta*.³⁰¹ She falls into a faint in her love-madness. The elders of her community, like her mother, think that she has been bitten by a snake and need some kind of remedy. The *sakhīs* know that she is just love-sick and joke that she only needs Krishna, a snakebite-doctor ('*gāruḍa*') in disguise.

know that she is lovesick in reality. This has a dramatic element. The aside voice, or *sotto voce*, could be played up in a musical performance. This pattern seems to hold for lines 2-4 and is underscored by the *dhrupada* (line 2).

²⁹⁹ The image here compares the sporting of the young women of Braj with young elephants that enjoy rutting in the roots of sandalwood trees.

³⁰⁰ This whole line is unclear.

³⁰¹ This can be found in the *Bhāgavat-Purāṇa* (SB. 10.47.12-21) and, interestingly in the *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* (*Antya-Līla* 19.107).

Song 5

(Folio 2b, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 3])

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) sundara kuca yuga nakha kata bhāra ³⁰² | jani gaja kumbha bidārala hāra |
| (2) tuṭi chidiyāela moti-śari hāre | siṁdūra loṭāeli suruga pamāre |
| (3) adhara daśana dekhi jiba mora kāṁpe | cāṁda maṁḍala jani rāhuka jhāṁpeṁ ³⁰³ |
| (4) jhāṁla gelāhuṁ huni purala madane | ḍaṁbari aelaṁhuṁ sakhi puruba ke puṁne |
| (5) moe nahi jaebe tanhi piyā ṭhāme(;) | teṁbaru mārila i bathu kāme |
| (6) bhanayi vidyāpati e teju lāje | āgi ḍaḍhia punu āgihika kāje |

Trans.

- (1) What a burden are those beautiful breasts with nail marks [upon them]! It is as if a garland on the two cranial mounds of an elephant is broken open.
- (2) Her necklace of grass-thread and pearls is broken and scattered. The vermilion is melting [upon her head]. Heaven is overflowing.
- (3) Seeing the toothmarks on their lips, my very soul quivers. Just like the concealment of *Rāhu* over the moon.
- (4) “I have been burned up. That *Madana* (i.e. *Kāmadeva*) has accomplished [his task]. After a big commotion was made, I have come, oh Sakhī! What was before who can make happen again?”
- (5) I will not go to that place where my lover is. The tempestuous glances that have been struck are just objects of desire.”
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “Get rid of this shame. Let the fire burn furthermore. [After all], that is its job.”

Scenario Note:

The heroine has been abandoned after a night of sexual enjoyment. The rest of the *pada* focuses on her feeling of shame for having been abandoned in this way by Krishna and the remaining physical tokens of their lovemaking. In the end, the *dūtī* encourages her to be less sad and angry and to realize the nature of love.

³⁰² ‘e’ addition by scribe. perhaps mistaking it to match “hāre” at the end of the first hemistich of the next line. I have switched this back to “bhāra” to fit the send hemistich, ending in ”hāra”.

³⁰³ unclear

Song 6³⁰⁴

(Folio 2b, lines 6-7 [PDF p. 3])

- (1) kāmīni karae sanāne | heri tahi hṛdae hanae pañcaṁbāñṇe ||
(2) cikura galae jaladhāra | mukha śaśi ḍareṁ jani roae aṁdhārā ||
(3) te cintāe bhujaphāśe | bāñdhi dharaba uḍi jāeta akāśe ||
(4) kuca yuga cāru cakebā | niya kula uḍata āni kone debā ||
(5) bhanayi vidyāpati gābe | baḍa tape punamata guṇamati pāre ||

Nepal Manuscript 217

Śāraṅgī Rāge —

- (1) kāmīni karae sanāne | herāite hṛdaya harae pacabāne ||
Dhruv.
(2) cikura galae jaladhāra | mukha śaśi ḍare jani roae andhārā ||
(3) titala vasana tanu lāgū | munihuka mānasa manamatha jāgū ||
(4) te śaṅkāe bhujapāśe | bāñdhi dhari dharia punu ūḍa tarāse ||
(5) kuca yuga cāru cakebā | nia kula milata āni kañone debā ||
(6) bhanāi Vidyāpatīyādi ||

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī 19

- (1) kāmīni karae sanāne | heritahīṁ hṛdae hana pañcabāne ||
(2) cikura garae jhaladhāra | mukhasasi tareṁ jani roae ñadhārā ||
(3) titala vasana tanu lāgū | munihūṁka mānasa manamatha jāgū ||
(4) kuca yuga cāru cakevā | niña kula milata ñāni kone devā ||
(5) teṁ saṅkāñe bhujapāśe | bāñdhi dharia uḍi jāeta akāśe ||
iti vidyāpateḥ ||

Trans.

- (1) The woman, full of desire, bathes. To look at her, one's heart is pierced by *Kāmadeva* (*lit.* 'He who has five arrows').
(2) Her hair drips streams of water, like tears shed from the moon's face, in fear of the darkness.
(3) Made apprehensive for that reason, she binds down [her breasts] and holds in fear of them flying away.
(4) Her pair of breasts are lovely and [are burgeoning] like ruddy geese, who have flown to see

³⁰⁴ BS Manuscript: 6

NM: 217

NM (BRBP ed.): 198

RT (BRBP ed.): 19

TM (BRBP ed.): 9

NG ed.: 37

MM ed.: 228

SoV ed.: 197

how they might bring back its kin.

(5) Vidyāpati says singing, “[Only] the man who possesses merit from great austerities can subdue the woman of virtue.”

Scenario Note:

This is the most famous of all of Vidyāpati’s *padas*. It appears in the greatest number of sources compared with other *padas*. The subject of the *pada* is the *nāyikā* while she is bathing. While she exits the water, she suddenly realizes that her breasts are exposed and rushes to cover them. Such an impulse is described as a source of virtue for the heroine. Because of this, only a virtuous man could hope to be matched with such a woman.

Song 19

(Folio 5a, lines 6-8; Folio 5b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 6])

Mālaba —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) gamana dibasa saṃo dina lekhi lekhi | parataha dharia bhīti bhari lekhi |
| (2) puraṃ meṭie meṭi unata bujābe | madana siṃca eke jala lae dhābe |
| (3) ki hoyiti ābe kānhu kamala-mukhī | yatane jiyāuli sabahi sakhī |
| (4) kānha kāṃnali nidala kānha kāṃ candane | keo bola āela nanda-nandane |
| (5) sarasa pau nāri hṛdaya dhari thoi | cāṃda kiraṇa kone rākhali goi |
| (6) madhukara dhuni suni keo muda kāne | karatala tāle kokila kheda sāne |
| (7) bhanayi vidyāpati suna bara nārī | abadhi purale tua milata murārī ³⁰⁵ |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Mālava* —

- (1) From the day of his departure, she has marked the days [upon a wall]. Every day she holds [onto hope] and the wall fills up with her accounting.
- (2) When her room is being effaced, then she knows that all those marks that have built up are erased. Kāmadeva washes them away by pouring water on each.
- (3) What will happen to her now, oh Kānha, to this lotus-faced lady? With effort all of her companions tried to revive her.
- (4) Oh Kānha! She wept and fell asleep. Oh Kānha! what is the use of sandalwood [and her other adornments]? Someone says that the darling son of Nanda (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) has come.
- (5) That woman's lord, who has all *rasa*, holds tight on her heart. The [normally joyous] rhythm of the *karatalas* and the cuckoo bird causes her only grief.
- (6) Hearing the melody of the bees, someone cries from joy. Along with the rhythm of cymbals, there is the hint of pain from the cuckoo.
- (7) Says Vidyāpati, "Listen best of women! With that time being ended, she will meet Murārī."

Scenario Note:

The heroine is described as suffering due to separation from her beloved. She counts down the days by inscribing their count upon the earthen wall of her room. Her hope is eroded away as Kāmadeva erases these marks. Her companions try to keep her alive until the end, when her beloved, Krishna arrives.

³⁰⁵ This line is added in separately by the script in the upper margin of Folio 5b. It seems as if the first lines of this folio finish another *pada* by Sadānanda. Perhaps there is a page missing?

Song 26³⁰⁶

(Folio 6b, lines 4-5 [PDF p. 7])

*Korāba Rāge*³⁰⁷ —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) gagaṇa magana uṅga tārā | taiao na kānha tejaya abhisārā |
| (2) apanā sarabasaṅ lākhe | ānaka boli luria duhu hāthe |
| (3) ṭūṭala ḡma moti ³⁰⁸ hārā | bekata bhela kuca lakha khata bhārā |
| (4) punu na kariahe na kāme | jiba dae yubati ubaru ehi ṭhāme |
| (5) vidyāpati kabi bānī | ehi tinuhu maha dūti śayānī |

Taraunī Manuscript - Song 100

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) gagana magana hoa tārā | taiao na kānha tejaya abhisārā |
| (2) apanā sarabasa lāthe | ānaka boli nuḍiya duhu hāthe |
| (3) ṭūṭala ḡma motī hārā | bekata bhela acha nakha khata dhārā |
| (4) nahi nahi nahi pae bhākhe | taiao koṭi jatana kara lākhe |
| (5) bhanahi vidyāpati bānī | ehi tinuhu maha dūti saānī |

Trans.

In *Rāga Korāva* —

- (1) Sunk back into the sky are those risen stars (because it is morning). Even then, the woman gone for a tryst does not abandon *Kānha*.
- (2) You possess multitudes. You speak to someone and steal with both of your hands.
- (3) A necklace of pearls around the neck broke. He looked at the weight of the love-marks upon the breast when they appeared.
- (4) Do not do this anymore, Oh God of Love! The young lady saves her [own] life by abandoning this place.
- (5) These are the words of the poet Vidyāpati, “of these three, the messenger is the cleverest.”

Scenario Note:

As in the last *pada*, the *dūti* warns the heroine of the wicked behavior of the hero. It is the end of the night and tryst has already drawn to a close. She tries to save her ward one more time by urging her to go home. Vidyāpati’s *bhaṇitā* mentions that of the three (hero, heroine, and *dūti*), that the messengeress is the most prudent in her consideration of social morality.

³⁰⁶ TM (BRBP ed.): 100

NG: 320

³⁰⁷ Written by scribed but crossed out. Unclear if blemish of the manuscript/facsimile or the scribe crossed it out himself.

³⁰⁸ Inline, this is written as ‘mori’, but ‘ti’ is written above. I have taken this to be a replacement, but the former is not crossed out.

Song 28³⁰⁹

(Folio 6b, line 8; Folio 7a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 7-8])

*Mālaba rāge*³¹⁰ —

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) abirala paḍae madana śara-dhārā | ekala deha kata sahata hamārā |
| (2) tilā eka sapanahuṃ tanhiṃ saṃoṃ raṅge | nīda bideśala tanhi piyā saṅge |
| (3) kānha kāṃna lāgi kahīhaha bhamarā | taṃeṃ jāṃnasi dukha ahanīśi hamarā |
| (4) eta dina achala abadhi kera āsā | ābe dine dine bhela jibana udāsā |
| (5) etabā boli kahabi mori sebā | tīratha jāni jala-añjali debā |
| (6) bhanayi Vidyāpati eho rasa jāne | rāya Śiba-Siṅgha Lakhimā biramāne |

Taraunī Manuscript - Song 186

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) abirala parae madana sara-dhārā | ekala deha kata sahata hamārā |
| (2) sapanehu tilā eka tanhi saṅo raṅge | nindā bidesala tāhi piyā saṅge |
| (3) kānha kāna lāgi kahihi bhamarā | toṃṇe jānasi dukha ahanisi hamarā |
| (4) etabā boli kahabi mori sebā | tīratha jāni jala-añjali debā |
| (5) bhanai vidyāpati ehu rasa jāne | rāe sibasimha lakhimā deī ramāne |

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) “The God of Love’s stream of arrows falls unrelentingly. How can a singular body [such as] mine endure so much?
- (2) Amorous passion arose from just a single moment’s dream. Sleep has left the country along with my beloved.
- (3) Stick to Kānha’s ear, oh black bee! and say to him, you [surely] know that I am distraught both day and night.
- (4) So many days have passed [and I am still holding] hope for the day appointed [for your return]. Now, day-by-day, life has become meaningless.
- (5) Telling him all this would be a great favor to me. Considering [this place] a *tīrtha*, I will offer a handful of water [in prayer].”
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “King Śivasimha, who delights Lakhimā, understands this *rasa*.”

Scenario Note:

This scene concerns a *proṣitabhartṛikā nāyikā*, or that heroine whose husband/lover has left her at home while he travels abroad. Here, the *nāyikā* beseeches a bee to act as her messenger to bring her lover information of her suffering and to urge him to return home.

³⁰⁹ TM: Song 186 (BRBP ed.)

NG: 649

MM: 162

³¹⁰ The *rāga* name seems to be blacked out. It is unclear if this intentional on the part of the scribe or a degradation of the manuscript/facsimile.

Song 49

(Folio 11a, lines 3-6 [PDF p. 12])

Rāja Bijaya Rāga —

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (1) mukha manohara adhara raṅge | phulali madhuri kamala saṅge |
| (2) pīna payodhara ³¹¹ dūbara gātā | meru upajala kanaka latām̃ |
| (3) e kān̄hu e kān̄hu tori dohāi | ati apuruba dekhali śāi |
| (4) bhau heri kathā puchaha janu | kājareṃ sājala madana dhanu |
| (5) jāti pahu mili sahati katā | gaje dama sani damana-latā |
| (6) naena kañjana bhṛṅga apāre | madhuka māṃtala uḍae na pāre |
| (7) bhane bidyāpati dūti bacane | se śuni mādhabe kaela gamane |

Trans.

In *Rāga Rāja-Vijaya* —

- (1) “Her face is lovely, and her lips are colored [red], like a lotus accompanied by jasmine blossoms.
- (2) Upon her slender body were her burgeoning breast. It was as if upon Mount Meru were sprouted golden vines.
- (3) Oh *Kān̄ha!* Oh *Kān̄ha!* I beseech you. She is remarkable to behold, oh lord!
- (4) Do not even ask about the beauty of beholding her brows. They have been adorned with lamp-black and are like the bow of *Kāmadeva*.
- (5) She will go to meet her husband. How much more will she be able to bear? [It would be as useless as trying] to subdue an elephant with mugwort.
- (6) Her eyes are like a multitude of *kañjana* birds or black bees, that are intoxicated from honey and cannot fly.”
- (7) Vidyāpati says, “These are the words of her messenger.” Hearing what she said, Mādhava departed.

Scenario Note:

Krishna is approached by a female messenger on behalf of the heroine. She describes the beauty of the heroine in full detail. Special attention is paid to the beauty of her eyes and eyebrows.

³¹¹ written as ‘payodhari’ the final -i- has been scratched out (not marked over)

Song 56

(Folio 13a, lines 2-6 [PDF p.14])

Barāḍī —

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) śapane āela sakhi piya mora pāse | takhanuka ki kahaba hṛdae hulāse |
| (2) suna sājani lo kaha oṃ sarūpe | nayana duo dhari gela anupama rūpe |
| (3) baṅka bilocana bikaśita thorā | cāṃḍa ugala jani samudrahi lorā (lo) ³¹² |
| (4) cauṃḍiśaṃ manamatha dhanu guṇa gāje | haraki daraki caḍābae lāje (lo) |
| (5) katane jatana kae pāola barāte | mana karakhe basama dubari yāte (lo) |
| (6) na morāṃ dhanu guṇa na mora śaṃdhāne | bahu diśa dekhia kusuma śara bāṇe (lo) |
| (7) uṃṭhali cehāe āliṅgaṇa berī | rahali lajāe śuna seja herī (lo) |
| (8) bhaṇayi bidyāpati dekhala sapane | jata dekhala tata hoe tahu uhe mane (lo) |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Varārī* —

- (1) “Oh *sakhī!* My beloved came to me in a dream. What can be said of my heart’s delight at that moment?
- (2) Listen My good woman, Lo! I will tell you about his form. His two eyes hold an incomparable beauty.
- (3) His two crooked eyes are opened just a little. As if the moon had just risen above an ocean of tears, Lo!
- (4) In all directions, the praise of *Kāmadeva*’s bow is sung. In joy and with heart throbbing one abandons one’s shame.
- (5) How much effort is made to attain such a man? Because of [Shiva’s] anger, *Kāmadeva* was born again having been [burnt to] ashes.
- (6) My bow does not have that quality nor is it drawn together by me. *Kāmadeva*, the one who has arrows made of lowers, is seen in many directions.”
- (7) She woke up startled at the time of embracing. She was ashamed seeing her empty bed.
- (8) *Vidyāpati* says, “[all of this] was seen in a dream. All of what she saw happened in a flash of her mind.”

Scenario Notes:

The heroine recounts that her beloved came to her in a dream. The beloved’s incomparable beauty is described briefly before the heroine describes the difficulty of obtaining him. At the moment of climax, she awakens to find her bed empty and is ashamed.

³¹² This is added after a comma. This perhaps corrects ‘*norā*’ to ‘*lorā*’ or vice versa.

Song 62³¹³

(Folio 15a, lines 1-7 [PDF p. 16])

Mālaba-Kedarā Rāge —

- (1) kusuma-bāṇa-bilāsa-kānana keśa sindūra reha |
nīla nīrada śucira daraśae aruṇa ruci niya deha ||
- (2) śarada śaśadhara, sariśa sundari badana locana lola |
kāca kañcana kamala caḍhi kahu khela kañjana jora ||
- (3) āja dekhu gajarāja gati vara juvati tribhuvana sāra |
Kāma debaka bijayaballī bihali bihiṃ saṃsāraṃ ||
- (4) amara bhūdhara sama payodhara mahagha motima hāra |
heme nirmita śaṃbhu śeśara gaṅga nirmmala dhāra ||
- (5) adhara naba pallaba manohara daśana dāḍima joti |
Āni bidruma naba sudhā-rasa sīṃcihalu gaja-moti ||
- (6) matta kokila bola bīṇā nāda tahu nahi bhāsa |
Madhura hāsa pasāhi ānala karāe bacane bilāsa ||
- (7) garabha komala dala suśobhana jagala yuga ārambha |
Madana malla beyāma kāraṇa ghaṭala hāṭaka (tham)bha³¹⁴ ||
- (8)na bujala rasika gamāre |
kī para ramani ratala mana bhala laha kī bihi biguṇa hamāre ||
- (9) bidyāpati³¹⁵ kaha se khini tohaṃ taha ahaniśi biśarae na pāre |
Lakhimā dei pati Śiba-Siṃgha narapati pāoba biraha saṃtābe ||

Taraunī Manuscript - Song 167

- (1) kusuma-bāna bilāsa kānana kesa sundara reha |
Nibila nīrada rucira darasae aruṇa jani nija deha ||
- (2) āja dekhu gajarāja gati bara-jubati tribhubana sāra |
Jani kāmadebaka bijayaballī bihali bihi saṃsāra ||
- (3) sarada sasadhara sarisa sundara badana locana lola |
Bimala kañcana kamala caḍhi jani khelu khañjana jola ||
- (4) adhara pallaba naba manohara dasana dālīma joti |
Jani bimala bidruma dala sudhāraseṃ sīṃci dharu gajamoti ||
- (5) matta kokila benu binā nāda tribhubana bhāsa |
Madhura hāseṃ pasāhi ānali karāe bacana bilāsa ||
- (6) amara bhūdhara sama payodhara mahagha motima hāra |
Hema nimmita sambhu sekhara gaṅga nimmala dhāra ||
- (7) karabha komala kara suśobhita jaṅgha jua ārambha |

³¹³ TM (BRBP ed.): 167

RT (BRBP ed.): 7

NG ed.: 541

³¹⁴ The final word has been written over and the following line is indicated as missing with scribal marks and a long elipsis. I have taken ‘*thamba*’ from the TM and NM versions.

³¹⁵ The TM and RT attribute this to a ‘*Kaṭhahāra*’. The BRBP ed. of the RT and TM refer to this as an epithet of Vidyāpati. The fact that this *pada*’s *bhañitā* is directly attributed to Vidyāpati makes one think that this is the case as well.

Madana malla beāma kārane gaḍhala hāṭaka thambha ||
(8) sukabi eho kaṇṭhahāre gāola rūpa sakala sarūpa |
Debi lakhimā kanta jānae rāja siba-simha bhūpa ||

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī - Song 7

(1) kusuma-bāna bilāsa kānana kesa sindura raha |
Nibila nīrada rudira darasae aruna jani niña deha ||
(2) āja dekhu gajarāja tai bara-juati tribhubana sāra |
Jani kāmadebaka bijayaballī bihali bihi saṁsāra ||
(3) sarada sasadhara sarisa sundara badana locana lola |
Bimala kañcana kamala caḍhi jani khela khañjana jora ||
(4) adhara naba pallaba manohara dasana dālīma joti |
Jani nibila bidrumadale sudhāraseṁ sīṁci dharu gajamoti ||
(5) matta kokila benu bīnā nāda tihuana bhāsa |
Jani madhura hāka pasāhi ānana karae bacana bikāsa ||
(6) amara bhūdhara sama payodhara mahagha motima hāra |
Hema nirmīta śambhu śekhara gaṅga nirmala dhāra ||
(7) karabha komala kara susobhana jaṅgha juga ārambha |
Jani madana malla beāma kārane gaḍhala hāṭaka thambha ||
(8) sukabi ehū kaṇṭhahāre gāola rūpa sakala sarūpa |
Debi lakhimā kanta jānae siri sibae simha bhūpa ||

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava-Kedarā* —

(1) There was a line of vermillion in the hair of the woman destroyed by love from the arrows of *Kāmadeva*.

It seemed like the blue clouds show off the reddishness of their bodies for a long time.

(2) In the eyes of the woman, whose face is like the autumn-moon, are tears.

They were like golden lotuses upon which a pair of *khañjana* birds would often ascend and play.

(3) Today I have seen the [graceful] elephantine walk of that best of young women, who is the very essence of the three worlds.

It seemed as if *Kāmdeva*'s garland of victory has been strewn across the universe by the creator.

(4) Upon her breasts, like the immortal mountain (i.e. *Meru*), is a rare necklace of pearls.

It is like the golden stream of the Ganges which is fixed upon the head of Śambhu.

(5) Her lips are like new blossoms and her delightful teeth have a shine like [white] pomegranate seeds.

It is as if fresh milk has been brought and poured out on elephant-produced pearls situated on coral-tree flowers.

(6) Nor the intoxicated *kokila* nor the sound of the *vīṇā* are [equal] to her melodious sound.

Her laugh, which adorns her, brings [all] to her. They enjoy the opulence of her [melodious] speech.

(7) The soft and beautiful petals of her womb have awakened as well at the beginning of a new stage [of her life].

It is as if *Kāmadeva*, in the form of a wrestler, has erected a golden pillar upon which to exercise.

(8) the country rube does not understand [what] the connoisseur does.

Will that delightful woman of another man, having enjoyed in this way, succeed in the matters of her own heart? Is this some deficiency in my fate?

(9) Vidyāpati says, “She suffers because of you. In that place, she cannot forget day or night.”

Lakhimā-Devī, whose husband is Śiva-Simha, the lord of men, will attain this suffering caused by separation from a beloved.

Scenario Note:

This verse, like the previous one, describes the scene after both hero and heroine unite. It is described as a victory of the god of love, *Kāmadeva*. Line seven mentions that both the hero and heroine are in the beginning of their youths. Lakhimā Devī and Śiva-Simha are praised as those that participate in such an exalted aesthetic state as *viraha*.

Song 64

(Folio 15b lines 4-7 [PDF p. 16])

Barāḍī Rāge —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) dūdha sidhu sama choṭi choṭi ḍiṭhi re | manamathe bitaru sudhā same chici re |
| (2) e rāhi bitaru bihusiā tori re | heri tahi rahiya hṛdaya jā cori re |
| (3) o bhana toṃe bhani ethiṃ moṃe sudhi re | pātharaka rekhi khiyāuli budhi re |
| (4) tāhu taha cañcala nayana cakorā re | bhamara śunae jani kusuma goha(nā) ³¹⁶ re |
| (5) śītala sām̐mala śapana bilāsā re | dūdha na chāḍae pāṇika piāsā re |
| (6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati sapana sarūpa re | lakhimā deī pati Śibasim̐gha bhūpa re |

Trans.

In Rāga Vāraḍī —

- (1) Each of his [even] his tiniest glances were like oceans of milk, oh! *Kāmadeva* sprinkles this nectar, distributing it [to all]. Oh!
- (2) Oh *Rādhā*! He dispersed some to you when he saw your smile. He saw that you were bereft of a heart because it was stolen away, Oh!
- (3) After he spoke to you, I realized, oh! My mind is like a line of stones that has been erased, oh!
- (4) Your eyes were upon him, like *cakora* birds or a group of flowers that hear a bee, Oh!
- (5) The merriment of that dream of the dusky-one (*i.e.* Krishna) was soothing. One does not abandon milk out of thirst for water, oh!
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “Such was the form [that I saw] in that dream. King Śivasim̐ha is the husband of Lady Lakhimā, oh!”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* follows the theme of a few others in this manuscript that discuss a vision of the hero seen in dream, since he is otherwise absent in real life. It appears that a young heroine is describing her vision of Krishna to Radha, since they both would be in love with the hero. She does indicate that *Kāmadeva* and cupid love her most of all.

³¹⁶ ‘na’ written above the main line with a small mark indicating where it should be inserted.

Song 65

(Folio 15b line 7; Folio 16a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 16-17])

Barāḍī Rāge —

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) sapane madhurapati dekhala maem̃ āja re | takhana carita mohi kahayiteṃ lāja re |
| (2) jakhane herala hariṃ hasi mukha kām̃ti re | pulake purala tanu dhara kati bhāti re |
| (3) jakhane pherala hari āṃcara morā re | rasa bhare śaśaru kasani ke ḍorā re |
| (4) kare kaṅkaṇa kuca rahaliḥu goi re | kare kaṅkaṇe girijāṃ pīna hoi re |
| (5) bhaṇāi bidyāpati sapana sarūpa re | bhane o dekhala śakhi kānhuka rūpa re |

Trans.

In *Rāga Varāḍī* —

- (1) “I saw the Lord of Mathurā today in my dream, Oh! While he was telling me of his deeds, I was embarrassed. Oh!
- (2) Then, I saw the splendor of Hari’s smiling face, Oh! The hairs on my body are standing on end in so many ways. Oh!
- (3) Then, Hari gave back the end of the sari, Oh! The threads of my girdle were like *rasa*-filled rays of moonlight.
- (4) With her hands, upon which were bangles, she hides her breasts, Oh! Those hands with bangles, are on the swollen mounds of her breasts, Oh!
- (5) Says Vidyāpati, “That was the vision of the dream, Oh! She tells of the form of *Kānhā* that she saw to her companion, Oh!”

Scenario Note:

This song, like a few of the preceding ones, describes a vision of Krishna seen by the heroine in a dream. The heroine describes the ecstasy of these moments of union to her companion.

Song 66

(Folio 16a, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 17])

Rāja-Bijaya Rāge —

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) bālabhu niṭhura basae parabāsa | cetana paḍośiā taiśana na pāsa |
| (2) pahili sām̃ja sāsu nahi sūja | nanaṃdī bhala manda kaona buja |
| (3) pathika bāsa anatae bhāmi neha | morā taiśana dosara nahi geḥa |
| (4) hamarā saṃpati hamahi agora | ekasara boli āola cali coraṃ |
| (5) sapanahu nahi dekhi e koṭabāra | hame bhara yaubati rayani aṃdhāra ³¹⁷ |
| (6) bhanāi bidyāpati takhanuka bhāba ³¹⁸ | apanhuti kahini ukutiṃ bujāba |

Trans.

In Rāga Rāja-Vijaya —

- (1) “[My] cruel dear husband is dwelling in another country. Because of this, my soul is away from this vicinity.
- (2) I do not even consider my mother-in-law when adorning myself for the first time. Who knows what is proper or improper when dealing with my husband’s sister?
- (3) The traveler’s abode is elsewhere having wandered [far from] his beloved. Because of this, I do not have another home.
- (4) I alone stand guard over our property. When he was told that I was alone, along came a thief.
- (5) Even in a dream, I did not see him, that receptacle of sweetness. Hence, I, the most respectable of young woman, am out in the darkness of night.”
- (6) Vidyāpati speaks of the *bhāva* of such a moment. He will personally explain the meaning of this tale.

Scenario Notes:

This *pada* describes the sentiments of the *proṣitabhartrikā nāyikā*, or the heroine whose husband has gone abroad. She expresses both her suffering from separation from her beloved and the temptations of those around her. She also describes the difficulty of dealing with the family of her husband (with whom she is living). The heroine seems to be waiting out in the dark for her husband, an action inappropriate for a young cloistered bride.

Sanskrit Commentary on Pada 66 and/or 67³¹⁹

yadi gatāsi digantaṃ pathika-patisu trasaṃ bodhyaḥ |
nayana-śravaṇa-vihīnā kathamupacāyām yaikayājaratī ||

³¹⁷ This line is repeated in the top margin of folio 6a. There are no changes, so scribe’s intent is unclear.

³¹⁸ rubhāba/ bubhāba?

³¹⁹ Top margin of Folio 16a [pdf. p. 17]

Song 70

(Folio 16b, lines 6-7; Folio 17a, line 1 [PDF pp. 17-18])

[*Āsābarī Rāge*³²⁰ —]

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) ki kahaba mādhava tāheri kahinī | kahahi na pāriā dekha nija henī |
| (2) abirala nayana galae jaladhāra | naba jala bindu sahae ke pāra |
| (3) kuca yuga upara ānana heru | cāṁḍa rāhu ḍareṁ caḍhala sumeru |
| (4) anila anala sama malayaja bīkha | jeho chala śātana seho bhela tīṣa |
| (5) caṁḍa saṁtābae sabitāhu jīni | abe na jiuti ekamata bhela tīni |

Trans.

In *Rāga Āsāvarī* —

- (1) “Will you tell Mādhava of her plight? She cannot tell him herself in such a state.
- (2) Harsh unblinking eyes melt [even] a cloud. Who could bear [even] the newly fallen drops of rain?
- (3) Look at her face above her pair of breasts: the moon in fear of Rāhu has climbed [to the top] of *Sumeru*.
- (4) The wind is fire; the cooling southern breeze is poison. All of her suffering is extremely sharp.
- (5) The Moon burns and subdues all. Now she will not live, will you not reconcile with her?”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* is related to a few of the previous *padas*. The first line which features a female character asking her friend to speak on her behalf to Krishna about her suffering. The rest of the *pada* is rather stereotypical in its description of suffering in separation from a beloved, especially in describing normally soothing and pleasing natural objects and phenomenon as harsh and causing pain. This *alaṅkāra* is known as “*viparyaya*”.

³²⁰ Appears to be marked over by scribe.

Song 97

(Folio 23a, lines 3-2 [PDF p. 24])

Kānaḍā —

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) sām̐jhahi niya makaranda lirāya | kamalinim̐ bhamarā dhayala lukāya |
| (2) bhama bhama bhamarī bālabhu ṣoja | madhu pibi(bha) madhukara sutala saroja |
| (3) keo na kaha maju bālabhu bāta | rayani samāpali bhaya gela parāta |
| (4) seja bhela parimala phula bhela bāsi | katae bhamara mora paḍala upāsi |
| (5) na uga kuśeśara na ugaya sūra | śineha na jāya jība sao dura |
| (6) bhanāi bidyāpati suna bhamarī | tora bālaśbhu basaehi na garīm̐ |

Trans.

[In *Rāga*] *Kānaḍā* —

- (1) In the evening, after giving a bee a drink of her own nectar, the lotus [closes] to keep and conceal him.
- (2) Flitting about, the bee’s wife searched for her husband, but after drinking the nectar he had fallen asleep on the lotus.
- (3) “Can no one tell me the whereabouts of my husband? The night is over, and morning has come.”
- (4) Fragrance became his bed, the flower his dwelling place. “Oh, how much will that bee of mine fall into ridicule?”
- (5) Neither did the lotus rise, nor did the sun. Her love had not gone so far away from her life.
- (6) Says Vidyāpati, “Listen Lady bee! That husband of yours is not dwelling in some alleyway [of disrepute].”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* is rather unique in that the hero and heroine are a couple of bees. The female bee is anxious since her husband did not return to her in the evening. He was intoxicated by his consumption of a lotus’ nectar and fell asleep, concealed in that lotus’ petals. Vidyāpati, similar to a *dūtī*, cautions the female bee from being too anxious. He is simply asleep, not lost in some disreputable place.

Song 114³²¹

(Folio 27a, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 28])

Dhanachī Rāge —

(1) prathamahi alaka tilaka leba sāji	cañcala locana kājare āñji
(2) jāyaba basane āñga sabe goya	dūrahi rahata te arathita hoyā
(3) jāpaba kuca daraśāyaba ādha	punu karaba sudiḍha nibi bādha
(4) prathamahi sajalī rahaba lajāya	kuṭila nayane deba madana jagāya
(5) māna kaiya je baḍhāyaba bhāba	rasa rākhaba jeñ punu punu āba
(6) hame kī śikhaubihe takhanuka rañga	apanahi guru bhaya bolata anañga
(7) bhanayi bidyāpati nāri śobhāba	nāhi nāhi kae loka bujāba

Nepal Manuscript - Song 68

(1) prathamahi alaka tilaka leba sāji	kājare cañcala locana āji
(2) basane jāeba he āga sabe goe	durahi ra(ha)ba te arathita hoe
(3) sundari prathamahi rahaba lajāe	kuṭile nayane deba madana jagāe
(4) jhāpaba kuca darasāoba ādha	khane khane sudṛḍha karaba nibi bāndha
(5) māna kaie darasāoba bhāba	rasa rākhaba te punu punu āba
(6) sundari mañe ki sikhaubisi āora rañga	apanahi guru bhae kahata anañga
(8) bhanai bidyāpatīyādi	

Trans.

In *Rāga Dhanāśrī* —

- (1) First, she took an ornament and decorated her hair. She anointed her fluttering eyes with *kohl*.
- (2) As she goes, all of her limbs will be hidden under clothing, so that all of her supplicants will remain at a [safe] distance.
- (3) Her breasts will be concealed but half will be shown. She makes sure time and again that the knot of her sari is tied tightly.
- (4) She feels shame when she is decorated [like this] for the first time. Her crooked glances will awaken *Kāmadeva*.
- (5) She displays her anger and will increase the *bhāva*. Those who maintain this *rasa* will come back again and again.
- (6) “What could I teach you about the passions of that moment?” Says the limbless-one (*i.e.* *Kāmadeva*) fearing his guru
- (7) Says Vidyāpati, “Such is the nature of woman, to say ‘no, no’. [In such a manner,] they instruct other people.”

Scenario Note:

There is a tension in this *pada* between the stated modesty and coquettishness of the heroine and

³²¹ NM Manuscript: 68
NM (BRBP ed.): 63
TM (BRBP ed.): 42
NG ed.: 130
MM ed.: 270

her ability to arouse even Kāmadeva. Her ways remain mysterious, even to the poet Vidyāpati. This is revealed to be part of the stubborn nature of a woman. In the end, Vidyāpati claims that it is a woman's job to set the proper boundaries between her beloved and herself.

Song 115

(Folio 27a, line 7; Folio 27b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 28])

Mālaba Rāge —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) āja madhura teji mādhava gelā | gokulaka mālika kone hari lelā |
| (2) suna bhela mandira suni bheli nagarī | suna bhela daha-diśa bana bhela sagarī |
| (3) gokulahi uṭhala karuṇā nore | nayana sajala bhari barisaya nīre |
| (4) jaha jaha kānhu saṅge kaya phula-dhārī | kaise kaya dharabaha yase sabe nihārī |
| (5) bhaṇayi bidyāpati suna bara nāri | dhairaja kae raha milata murāri |

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) “Today *Mādhava* has abandoned [me] and has left for *Mathura*. Who has taken Hari, the ruler of *Gokula*, away?”
- (2) The home(s) have become empty and empty has become the lady of the city. All ten directions have become empty and the forest has become like a vast ocean [of tears].
- (3) *Gokula* has been upended with tears of compassion. Their eyes have been moist, full and showering water.
- (4) Flower-bearing trees [blossom] wherever Krishna goes. How ought I to maintain my reputation when all are looking on?”
- (5) Says Vidyāpati, “Listen excellent woman. Remain patient, you will meet *Murāri*.”

Scenario Note:

This *pada* describes the destitution of the heroine and Gokula, Krishna’s childhood home, when he leaves for the city of Mathura. The scene focuses on the heroine’s individual sorrow, as well as the general degradation and sadness that all the residents of Vraja experience at his departure. The poet, as he does often, reminds her that she will see her beloved again.

Song 122

(Folio 29a, lines 1-5 [PDF p. 30])

Mālaba Rāge —

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) biraha dāruṇa duje madana sahāya | hame abalā dukha kahaī na jāya |
| (2) alapa bayasa mora na purala sādhe | parihari gela piyā binu aparādhe |
| (3) ki kahaba sakhi he karama mora bhelā | nāha niṭhura teji para pura gelā |
| (4) cāda kirini garaya biṣa dhārā | dachina pabana baha agini saṁcārā |
| (5) kokīla dhuni suni mati bhama bhorī | sajani hoyiti kaoli gati morī |
| (6) keśari kanu milati tohi āya | kujara manamatha jāyata parāya |
| (7) bhaṇayi bidyāpati suna bara nārī | eta baḍa śobana manahi bicāri |

Trans.

In *Rāga Mālava* —

- (1) “The pain of separation is dreadful, *Kāmadeva* gets help from another. I am a weak woman; my pain cannot be described.
- (2) At such a young age, my desires remain unfulfilled. my lover abandoned me and left. Without any offense.
- (3) What can I say? Oh *Sakhī*! This is all the result of my *karma*. My cruel husband has left me and has gone to some other town.
- (4) The moonbeams are like oozing streams of poison. The [normally cool] southern wind flows like a roving fire.
- (5) Hearing the melody of the cuckoo, a simple girl [like me] roams around intoxicated.”
[Luckily,] my companion will follow on [behind] me.”
- (6) “You will meet with that lion-like Krishna! [That is why] you have been brought here. That most excellent *Kāmadeva* will be victorious over defeat.”
- (7) Says Vidyāpati, “Listen best of all women! In my heart, I consider your immense beauty!”

Scenario Note:

The heroine laments the cruelty of her *karma* and the sins that have led her beloved to abandon her. The voice in the second half of the *pada* switched to the *sakhī* (or the poet) who assures her that she has been brought to meet Krishna and that he will surely come. This *pada* displays additional examples of the *viparyaya alaṅkāra*, in which those elements of nature that the heroine would normally find soothing or beautiful, turn harsh and unrelenting in her lover’s absence.

Song 124³²²

(Folio 29b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 30])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) kula guṇa gauraba śīla śobhāba | sabe laya caḍhalahu toharihi nāba |
| (2) haṭha na karaha hari kara mohi pāra | sabataha baḍa thika para upakāra |
| (3) āiti paolā na kariya lobha | sabe keo rākha pahila mukha śobha |
| (4) je sakhi āili sāthe hamāra | se sabhe bheli bhalihi bidhi pāra |
| (5) hamarā bheli kānhu tohariya āsa | se nā karia je hoa upahāsa |
| (6) tohe para puruṣa hamahi para nāri | hṛdaya kāmpa tua prakṛti nihāri |
| (7) bhanaī bidyāpati suna matimāna | hāthi mahāta naba Ke nahi jāna |

Rāgatarāṅgiṇī — Song 34

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) kula guna gauraba śīla sobhāo | sabe lae caḍhalih toharahi nāo |
| (2) hame abalā kata kahaba aneka | āiti paḍalāṃ bujhia bibeka |
| (3) haṭha teja mādhaba kara mohi pāra | (sabataha baḍa thika para upakāra) |
| (4) hamarā bheli ābe tohari āsa | se na karia je ho upahāsa |
| (5) toheṃ para puruṣa hamahu para nāri | hṛdae kāmpa tua rīti bicāri |
| (6) bhala manda jāni karia parināma | jasa apajasa pae raha gae thāma |
| (7) bhanaī bidyāpati tomheṃ gunamāna | hāthi mahaterṃ naba ke nahi jāna |

Trans.

In *Rāga Korāva* —

- (1) “With the [honor of] my family, virtues, pride, morality, and natural goodness in tow, I board your boat.
- (2) Do not be stubborn Hari! Please, ferry me across. This would be the most generous thing you could do.
- (3) I will come [willing], so do not be so greedy. You protect everyone, so why not protect this beautiful faced-one first?
- (4) Those *Sakhīs* that came with me, all of them have easily crossed over.
- (5) So, I have come to you in hope, oh Krishna! Do not do anything that will cause me to be ridiculed.
- (6) You are the husband of another woman and I am the wife of another man. My heart trembles when I behold your [true] nature.”
- (7) Says Vidyāpati, “listen wise one! Who does not know [how] a mahout [tames] a young elephant?”

Scenario Note:

This song alludes to the *naukā-vihāra*, where the Gopīs are taken advantage of by the ferryman, Krishna. At the same time, it is also the devotee asking God to take him across the ocean of

³²² BS Manuscript: 126
RT (BRBP ed.): 34
NG ed.: 126
MM ed.: 49

existence. The heroine in this *pada* is requesting Krishna to ferry her, the devotee, across the river to save her life. She addresses Krishna in his role as Vishnu the preserver, who has saved everyone except her. In the end the scenario veers towards the illicit scenario as it is revealed that this *pada* involves *parakīya-sṅgāra*, or a love affair between lovers who are married to other people. Vidyāpati concludes the bhaṇitā in a rather proverbial manner. He compares Krishna to a young mahout who tames an elephant through both praise and punishment. The poet is lending a little perspective to the young heroine who is puzzled as to why she is being passed over in favor of her other companions.

Conclusion

This study has sought to examine the lateral shift of Vidyāpati's Maithili lyric idiom in Nepal and further afield in eastern South Asia and the purposes of its adopters. In the contemporary study of Vidyāpati's oeuvre, specific generic designations are assumed. Most studies on the poet and his corpus consider only his role as a 'court poet' or as a devotee of Shiva. In this study, I have intended to question those mutually exclusive designations. Drawing together the 'courtly,' the 'devotional,' the vernacular, and the Sanskritic, Vidyāpati's Maithili *padas* engage with broad cosmopolises beyond the narrow parochial regionalism of Mithila. This confluence accounts for Vidyāpati's broad appeal for both courtly patrons and religious devotees (of several denominations), in what I have called "lateral vernacularism." At times, I have 'zoomed in' on several specific characterizations of Vidyāpati and his idiom found across North-East South Asia. In one of those characterizations, this study has sought to define better the 'courtly vernacular' aesthetic of the poet Vidyāpati's vernacular idiom that was adopted widely within Mithila and by the Malla courts of the Kathmandu Valley. The focus has been on the individual traditions that Vidyāpati's precedent influenced. The pathways by which that model reached other regions and the mechanisms by which they were transformed is the next focus of this project.

This dissertation has defined the vernacular lyrical idiom of Vidyāpati that made its way from its origin in the Oinvāra court of lowland Mithila to the courts and public spaces of Malla-period Kathmandu Valley for lending literary and cultural prestige to those associated with Vidyāpati as a historical figure and the lyric medium that he spawned. This was made possible by a close reading, translation, and presentation of one unstudied manuscript from eighteenth-century Nepal, the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta*. Contextualizing the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* within the oeuvre of

Vidyāpati allows one to draw several conclusions regarding the nature of the poet's courtly vernacular aesthetic.

That close association between the vernacular and a tradition of Sanskrit learning and Apabhraṃśa lyricism extends into the Maithili vernacular age. Vidyāpati's 'courtly idiom' is more diverse in its contents than is usually credited, holding together a variety of elements from many strands of elite literary cultures. Although remembered as a poet (*kavi*), Vidyāpati was primarily employed as a court-*paṇḍita* by the Oinvāras of Mithila. A large portion of the *padas* found in the Bhāṣā Saṅgīta manuscript and elsewhere consists of didactic instructions on the nature of an ethical man ('*supuruṣa*'), typical of the brahmin *paṇḍita*-politician. The ethical, religious, and other social concerns of Vidyāpati found an outlet within his Maithili *padāvalī* in the form of *upadeśa padas* or instructive poems.

Vidyāpati's Maithili corpus resonated so closely with Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* (c. 12th cent. CE) that in his lifetime, the poet was granted the title of '*Abhinava Jayadeva*' (the 'New Jayadeva'). The Mallas capitalized on Vidyāpati's thematic similarities to Jayadeva and the pre-established Oinvāra designation of the poet as a "New Jayadeva," to establish a parallel of their own rule with the memorialized prestige of the Oinvāra brahmin court and with the Sanskrit cosmopolis of Jayadeva's work at the Sena court in Bengal (1070-1230 CE). By establishing a literary pedigree for themselves, The Mallas linked Bengal through Mithila to their region in order to access a more connected multi-polar vernacular world. This is paralleled by the projects of self-fashioning also engaged with by Bengali Vaiṣṇavas in a religious context and by contemporary Maithili speakers in India and Nepal for nationalist political purposes.

Whereas scholarship of Vidyāpati's courtly poetry tends to discount the 'devotional' *padas* found in the manuscript tradition by counting them as inferior, I have argued that there are

parallels with Vidyāpati's Sanskrit works that are overwhelmingly devotional, or at least ritualistic, in nature (e.g., the *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī*, the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, etc.). There are undoubtedly distinct thematic groupings within Vidyāpati's *padas*, the 'Śṛṅgāra-centric' and the 'bhakti-centric,' but the line between the two is often blurred for Vidyāpati's *padas* dedicated to the Goddess or Shiva in a domestic setting. Many of these songs also blur the lines between 'elite' and 'popular/folk' traditions in their contemporary performative contexts in Mithila and Nepal. Giving equal attention to the Shiva/Goddess devotional *padas* that usually are disregarded in studies of Vidyāpati's corpus allows us to go beyond the divide between mannerist vs. devotional songs, which is the norm.

The *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* confirms the relatively stable transmission of Vidyāpati's *padas* between lowland Mithila and the Malla kingdoms, which is in sharp contrast with the transformed branch of the Vidyāpati tradition in Bengal-Assam-Odisha. That branch of the tradition borrowed many linguistic and historical/cultural elements of Vidyāpati's original context and transformed them to function in a new cultural milieu (Vaiṣṇava Bengal) and to use new linguistic forms (Brajabuli). The analysis of the scribal and linguistic features of the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript, respectively, has demonstrated the cohesive nature of Vidyāpati's Maithili idiom's lateral transferal to Nepal. The study of the music, prosody, and poetic-signatures featured in the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* has drawn together both branches of the Vidyāpati tradition, the Mithila-Nepal branch and the Bengali/Brajabuli tradition. Both of these divergent daughter traditions use melodic and prosodic structures to maintain a unity of genre across the regions. Both branches also creatively use and adapt the *bhaṇitās*, or poetic signatures found in Vidyāpati's *padas* to associate later followers of the Vidyāpati tradition with a pervasive cultural memory of the 'golden age' of Mithila under the late Oinvāra dynasty.

This definition of the 'Vidyāpati-idiom' also has ramifications for contemporary discourse regarding the nature of the 'vernacular cosmopolitan' in premodern South Asia. My study implies that a vernacular can define itself even as it is adopted and transformed by non-speakers of that vernacular. Vidyāpati's idiom illustrates this alternative understanding of the development of vernacular literary culture in South Asia. The findings of this study support the existence of a 'lateral vernacularism' in which certain transregional cosmopolitan vernaculars, like Maithili, were adopted and adapted transregionally because of a nebulous and pluricentric literary culture that relied on both textual and performative streams of circulation.

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Appendix 1: Transcription of Untranslated Padas of the BS Manuscript

Song 2

(Folio 2a, Line 3-4 [PDF p. 3])

Bhopālī —

- (1) kahaïte lāghaba bujata āna | sahaïte śarira hoaba sāna ||
(2) kahahi³²³ na pāria sahi na jāya | racaha sājani jība upāya ||
(3) karaba vinaya jatana lāya | piyā parikhaba pachatābaka jāya ||
(4) bhanayi vidyāpati kahaïte bādha | raïka anaya mauna pae sādha ||

Song 4

(Folio 2a, lines 7-9 & 2b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 3])

Āsābarī —

- (1) bāma aśoka bikaśi gela dahiṇe majara bana cām̃pa |
bālabhuke guṇa gabaïte nāma leiti śira kām̃pa ||
(2) naba e lākha nabahi ḍoṃlā naba e lākha naba raṅga |
nabi e kām̃ini naba e ṛtupati naba bām̃labhu sao saṅga ||
(3) keo sakhi jula ehi ḍola vā keo sakhi maṅgala gāba |
Kānhaka raba lae jamaki gela sutala madana jagāba ||
||*Dhru.*||
(4) eka-diśa peliahi ḍola vā aokā diśa nayana prakāśa |
nāgara mana anuraṃjana khaṃjane bharala akāśa ||
(5) dui payodhara āṃtara tesara bhūṣaṇa siṃgha śiyāro na mārae |
choṭa badane piḍā bhūṣaṇa pāhāna hāḍa nicoḍae (tehi se kukura moṭa)³²⁴ ||
(6) jao re tarai gali, bālu paya bhījāe jao ati bārali bāpi |
ekahi hāla paya salila ḍubathi kuiyāṃ sahasa cāri ||
(7) ochā ke saṅga lāgu mahāśaya bharama apana khoa |
bhane vidyāpati laukāke sandhelohā o hanuka hoa ||

Song 7³²⁵

(Folio 2b, line 8; Folio 3a, line 1 [PDF pp. 3-4])

³²³ *Scribal Correction:*

additional “hi” crossed out before central break.

³²⁴ This portion is hypermetrical and is perhaps added as an explanatory note.

³²⁵ TM (BRBP ed.): 3 [condordance with NM 103]

NG ed.: 16

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) laghu laghu sañcara kuṭiḷa kaṭākha | duao nayana laha ekahoka lākha |
| (2) nayana bayana duhu upamā dela | ekahi kamalañṅ duyi khañjana khela |
| (3) maṇḍala upara rāhu niramāne | nikaṭahi ripu basa kara samadhāne |
| (4) ekahi nāla meru arabinda | sumukhi ugala jani pūnimaka canda |
| (5) bhanaī vidyāpati takhanuka bhāna | ī rasa rūpa nārāyana jāna |
| (6) gasāe dekhala moe kānha ³²⁶ | tilā eka dekhaha ajahu chala bhāna |

Taraunī Manuscript — 3

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (1) laghu laghu sañcara kuṭiḷa kaṭākha | duao nayana laha ekahoka lākha |
| (2) nayana bayana dui upamā dela | eka kamala dui khañjana khela |
| [Dhruva.] | |
| (3) kanhāi nayanā halia nibāri | |
| je anupama upabhoga na ābae kī phala tāhi nihāri | |
| (4) cāṁḍa gagana basa ao tārāgana sūra ugala paracāri | |
| nicaya sumera athika kanakācala ānaba kone upāri | |
| (5) je curu kae sāyara sokhala jinala surāsura māri | |
| jala thala nāva samahi sama cālae se pābae ehi nāri | |
| (6) bhanaī vidyāpati janu haraḍābaha nāha na hiyarā lāga | |
| dūti bacana thīra kae mānaba rāe siba simha baḍa bhāga | |

Song 11

(Folio 3b, lines 4-8 [PDF p. 4])

Bibhāsa —

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) gehahu bāhara ḍare na nihāra | yatane ānali eti dūra abhisāra |
| (2) pāsam̃ pio na basa ki karati nātha | kone bisañṅ tarati gurujana hātha |
| Dhruva. | |
| (3) kone pari jāiti nija mandira rāmā | |
| (4) paraka bināsini tua anubandha | ānali vacane racane kate dhandha |
| (5) tilā eka jāsa oñ mahagha samāja | bahali bibhābari toha nahi lāja |
| (6) roseñ rasika tohe na bujaha tanu | ke jāna kaona sana hoeta para janu |
| (7) nakhata malina na ārāela bihāna | patha sañcaraite sadhata punu āna |
| (8) bhanaī vidyāpati dūti so bhāba | je bighaṭala raha tāhi milāba |

³²⁶ *Rhyme*:

the nasal + sibilant -h- conjunct seems to be an acceptable end rhyme (with ‘bhāna’ in this instance).

Song 12

(Folio 3b, lines 8; Folio 4a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 4-5])

Mālaba —

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (1) nahi mana nahi khana nahi abakāśe | paraka ratana kāke dela bisa sarāse |
| (2) bisabāsa na dae dhani sutali nicite | cāri pahara rāti bhama mora cite |
| (3) pahili pahara rāti rabhasam̃hiṃ gelā | dosara pahara parijana nideṃ gelā |
| (4) pahu mana nirūpaite bheli baḍi rāti | takhana ugala candā parama kujāti |
| (5) bhanāi Vidyāpati eho rasa jāne | rāe Siba-Siṃgha Lakhimā biramāne |

Song 15

(Folio 4b, lines 2-4 [PDF p. 5])

Bibhāsa —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) madhupura aela madhāyī | age sakhi nayanā gela juiyī |
| (2) takhane bhāna mohi bhelā | age sakhi amiyam̃ jagata bhari gelā |
| (3) ye bolata se bola o ³²⁷ ... ne | age sakhi hari binu naraha parāne |
| (4) niṭhura bālabhu basa jāhā | age sakhi jāeba hame baru tāhā |
| (5) bhanayi vidyāpati rāmā | age sakhi purata sakala tua kāmā |

Song 16

(Folio 4b, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 5])

Bibhāsa —

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (1) phujale o cikura badana raha rodhī | jani śaśi jāpala rāhu virodhī |
| (2) mātala manamatha śara para hāre ³²⁸ | lāgala marama saha eke pāre |
| (3) mānini māna kaona ehi berī | tilā eka āḍahu ḍiṭhi mohi herī |
| (4) bājaha sumukhi bihusi dae hāse | ugao kalānidhi hoo paragāse |
| (5) aruṇa udaya udayācalage ³²⁹ | taīao na tua mana hoa anurāge |

Song 21

(Folio 5b, lines 5-8; Folio 6a, line 1 [PDF pp. 6-7])

³²⁷ obscured by black smudge

³²⁸ written as ‘hāreṃ’, but to keep the end-rhyme, the *candrabindu* has been removed.

³²⁹ *Scribal Correction*: The manuscript is blocked here. Either scribbled out or correct but remaining illegible.

- (1) jāṃpala krupa dekhae nahi pārāla āratī calaliḥu dhāyī |
takhanuka laghu guru e kaona jānala phiri pachatābaka jāyī |
Dhruva.
- (2) sājani maṃda pema parināmā |
baḍa kae jībana kaela parādhina nahi uṃpacara eka ṭhāmā ||
- (3) madhu sama bacana kuliśa sana mānasa prathamahi jāni na bhelā |
hamara caturapana piśuna hātha paḍu garua māna dūra gelā ||
- (4) kañcana kāca³³⁰ biśekhi na bhelā teṃ lāgala mohi bhorā |
candana bharama bikha āne pala sakala ākauśala morā ||
- (5) eta dina āna bhāne hame achaliḥu bujali tua abagāhī |
apana śūra apanahi hame cāṃchala dosa deba gae kāhī ||
- (6) bhanaī vidyāpati suna bara yauvati citeṃ janu jāṃkhaha āne |
Rājā Śiba-Simgha rupa nārāyaṇa lakhimā dei biramāne ||

Song 29³³¹

(Folio 7a, lines 3-6 [PDF p. 8])

Mālaba —

- (1) mādhavi māsa tithi bheli mādhavi abadhi kaie piya gelā³³² |
Kuca-juga-Śambhu parasi kareṃ bola tanhi teṃ paratiti mohi bhelā |
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) māgahe kaona³³³ dina āuta madhāyī |
kāṃpa sarīra thīra nahi mānasa³³⁴ abadhi niyara bhela āyī ||
- (3) mṛga-mada candana kuṃkuma lepala keo bola śītala candā |
Piya biśaleṣe anala sama barisae bipatiṃ cinhia bhala mandā ||
- (4) madhu lobhe bhamara kamalaṃ caḍhi baiśala sām̄haraṃ kokila rābe |
Baha malayānila birahini bedana ke ābehī taha māre³³⁵ ||
- (5) bhanayi vidyāpati suna bara yaubati biraha karia samadhāne |
Rājā Śiba-Simgha rupa nārāyaṇa lakhimā dei biramāne³³⁶ ||

³³⁰ ‘*tha*’ has a ligature that resembles ‘*tha+ñ*’.

³³¹ NM manuscript: 257

NM (BRBP ed.): 237

NM (Jha ed.): 236

NG ed.: 728

MM ed.: 164

³³² It is written as ‘*gela*’ with a short ‘*a*’-*mātrā*, but also includes extension marks for the A-matra when faced with a line-break?

³³³ Evidence of scribal corrections. The *k-* is written with an ‘*o*’-*mātrā* which is effaced and uses the full ‘*o*’ vowel afterwards.

³³⁴ Written as ‘*mānae*’ in BS manuscript. The only reading which makes sense logically and fitting in with this literary trope would be to read it as ‘*mānasa*’ (mind). This is confirmed by the NM manuscript reading.

³³⁵ Should be ‘*more*’ for a more accurate end-rhyme.

³³⁶ Written as ‘*biramā-māne*’. I believe this to be a scribal error to fit with other occurrences of this *bhaṇitā*.

Nepal Manuscript - Song 257

(Folio 83a, lines 2-4; Folio 83b, line 1 [PDF p. 97])

Lalita rāge —

- (1) mādhaba māsa tīthi bhaū mādhaba abadhi kaie piā gelā |
Kuca yuga sambhu parasi kare bolalanhi te paratiti mohi bhelā ||
Dhruva.
- (2) sakhe he katahu na deṣia madhāi |
Kāmpa sarīra thīra nahi mānasa abadhi nira³³⁷ bhela āi ||
- (3) cāndana agara mṛgamada kuṁkuma ke bola sītala candā |
Piā bisalekhe anala jaño barisae bipati cinhia bhala mandā ||
- (4) bhanāi vidyāpati are re kalāmati abadhi samāpala ājā³³⁸ |
Lakhi debi pati puriha manoratha ābiha siba simha rājā ||

Song 31³³⁹

(Folio 7b, line 1-3 [PDF p. 8])

- (1) sineha baḍhāora i chala bhāna | tohara soādhina karaba parāna ||
(2) alape bujaolaha niya byabahāra | prathama madhura parināmaka khāra³⁴⁰ ||
(3) āja bujala sakhi ḍṛḍha kae kāja | ye bola buḍa takarāṁ kī lāja ||
(4) etabā hama anutāpa ke bhela | giri sama gauraba apadahi gela ||
(5) bhaṇāi bidyāpati eho rasa jāna | rāe śiba siṅgha lakhimā biramāna ||

Nepal Manuscript - 89

(Folio 32a, lines 4-5; Folio 32b lines 1-2 [PDF p. 35])

Dhanachī rāge —

- (1) sineha baḍāora hama chala³⁴¹ bhāna | tohara soādhīna karaba parāna ||
Dhruva.
- (2) bahula bujhaolaha niña bebahāra | mohi pati sabe parajantaka khāra ||

³³⁷ It looks as if it is written as 'nidha', but the scribe has crossed out the upper ligature of the 'dha' syllable to make the character resemble 'ra'.

³³⁸ Written in the manuscript as 'ājī'

³³⁹ NM Manuscript: 89

NM (BRBP ed.): 84

NM (Jha ed.): 83

TM (BRBP ed.): 129

NG: 418

MM: 426

³⁴⁰ Two sets of *daṇḍas* with a space in between. This might indicate a missing *pada* line or the *dhruvapada*.

³⁴¹ Written twice across line break.

- (3) bhala bhela mālati tohahi udāsa |
 (4) jata anurāga bhela sabe rāga |
 (5) bhanāi Vidyāpatītyadi |

punu madhukare na āoba tua³⁴² pāsa ||
 toharā kī bola ba hamara abhāga ||

Taraunī Manuscript - 129

- 1) sineha baḍhāoba I chala bhāna |
 (2) bhala bhela mālati bheli he udāsa |
 (3) etabā hama anutāpaka bhela |
 (4) alape bujhaolaha nia bebahāra |
 (5) bhanahi Vidyāpati mana dae seba |

tohara soyādhina karaba parāna ||
 punu na āoba madhukare tua pāsa ||
 giri sama gauraba apadahi gela ||
 dekhitahi nia parināma asāra ||
 hāsini debi pati gaja simha deba ||

Song 36

(Folio 8b, lines 2-4 [PDF p. 9])

*Deśākha Rāge*³⁴³ —

- (1) prabhu tohe ropalaha latikā ānī |
 (2) te upacae upacita bhela se |
 (3) he mādhaba bujala tua anurodhe |
 (4) ekahi bhavana basi sabe bhela bādhe |
 (5) durajana bacana bujia sabe phure |

parataha yatane paṭaolaha pānī ||
 tohe bisaraba suma jāota ke ||
 herabahu kaelaha nayana nirodhe ||
 kichu na bujaī chia kī aparādhe ||
 amarakheṃ bimara khala karia dūre ||

Song 44

(Folio 10a, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 11])

Gujjarī Rāge —

- (1) dekhali mae kāmīni kahahi na jāe |
*Dhruva.*³⁴⁴
 (2) morā mana manoratha rahi gela goe |
 (3) sarābhrama sakala sakhījana bārī |
 (4) talita latā śani tanu dekhali |
 (5) pīna payodhara ritu ujarī |
 (6) bhanāi vidyāpati acha parakāra |
 (7) rādhā eṃ jāeba bike kānḥu leba dāna |

punu daraśana lāgi raciya upāe ||
 bisarae cāhia bisari na hoe ||
 prema bujaolanhi palaṭi nihārī ||
 jani bihi daśahu daśā likhali ||
 śrīphale phulali kanaka mañjarī ||
 taraṇi taraṇa kānḥa hohaka ḍahāra ||
 darase parase he purata pañcabāṇa ||

³⁴² superscript note: “ba-4”. Meaning unclear.

³⁴³ Appears to be marked out by scribe.

³⁴⁴ written after the 2nd line.

Song 50

(Folio 11a, lines 6-7; Folio 11b, lines 1-6 [PDF p. 12])

50a

Rāja Bijaya Rāge —
Dhruva.

- (1) māi he mādhaba ajahu na āba |
tāhi deśaṃ sakhini manobhava bhāva ||
- (2) taruṇa śāla raśāla kānana kuṅja kalmaka puhu pīte |
paduma pāṭali parama parimala bigala saṅkula bikaśīte ||
- (3) aruṇa kiśalaya rāga saṅghata maṃjarī bhare laṃbite |
madhu lubudha madhukara lāje suhṛta lobhe cuṃbana cuṃbite |

50b

- (4) cuṃbita madhukara kusuma parāga |
koraka parase bāḍhala anurāga ||
- (5) cau-diśaṃ bana ghana bhṛṅga jaṃkāra |
sehe suni manamatha upaju bikāra ||
- (6) cīra candana canda tābaka pābake jadi mānase |
hāra kāla bhuaṅga sebā saptaśata śaraja dībiśe ||
- (7) māninī jadi māna hāraka kokilā raba kanakane |
bahae māruta malaya saṃjuta basae saurabha śitale ||
- (8) śītala pabana dachina baha maṃda |
tā (tanu)³⁴⁵ tābae cāṃdana canda ||
- (9) hṛdaye hāra bhela bhuaṅgama māna |
kokila kalaraba pīḍa parāna ||
- (10) śarada nirmala pūrnimā canda suhṛsī surakta sulocanī |
kathaṃ sīdati sundarī bhaju kuraṅga-śāvaka locanī ||
- (11) māninī yadi māna hāraka saptaśata bira bhāturī |
bidyāpati kabi seba sundari sumati śaṅkara nara harī ||

50c

- (1) tā taba taruṇī paya dhadhali ojā śaṅkara kṛṣṇa |
- (2) janī abasara pāoba eka thāne |
bidyāpati kabi sudṛḍha bhane ||

³⁴⁵ obscured in manuscript.

Song 53³⁴⁶

(Folio 12a, lines 5-7; Folio 12b, line 1 [PDF p. 13])

*Narita*³⁴⁷ —

- (1) katae aruṇa uṁdayācalaṁ ugala katae pachima gela candā |
Katae bhamara kolāhale jāgala sukhe sutathu arabindā ||
[*Dhruva.*]
(2) he kāmīni yāmīni kethae gelī |
cira samaya āgata³⁴⁸ hari bhela pāhuna ādha o keli na bhelī ||
(3) aruṇima joti adhara nahi paole palaṭi na gaṁthale hārā |
kī toṇa acetani bhelisi age sakhi kī torāṁ nāha gamārā ||
(4) pauaṁ pāta atāpe na paole hamari na bheli I dehā |
kṛpana saṁcita dhana rahala akaṇḍita kājare siṁdure rehā ||

Song 59

(Folio 13b, lines 5-7; Folio 14a, lines 1-7 [PDF pp. 14-15])

Mālaba —

*prabundhu ślokaḥ*³⁴⁹ —

Gupya? kiṁ nakhamaṇḍale kṣaṇamate³⁵⁰ lipya tanuṁ kumkumai saṅkrāntāmalakajjale kapaṭinā
kiṁ kṣālitonādharah |
Tasmādugdatajāgarabhrukuṭilājātāruṇatvaṁ dṛṣorgha?kṣoti sphuṭameva sundaraparāra?ai vatā
caurikā ||

Gīta —

- (1) kuṁkuma laolaha nakha khata goī | adhare; ri kājara aelaha³⁵¹ dhoī ||
(2) taiao na rahale kapaṭa budhi torī | locana aruṇa bekata karu corī || [*dhruva.*]
(3) cala cala kanhāi bolaha janu āne | paratakha cāhi adhika anumāne ||

³⁴⁶ TM: 119 (BRBP ed.)

NG ed.: 373

MM ed.: 386

³⁴⁷ It is unclear if this is a *Rāga* designation.

³⁴⁸ These two words are written with *sandhi* as *samayāgata*. The Taraunī manuscript addition helped to clarify this word division.

³⁴⁹ This *pada* alternates between the Maithili original and a Sanskrit commentary. The Sanskrit is a little corrupt. I have attempted to reconstruct correct grammatical forms when possible, otherwise I have indicated unclear characters from the manuscript with a ‘?’.

³⁵⁰ *Scribal Correction:*

‘chāṁla’ is corrected to ‘kṣaṇa’

³⁵¹ *Scribal Correction:*

Written as ‘*aeha*’. -la- is written in superscript.

Jānāmi prakṛtiṃ guṇaṃ cabhavataḥ śīlaṃ manoyādṛśaṃ kāmakrīḍa-na kauśalam kṣaṇamate³⁵²
ityārthaḥ³⁵³ purodabhrahṇī | yasyāśrīnavayauvanapraṇayiṇī vaidagdhamugdham manotasye yaṃ
madhuyāminī manasijakrīḍāṃ binā gachati ||

(4) jānaoṃ prakṛti bujaṃoṃ guṇa śīlā | jasa tora manoratha manasija līlā ||
(5) dhaṃnye se yaubana chaele rī jātī | kāmīni binu kaise geli madhurātī ||

Vākyai aṃnalū goyasyanucitaṃ bhrukṣeṃ vaṃśaṃne vaya? tasya śladagata mama manāṃ
lajjāṃ budhomajjati |
Unmāgeṃśapatho sijasya sapathaiḥ rādhāḥ param bodhate syakomaladhiyātasyāparādhaḥ
katham ||

(6) Vacane lukābaha bekata o kāje | tohe hasi heraha hama baḍa lāje ||
(7) apathahi sahita bujābaha rādhe | kone parikhe pabaśaṭha aparādhe ||

Kaṃ Vidyāpati bhārātī śṛṇu śubhekāntāparādhaḥ katham lobhdāvyaḥ kimihādhiḥkaṃ tava
guṇatvaṃ? lajjayitvāpatim | bīraḥ śrīśivasimhadevalakhimādevyāḥ patirnnāgarojñātātesakalāḥ
kālārasapatiḥ śrīdevasimhahāmejaḥ ||

(8) bhanayi bidyāpati piya aparādhe | udaghaṭa nakha rama manoratha bādhe ||
(9) Deba-Simha nṛpa eho rasa jāne | rāya Śiba-Simgha Lakhimā ḍṛḍha māne ||

Song 63

(Folio 15a, line 7; Folio 15b lines 1-3 [PDF p. 16])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

(1) ḍhoḍha bolathi hama sana ke thika bāsuki hamara³⁵⁴ ... ghātī |
kaūmāeṃ kaela hāṃsa saṃo sarivari na guṇathi apanuki jātī ||
(2) cheri bolathi hame janamaka sundari cāṃda badana kaha lobhe |
chāgara goṭa lae sabhāṃ baiśalāhaṃ tehi bhela mukha śobhe ||
(3) ūṭa bolathi hame janamaka suhaba bheḍi bolathi hame ūne |
peca bolathi hame paṃcama gāela pike o morā mukha sune ||
(4) lahuki bajāi yaṭhu nuki uṭha nārī ūda kahi śikke ḍubathi birāḍī |
bhaṇāi bidyāpati bānī mori cerī puta kām cūmbāsa dhorī |

³⁵² *Scribal Correction:*

‘chaṃla’ is corrected to ‘kṣaṇa’

³⁵³ *Orthography:*

Because this a stock commentarial phrase in Sanskrit, this might be a Nāgarī ‘i’ rather than the Mithilākṣara. This can help date the manuscript as well.

³⁵⁴ 1-2 letters obscured.

Song 68

(Folio 16a, line 7; Folio 16b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 17])

Barāḍī Rāge —

(1) bahule dibaseṁ ghara aelaha piya parihari paradeśa |
jībana mora saphala bhela dura gela sakala kaleśa ||

Dhruva.

- (2) piya moraṁ (baḍa)³⁵⁵ rasiyā re ||
(3) prathamahi binaya kaela hame jakhane gelahu piyā pāsa |
manaṁ manasija rasa bāḍhala chāḍala biraha tarāsa ||
(4) biraha bikhāda samuji hame kae rahalihu abhirokha |
te bidhi hari hama bodhalanhi pāola parama santosa||
(5) madhu sama madhura bacana suni hrdaya harakha bhae gela |
pūrala sakala manoratha janama kṛtārakha bhela ||
(6) kī sakhi kahaba rabhasa rasa kahaiteṁ rahaba lajāya |
jata jata keli kuhu hala tata sabe kahahi na jāya ||

Song 71³⁵⁶

(Folio 17a, lines 2-4 [PDF p. 18])

Bhaṭhiyārī Rāge —

- (1) akāmika mandira bheli bahāra | cahudiśaṁ suna laka bhamara jaṁkāra ||
(2) muruchi khasali³⁵⁷ mahi na hoae thīra| na cetae cikura na saṁbhrama cīra ||
(3) e kānhu e kānhu ki e tohe bhori³⁵⁸ || madane bhuaṁge ḍasu bālaha tori ||
(4) keo sakhi belī dhuni bādhae bāra | cāṁdane gada gada lāba mṛnāla ||
(5) keo mata bola kānhu mata jorī | keo kheda kokila ḍākinī bolī ||
(6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati ethi nahi āna | eka pae gābuḍa acha se kānhā ||

Song 73

(Folio 17b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 18])

Rāja-Bijaya Rāge —

(1) ambaṁra milita sindūra rabi maṇḍala rāhu dhāmila mukha candā re |

³⁵⁵ Written above line interstitially.

³⁵⁶ This verse is almost identical to song 3 of this same manuscript, though it appears to use more of the same features as the Taraunī manuscript version.

³⁵⁷ Originally written as ‘khasae’, but the scribe has corrected himself above -e-.

³⁵⁸ *Scribal Correction:*

This is written as bheri with a mark above to indicate the vowel diacritic should have an additional line, correcting -e- to bho-

- apuruba gehana ekahi berim̃ lāgala kāe sutasi nira dandā re ||
 (2) hasi dehi sara basao re rasiā abasaram̃na śula śayāna re |
 surasari dhāra hāra mili bhājala roāmbalī jaunā parabāha re ||
 (3) mājam̃ sitāsita bhajaha mahāsaya jāhi ichae nira bāha re |
 kañcana kāca sām̃cañ bhari sājala kuca yuga hari hara thalā re ||
 (4) kaī e manoratha sādhe arādhaha lae purohita pañcabāṇā re ||

Song 75

(Folio 17b, line 6; Folio 18b, lines 1-3 [PDF pp. 18-19])

Rāja Bijaya —

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (1) mādhaba kaise jāiti bāsā | dekhi sakhījana ³⁵⁹ ho upahāsā |
| (2) aruṇa locana ghāme ghamāela | jani rāte phala pabane pāola |
| (3) dukule cikure ānana jāmpala | jani tamo cayem̃ cām̃da cāpala |
| (4) phujali nīrī āni merāuli | ini surasari utare dhāuli |
| (5) nandana bana janamali jānī | madane āni thaḍā dela pālī |
| (6) phula phale bharela uṃni latā | puruṣa bhamara tā anurātā |
| (7) kājare reha romābali bhelā | ānali jini surasari dhārā |
| (8) cākha nema paramānaka rājā | yubati badhe toha nahi lājā |
| (9) adhika lābhaka lobha na māra | je mula rākhae se baniḷāra |

Song 78

(Folio 18b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 19])

Dhanachī Rāge — *Gūḍha* —

- (1) Mādhaba kaha ki karati sāya/sāba |
 Giri-sutā pati hāra birodhi gāmī tanaya dhāya ||
 (2) biraha anala ari juḍāi aśitala śikara āni |
 śarira (rā) pati suta darasane muruchi paḍu śayāni ||
 (3) paraśi candana nindi naḍā baya kare na kusuma leya |
 hari bhaginī nandana bālāhi sodara kichu na deya ||
 (4) aha aha kae cira na cetāe dūram̃ parihara hāra |
 bihaṅga bālaṃbhū aśana aśana se sakhi sahae na pāra ||
 (5) ādika ati beyādhiṃ byayā-kulī dinahuṃ dura bisāe āja |
 Yamunā sodara nagara uṃjaḍa deti basāya ||
 (6) bidyāpatīyādi —

³⁵⁹ There appears to be a *daṇḍā* between -sa- and -khī-

Song 79

(Folio 18b, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 19])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) mukharaka mukhaja ³⁶⁰ ke bhari lela | bhama marāla kula ekaśara bhela |
| (2) abhisāriṇi he calali kae sāja | katae jāiti dahum̃ muhahu na bāja |
| (3) gurujana parijana phani na ḍarāe | abanata mukha kae chāte jāe |
| (4) aora ḍambara mṛgamada śāra ³⁶¹ | niśāśa māela tinu aṁdhakāra |
| (5) jani gaja-rāja corāola cora | tilā-eka dekhali talita ī jora |
| (6) bhanāi bidyāpati duika sineha | duhu tejalahe apana tija geha |

Song 80

(Folio 19a, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 20])

Mālaba Rāge —

[*Dhruva.*]

- (1) mādhaba tua guṇe lubudhali ramanī |
anudine tanu khini damana latā sani bhara nanda bāha na gamanī ||
- (2) naba hari tilaka baela sakhi jāmini kāmīni komala kām̃tī |
jamunā janaka tanaya ripu ghariṇī sodara bhū okara śātī ||
- (3) dāhina hari tahi pābaka parimala pika dhuni śuni pachatābe |
udadhi tanaya bhojana ruci darasae dasami daśā laga ābe ||
- (4) śāmrāhu śāda bikhāda baḍhā bae eta saba sabhe saha tua lāgī |
bāraka śara sāgara guṇi khāiti badhaka hoaeba toho bhāgī ||
- (5) bidyāpatītyādi.

Song 81

(Folio 19a, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 20])

Dhanachī Rāge —

[*Dhruva.*]

- (1) sājani morahe na anumāna |
jani surapura puhupa³⁶² harala hṛdaya gaḍhala kānha ||
- (2) tinihum̃ bhubana ripu ripu-sua sara sariśe dhāra |

³⁶⁰ *Scribal Correction:*

-ba- is crossed out to indicate a deletion.

³⁶¹ There seems to be a mistake here with the end rhymes of these two hemistiches. The -ī- is flattened and could potentially be mistaken for -ā-.

³⁶² *Scribal Correction:*

The scribe seems to have blotted out a mistake.

- hari hari hara hāraka ballī dāhina deha saṁtāba ||
 (3) tripatha gāmini pahu tanaiā sodara kara prahāra |
 kaṭhina kusuma śara śarokhī marama lakhie māra ||
 (4) beda bidhātā nandana nandana bala bināśi³⁶³ nātha |
 tāba dhubi huni hame ekasari sakala yubati sātha ||
 (5) bidyāpati.||

Song 82

(Folio 19a, line 7; Folio 19b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 20])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

[*Dhruva.*]

- (1) mādhaba dhani tua birahe malānī |
 ali bāhala ripu ḍare muha goae, nindae malayaja pānī ||
 (2) jalā sindhu ripu tāta dahina kaela hari bhae tanu lāge |
 ahaniśi cira cikura nahi sambhrama tua darasana pae māge ||
 (3) hari ripu adhāra raśae ādhā diśa ahali daśae naḍāi |
 pāusa peyasi chādi bideśala nāgara kaona baḍāi ||

Song 83

(Folio 19b, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 20])

Bhaṭhiyārī Rāge —

- (1) aruṇa anuja dhuja suta ari śiromaṇi tāro bandhu na hoba mudīte |
 Biśa goa riśā tanu rabi karā ātape tanu śaradi te ||
 [*Dhruva.*]
 (2) sajanī rajani bhela adhaśeśam |
 Mane chaka adhā tanu lubudha hamāra manu tāritu mana karu biśeśam ||
 (3) bāe sajana kāṁpa hareṁ pahareṁ raba śunī bacana paramāne |
 Pahu dei pati rāma bhadra gati para buḍhaha na bhāna ||

³⁶³ *Scribal Correction:*

Above the line, ‘*bilāśī*’ is corrected to ‘*bināśī*’.

Orthographic Note:

This correction is a good way to look at the difference between -na- and -la-, which are almost identical otherwise.

Song 84

(Folio 19b, lines 5-7; Folio 20a, line 1 [PDF pp. 20-21])

[*Dhanachī Rāge* —]

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) basubiṣeṃ pābe harala pati mora | andha tanaya priya sakhi bhela thora |
| (2) śūra sutā suta tanhi kara tāta | rakha ï teṃ dineṃ dineṃ khina bhela gāta |
| (3) pahila dosara pala āitiṃ gela | ādika tesara anāeta bhela |
| (4) abe jaṃo jāe pātakha pahu tohī | pati dina madanaha lae jiba mohī |
| (5) jībaka pāmcama se tanu jāra | madhu ripu malaya pabana pika māra |
| (6) bhagata bachala thika tanhi kara nāma | sakala kalā aru guṇaka nidhāna |
| (7) bhanayi bidyāpati suna bara nāri | cāri catura bhuja milata murāri |

Song 85³⁶⁴

(Folio 20a, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 21])

Narita Rāge —

[*Dhruva.*]

- (1) mādhava tore bule āṃnala rāhī |
sāraṅga bhāsa pāsa saṃo ānali torita paṭhābaha tāhī ||
- (2) jaladhara ambara rati pahirāuli seta sāraṅga kara bāmā |
sāraṅga daśana dahina kara maṇḍita³⁶⁵ sāraṅga gati gama rāmā ||
- (3) śambhu gharini berā āni merāuli hari suta suta dhani bhelā |
ādita uditā timira piri ugala cāṃda malina bhae gelā ||
- (4) bhanaī bidyapati suna bara yaubati tohahi acetani dūtī |
jāhi milae nidhi se kaise parihara harihu kaehe jugutī ||

Nepal Manuscript — Song 142

- (1) jaladhara ambara ruci parihāuli seta sāraṅga kara bāmā |
Sāraṅga badana dāhina kara maṇḍita sāraṅga gati calu rāmā ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) Mādhava tore bole ānali rāhī |
sāraṅga bhāsa pāsa saṃo ānali turita paṭhābaha tāhī ||
- (3) śambhu gharinī beri āni merāuli hari suta suta dhuni bhelā |
aruṇaka joti timira piḍi ugala cānda malina bhae gelā ||
- (4) bhanaī bidyāpatītyādi ||

³⁶⁴ NM Manuscript: 142

NM (BRBP ed.): 132

NG ed.: 318

MM ed. 325

Jha ed.: 131

³⁶⁵ This word is marked over in the manuscript but still visible. This reading is confirmed by the NM reading.

Song 86³⁶⁶

(Folio 20a, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 21])

Rāmakalī Rāge —

- (1) hari-ripu-balada tā-priya-pae-gr̥ha tā ripu bipuraha kāla je |
tāsu bhīma ruci birahe beyākuli tātaha hṛdayāṁ śāla je ||
Dhruva.
- (2) sundare teja māna kara gamane |
anudine tanu khina toina kirini jina tua darasane tasu jībane ||
- (3) hari-bhuja-aśana aśana varago jima muñcati gojima godhā |
Kara kapola dae sīdati kāmīni harihi milala jani hari kalā ||
- (4) hari-nandana-suta-priyā-sahodara dei na hari-ripu-gāminī³⁶⁷ |
palabhoela ripu tāsu teṁ pīḍali japae garuḍa-dhvaja kāmīnī ||
- (5) bidyāpatītyādi. ||

Nepal Manuscript — 27

- (1) Hari-ripu-varada-putra gr̥ha-ripu tā hara kāla he |
tāsu bhīma-ruta virahe beākula se suni hṛdayā sāla he ||
- (2) suna sundari teja māna karu gamane |
anudine tanu khini tuhina nahī jīni tua darasane tā jībane ||
- (3) Hari-ripu-asana esana varago jima muñcasi gobi jima gobinā |
kare kapola gahi sīdati sundari goja milala sasihi kalā ||
- (4) Hari-ripu-nanda-priyā-sahodara dei na tā sua kāmīnī ||
- (5) Bidyāpatītyādi ||

Song 87

(Folio 20b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 21])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

- (1) hari-ari ari pahu tāta nāma se śīlaya sundari bāse |
baruṇa-bhagini-pati janaka-tāta-pitu-ripu ripu dura kara pāse ||
[Dhruva.]
- (2) abhisārini he cala cala śvarita nikumje |
śayana racita sabe sañcita manohara bimala banita sukha puñje ||
- (3) surasari bairi tāsu ari bhuṣaṇa jābe na daraśa ye bhāse |

³⁶⁶ NM Manuscript: 27

NM (BRBP ed.): 27

Jha ed.: 27

³⁶⁷ The reading of the Nepal manuscript makes more sense and represents a logical phonetic shift from unvoiced -ka- to the voiced -ga- of the same consonantal class.

Hari duhitā mandira niya priyatama bhoja na ripu tua āse ||
(4) bāsudeba kaha anupama atisāya budha-jana bujae biśeṣī |
haraloe napitu kaṭe je jānae prathama rasi kata surekhī ||

Song 88

(Folio 20b, lines 4-7; Folio 21a, line 1 [PDF pp. 21-22])

[*Rāja Bijaya Rāge* —]

- (1) daṁti³⁶⁸ saturi suta ripu bhai ānana kaphphala ari bhaṣa loyanā |
bāca praṇata suta tasu je sinehi bhauhāṁ paṁkaja śobhanā ||
- (2) sundari ki kahabi tori nanu Āī |
jani daśānana-ari kāja parihari siriju sakala mana lāī |
- (3) byāsa-jāta mita tasu bhaṣa pākala tasu sarisa parimāne |
ana anūpa phula nāśā śobhita parinaya tasu pūra ṭhāne ||
- (4) kāśyapa-tanaya sādha sabe rāu rahabi ari mani dui kāne |
siṁgha śarāśī soni sambhāṣita adhara prakṛti tasu bāne ||
- (5) deba sabahi purohita mātā tāsu dharana sīra jaubanā |
bidyāpati kaha garua tohara tapa hari hṛdayā bhaju śobhanā ||

Song 89

(Folio 21a, lines 1-5 [PDF p. 22])

[*Dhanachī Rāge* —]

- (1) paṁkaja bandhu baīri kara banduba tasu sama ānana śobhe |
nayana cakora jora jaṁo saṁcara tathuhu sudhā sama lobhe ||
- (2) e ākaha kaise bhalī ramanī |
Hara kaṁkaṇa ānana sama locana tasu bāhana sama gaṁmanī³⁶⁹ ||
- (3) sindhu-giri-rāja-sahodara pīna payodhara gorā |
dui patha chāḍi teśara nahi saṁcara hārā suraśari dhārā ||
- (4) śaiśabaṁ droṇa aśana prati pālala bolāite tasu sama bāṇī |
giriajāyā pati rupa manohara tāhi niramāuli śayānī |
- (5) teja hari bhaba pariśilati tohi pari bidyāpati kabi bhāne |
rājā śiba-siṁgha rupa nārāyaṇa lakhimā deī dṛḍha māne ||

³⁶⁸ It appears that it was originally written as ‘*daṁtu*’. Now the -i- has been written over -tu-.

³⁶⁹ At the top of this folio is a note from the scribe “*gaja-gāminītyārthah*” which clarifies this line.

Song 90

(Folio 21a, lines 5-7; Folio 21b, line 1 [PDF p. 22])

Deśākha —

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (1) madhāi bisaraha pura-ari mātaṃ | Sura-guru-sumukhi karati abhighātaṃ |
| (2) ulāi śeṃ unati śebara na bicāra | tanhi ati kaela manda byabahāra |
| (3) tanhi binu bhale o bhela sabhe manda | parabhuta madhukara malayaja canda |
| (4) kubalaya tanaya ³⁷⁰ lae nada raśāba | kaiśana hoeta dahum̃ ehiṃ parathāba |
| (5) daśami daśā pāubi bara nāri | apajasa poraha bajābaha jāni |
| (6) rābaṇa-maraṇa baraṇa tasu bheo | tāhi chāḍi nahi cintae deo |

Song 91

(Folio 21b, lines 1-5 [PDF p. 22])

Māla-kausika Rāge —

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) uḍḍi ḍubi pare bābaḍi gopi meri | kānha paśala bana kara jana keli |
| (2) rādhā haṃsali apana mukha heri | caṃda parāyana hariṇa kaśeri |
| (3) āela basanta samaya ṛtu-rāja | bhamari birahe calu bhamara samāja |
| (4) kubalaya kumudini cahudiśeṃ phula | kokila kuhuki daśa o diśa bula |
| (5) madhu rasa pībi kaṃhu sutala seja | dhaela sudhākareṃ ³⁷¹ ādita teja |
| (6) khane kara śvāsā khane kara kheda | baiśala biṣadhara paḍha jani beda |
| (7) bhogī achala maheśara bhela | pāna taṃbora hātha dae gela |
| (8) bhanayi bidyāpati kabi kaṇṭha-hāra | kī buja rājā kī karatāra |
| (9) lakhimā deī pati bujaha kanta | o nahi bara khāna thika basanta |

Song 92³⁷²

(Folio 21b, lines 5-7; Folio 22a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 22-23])

Lalita Rāge —

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) mādhava kaṭhina hṛdae parabāsī | tua peyasi mohi bheṭali balākini abahum̃ palaṭi ghara jāśī |
| (2) himakara heri abanata kara ānana kara karuṇā patha herī | nayana kājara lae lihae bimdhuntuda kae rahu tohari śerī |

³⁷⁰ Before -ya- there is an erased section. In the margins a -na- is written to correct this.

³⁷¹ special mark indicating a missing long -ā-.

³⁷² NM manuscript: 180

NM (BRBP ed.): 165

NG ed.: 765

MM ed.: 177

SoV ed.: 163

- (3) śiba śiba kae mīna-ketana bhaeṁ dharaṇi loṭābae dehā |
 nayana nīralae kūca śiriphala dae śambhu pujae nija gehā ||
- (4) dakhina pabana baha se kaise jubati saha kara kabalita tasu |
 gela parāna āśa dae rākhāe daśa nakhe lihae bhūṅge ||
- (5) parabhuta ke bhaeṁ kareṁ pāe salae bāyasa nikaṭa pukāre |
 Rājā śiba-siṅgha rupa nārāyaṇa sukabi bhaṇathi kaṁṭhahāre ||

Song 93

(Folio 22a, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 23])

Guḍa Rāge —

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) mukulita kānana kuṅja baśī | nayanaka kājareṁ ghora masī |
| (2) nakha likhalī kinha na tilika pāta | likhi e paṭhaolanhi ākhara sāta |
| (3) e hari e hari na teji aneha | sagari likhāṇa paḍhi utarola deha |
| (4) prathamaka abasaraṁ pahila basanta | dosarā bihi tesarā kera anta |
| (5) tīni bhāga himakareṁ gahi lela | cauṭhi bhāga bihi likhi kae dela |
| (6) bhanayi bidyāpati ākhara lekhi | budhajana hoeta se kahata biśekhi |

Song 94³⁷³

(Folio 22a, lines 5-7; Folio 22b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 23])

Āsābarī Rāge —

- (1) hari-ripu-ripu-prabhu-tanae se ghariṇī tulanā rupa ramanī |
 bibudhāsana sani bacaneṁ sohāuli kamalāsana sama gamanī ||
 [*Dhruva.*]
- (2) sāe sāe jāiteṁ dekhali Mageṁ |
 jīnae āiti jaga bibudhā-dhipa-pura-gorī |
- (3) ghaṭhaja-aśana-suta dekhie tāheri mukha cañcala nayana cakorā |
 heraite hari jani lae geli hara-ripu-bāhana morā ||
- (4) udadhi-tanaya-suta sindure loṭāyala haṁsa dekhali raja kāṁtīm |
 ṣaṭapada-bāhana kākha baiśāola bihi lihu śikharaka pātī ||
- (5) rabi-suta-tanaya dei e geli sundari bidyāpati kabi bhāne |
 Rājā śiba-siṁha rupa nārāyana lakhimā dei diḍha māne ||

³⁷³ NM manuscript: 166

NM (BRBP ed.): 166

NG ed.: 13

MM ed.: 199

SoV ed.: 153

Song 95³⁷⁴

(Folio 22b, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 23])

Mālaba rāge —

- (1) hari-ripu-ripu-suta-ari-ura-bhuṣaṇa tasu bhoana acha ṭhāmā |
pañcabadana-ari-bāhana tāri-puta-suprabhu leae nāmā ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) mādhaba kone pari rākhabi rāmā |
surabhi-tanaya-pati-śiromaṇi-dūkhana rahata janama bhari ṭhāmā ||
- (3) khacara cala lagae bhāmīni paśati kara dina rākhabi āśe |
kī hara-bedabāṇa-guṇi khāiti yadi na jāyaba tohe pāśe ||
- (4) tapana-tanaya-suta dae kahu sundari bāḍhata kona baḍāyī |
ambamra śeṣa lekhi kahu āḍhati bidhi halu jagara chaḍāyī ||

Song 98

(Folio 22b, lines 6-7; Folio 23a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 23-24])

- (1) biṣadhara-priya-suta-gamana-aśana-aśana-bhoana-tanayaka svāmī |
priyaka cora-suta-ripu ke bāhana tāśu sarīśe gāmī ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) mādhaba tore bole ānali rādḥā |
sura-ari-ripu-suta-dhanu je tarāśae tātaha ati tanu bādḥā ||
- (3) gośiriṣe punu para sanīndu kare hema bānu kana śohāi |
bhānuphalā dṛpiyidṛ bichāo latā baidhana jai nāi ||
- (4) kaśyapa ke suta-prabhu-ripu ke duta-amia biṣa paḍata rajāne |
kaṁnhara kāśaka aṁśu kahia gela tātaha madana na māne ||
- (5) ṣaṭa-rasa bindaka birahini jībaka bidyāpati kabi bhāne |
Rājā śiba-simha rupa nārāyaṇa lakṣimā deī diḍha māne ||

Song 98

(Folio 23a, lines 6-7; Folio 23b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 24])

- (1) ekahari mora heme garāsala dvija hari laya geli rāmā |
ekahari moya jāite gamāola abe bidhinā bhela bāmā ||

³⁷⁴ NM manuscript: 246

NM ed.: 226

NG ed.: 14

MM ed.: 198

SoV: 225

- (2) mādhaba na purula madanaka raṅge |
 (3) udadhi badana kaya gagana mukha joae hari heraite hama lolā ||
 ekahari hama saṅgahi satābaya herāela hari hame paolā |
 (4) harihi pakhāri hari hari caḍhi baiśala kare gahi ākama? Delā |
 āela se hari bharama bhulāyala dāruṇa katae para elā ||
 (5) bhaṇayi bidyāpati pāpa harathu hari, hari sumari yasaba ṭhāmā |
 pāṭha hari he tohahi pāola sundari ābe kaise bheli he bāmā ||

Song 99

(Folio 23b, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 24])

- (1) mana janmā ari tilaka bairi tasu bairi ānana dāsā |
 Tāheri rāhu jatā khāe maratī tata kebala tohara usdāsā ||
Dhruva.
 (2) Mādhaba dūsaha tasu pacabāne |
 Toha sama puruṣa dosara na tribhubana tiri badhaba karu abadhāne ||
 (3) śara janmā bāhana āhara āhare tejāliya jiba śāyī |
 gamana śineha jība dae jāiti juge juge badha toha lāyī ||
 (4) sukabi bidyāpati śiba-simha nara-pati abasaraṃ halia bujāyī ||

Song 100

(Folio 23b, lines 6-7; Folio 24a, line 1 [PDF pp. 24-25])

- (1) duja āhara āhara suta nandana suta āhara suta rāmā |
 Banaja bandhu suta sutalaya sundari calali saṅketa ṭhāmā ||
 (2) Mādhaba bujhala kalā biśeṣī |
 toharī lāgi āgi dhasa kaela kaśādhara rahali upekhī ||
 (3) gopati pati pati ari tāta ki bāhana yubati gamana se hoī |
 ali ari ari pati tāte bikala matika bahinī delahi śoyī ||
 (4) śoyaka yoga nāma dhanu nāyaka ari ari tā pati jāne |
 Naba o kalā eka pura bāsī śukabi bidyāpati bhāne ||

Song 101

(Folio 24a, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 25])

- (1) bhaba-hita-ari-bhaginī-pati-jananī-tanaya-tāta-bandhu rupe |
 nāga-śirija-sama-dekhia-amukha-ajae Sana badana sarupe ||

- (2) Mādhaba dekhali sā anurāgī |
malayaja raja lagha śambhu ḍa?pati kae uṃraja pujaya tua lāgī ||
- (3) duja-pati-pati-priya-tāta-tanaya sama bacane nirupali ramanī |
khaga-sakha-sakha-duhitā-bāra-bāhana tāsū aśana sama gamanī ||
- (4) tua darasana lāgi praṇa bae biṣa bandhu bidyāpati kabi bhāne |
Rājā śiba-siṃgha rupanārāyaṇa lakhimā deyī diḍha māne ||

Song 102

(Folio 24a, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 25])

- (1) ānana hari jani sarisa mano-cala Hari taha hari uṭha āgī |
Harihi paiśi hari hari jenu ghaṇi hari hari kagha uṭha jāgī ||
- (2) Mādhaba hari rahu jaladhara chāyī |
Hari nayanī dhani hari gamanī sani hari herayite dina jāyī ||
- (3) hari bhela bhāra hāra bhela hari sama harika bacana nahi bhābe |
karihi binu huni Hari na śohābaya hari caḍhi mora bujābe ||

Song 103

(Folio 24b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 25])

- (1) dhanajaya bāhana bhāsa tasu ānaha sārāhu ripu kara śādā |
e duhu mīlita nāma tasu dujana te moya biṣama biśādā ||
- (2) Mādhaba tua birahānale rāhī |
śāraṅga ari ripu badu khana pāota tori tasi laha gae tāhī ||
- (3) harihi dekhi hari hari sama mālaya śāraṅga pāne na leyī |
sura suta tanaya gharini bandhu bāhaya magane seo na deyī ||
- (4) jadi na jāyaba tohe aśa na karati kohe hara nayanālaya Śāyi |
Rukumini deyī pati hr̥ṣṭu caraṇa gati bidyāpati kabi gāyī ||

Song 104

(Folio 24b, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 25])

Bhupālī Rāge —

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) keśa kusuma jaḍu śiraka sindura
[Dhruva.] | alaka tilaka chala seho gela dura |
| (2) ki kahu kaiśe | śāmari he jāmara tora deha ki kahu kaiśe |
| (3) nide ghurumana achi locana tora | lonua badana kamala daha cora |

- (4) adhara pallaba tohara śuraṅga pamāra | kone lurala tua madana bhaṃḍāra ||
 (5) kaone kubudhi tohi kuca lakha dela | hā hā śambhu bhagaṇa bhaya gela ||
 (6) bhaṇayi bidyāpati apuruba rupa | hr̥ṣṭu caraṇa pae rākha sarupa ||

Song 105

(Folio 24b, line 7; Folio 25a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 25-26])

- (1) prathama pema ati bhīrāhi | kate jatane manāuli tāhī |
 (2) bāri bilāśini ānabi kāhā | tohahi kānha jāha baru tāhā ||
 (3) patha je kaṃṭaka³⁷⁵ dehari dura | caraṇa komala geḥa bidūra ||
 (4) eta mane suni tāhi tarāsa | madhu na dhāba madhukara pāsa ||
 (5) ṭhāma baiśale na pāyīya nidhī | jekara sāhasa tā hoa sidhi³⁷⁶ |

Song 108

(Folio 25b, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 26])

Korāba Rāge —

- (1) jahi khane hari lela kacuā achori | katipari juguti rahali aṅga mori ||
 (2) kare na batāe dura bara dīpa | lāje na marae nāri kaṭha jība³⁷⁷ ||
 (3) takhanu kaḍhi ṭhapana kahahi na jāe | cāṃḍa samukhi dhani rahali na jāya ||
 (4) bhaṇayi bidyāpati takhanuka bhāna | kaone dekhali sakhi hoeta bihāna ||

Song 109³⁷⁸

(Folio 25b, lines 6-7; Folio 26a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 26-27])

[*Dhruva.*]

- (1) mādhaba jānali na jiuti rāhī |
 jatabā jakara lele chali sundari se sabe śoṃpalaka tāhī ||
 (2) cāṃḍake śāśi-mukhi mukha ruci śopalaka harinakeṃ locana-līlā |

³⁷⁵ This is written as -ḍha- in the manuscript. The flag above the character is missing, but should be included to make this -ṭa-.

³⁷⁶ Missing verses are indicated by long gap between two sets of double *daṇḍas*.

³⁷⁷ *Rhyme*:

It seems as if both voiced and unvoiced consonants of the same class can be used as rhymes for each other.

³⁷⁸ TM (BRBP ed.): 217

Grierson: 10

NG ed.: 785

MM ed.: 181

- keśapāśa laya camarike śopalaka pāe manobhaba-pīḍā ||
 (3) daśana daśā dālimake śopalaka pikake śopalaka bānī |
 adhara sobhāba bimūmkhe śopalaka deha sudāmini jānī ||
 (4) śakati geli hari uṭhae dharaṇi dhari śiba śiba kae uṭha jāgī |
 tohara sineha jība dae bujati acha dhani etabā lāgī³⁷⁹ ||

Song 110

(Folio 26a, lines 2-6 [PDF p. 27])

Bhaṭhiyārī —

- (1) kamala milala dala madhupa calala ghara bihage gahala nija ṭhāme |
 aruṇa timira milu timire teja dharu baḍa pām̃tara duraṃ̃ gāme ||
 (2) are re pathika jana thīra karaha mana jībana pae jaga sāre |
 dekhi karaha bāsa paradeśaṃ̃ para āsa ithi na hoeta upahāse ||
 (3) nanadi rusie rahu paradeśa mora pahu sāsu sunathi nahi kāne |
 niṭhura paḍosiyā puchāri udāsi na ekali raha o nija ṭhāme ||
 (4) cādana cāru cāpa ghara tarubara agara kuṃkuma ghara bāse |
 parimala pāe pathika nike saṃcara te nahi bālahi udāse ||

Song 111

(Folio 26a, lines 6-7; Folio 26b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 27])

Nāṭa Rāge —

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| (1) bujala sakhi he toha rasa māja | utarola delaha āṃkhika lāja |
| (2) analaha age sakhi kahinī lāya | bāghaka badanaṃ̃ meraolaha gāya |
| (3) tohe sakhi kapaṭī lobhī kānha | ānaka sarasa sakae laha dāna ³⁸⁰ |
| (4) tohe nahi manda manda naṭha yuga | khāela majāre ³⁸¹ paṇḍita suga |
| (5) jāni jana o laha hita upadeśa | abe kisa māraha uṃdhasala keśa |
| (6) bhelā boliya kī bhela baḍa maṇḍa | katae lukāe bala banakha caṇḍa |
| (7) bhaṇayi bidyāpati dūti sayāni | lābhaka lobhe mulahu bhela hānī |

³⁷⁹ Missing lines indicated by a gap and special markings.

³⁸⁰ Written as ‘dāne’ with the -e- marked over. This resolves the end rhyme.

³⁸¹ A reference to ahalya (cat or beloved)

Song 112

(Folio 26b, lines 3-6 [PDF p. 27])

Barāḍī Rāge —

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) kata kate āse jāyia abhisāra | kāhuka janu hoa nāha gamāra |
| (2) ki kahaba age sakhi tohahi sayāni | turahu tahalahu kaelaha ānī |
| (3) haṭhe cali aelahu ādara gela | na purala kāma duaο mohi bhela |
| (4) na purala kāma ṭāma raha lāja | kī kamalini kā cādaka kāja |
| (5) ki karaba ādara alapa geyāna | ratanaka molabaha tanahi jāna |
| (6) bhanayi bidyāpati suna bara śātī | se nahi bicala jakari je jāyī |

Song 118

(Folio 28a, lines 3-7; Folio 28b, line 1 [PDF p. 29])

- (1) jagata kalapataru tribhubana sundara āni dela hame rādhe |
hṛdayaka roṣa tohe dharahi na pārāla parali koṭi aparādhe ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) suṁdari abe ki karaha anutāpe |
bhuṣana atithi upeṣi paṭhaolaha ehi upara kī pāpe ||
- (3) mādhabi kusuma kamala madhu madhukara katana bhāmiya bhāmi pībe |
mālāti haraṣi tāhi na sabhā ṣaela baṅga latā madhu jībe ||
- (4) tohahu nidara sana pune parinate bhela kaise lāgala tohe bāme |
rupa jaubana upagata nahi kayalaha bukalihe tohe tahi ṭāme ||
- (5) bhanayi bidyāpati eho rasa bindaka sakala kalāka nidhāne |
Rukumini debi pati hrṣṭu caraṇa gati medini naba pacabāṇe

Song 119³⁸²

(Folio 28b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 29])

Sāraṅgī rāge —

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) nadi baha nayanaka nīra | sutali dekhali tāhi tīra |
| (2) khane khane bharama geyāne | āna puchia kaha āna |
| (3) Mādhāba torita haniya abadhārī | jabe jibaite bara nārī |
| (4) keo sakhi calali upekhī | keo śira dhuna dhani dekhī |

³⁸² BS manuscript: 121

NM manuscript: 61

NM (BRBP ed.): 56

NG ed.: 743

MM ed.: 542

SoV ed.: 55

(5) keo kara sāṃsaka āsa | maya dharaliḥu tua pāsa ||
(6) kabi gobinda parathāba | kaṃsa nārāyaṇa buja bhāba ||

Nepal Manuscript - Song 56

(1) nadī baha nayanaka nīra | palali rahae tahi tīra ||
(2) saba khana bharama geñāna | āna puchi kaha āna ||
(3) mādhaba anudine khini bheli rāha | caudasi cāndahu cāhī ||
(4) keo sakhī rahali upeṣi | keo sira dhuna dhani dekhi ||
(5) keo kara sāsaka āsa | mañe dhaulihu tua pāsa ||
(6) bidyāpati kabi bhāna | eta suni sārāṅgapānī ||
(7) haraṣi calala hari geha | sumarie puruba sineha ||

Song 120

(Folio 28b, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 29])

Āsābarī Rāge —

(1) sājali se hari rasa banijāra | gopa bharama janu bolaha gamāra ||
(2) jaubana nagara besa hiya rūpa | daya mula ucita jate sarūpa ||
(3) bidhi base āba karaha janu māna | sehe o sāra jahā raha kānha ||
(4) toha kuli ucita rahata jadi bheda | manamatha madhatha karaba paricheda ||

Song 121

(Folio 28b, lines 6-7; Folio 29a, line 1 [PDF pp. 29-30])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

(1) sajanī karaha kāṃ ābhirose | aṅga anāiti mānabi ghaṭala mora nahi kichu dose ||
(2) ānata ānata kae rahaliḥu bārāla locana cora | piya mukha ruci pibaya dhāuli jani se cāmda cakora ||
(3) tanūpamede³⁸³ pasāhali bhāsali aisana pūlaka jāgu | buli buli kae kaṃcuki phāḍhali bane balayā bhāṃgu ||
(4) mādhabe bolali madhuri bāṇī kare mūda-maya kāna | tāhi abasara ṭhāma bāma bhela dhanu dhari pacabāna ||

³⁸³ Nominal Compound:
tanūpamede = *tanu+upameta*

Song 123

(Folio 29a, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 30])

- (1) geli niśā śāśi giri alāmba | kī kāraṇahe bināsa bilāmba ||
(2) śikhala kalā abasaraṃ ke goa | bhābaka bhūṣana nāgara hoa ||
(3) mānini māna bhāba ke jāna | abasara bitale kī dia dāna ||
(4) jao bana rahu tarasāla (kaā...binu)³⁸⁴

Song 125

(Folio 29b, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 30])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- (1) katae mādhabi katae gelī | bihi mohi udhamati delī ||
(2) ohe upabana bhela kāla | sumari sumari jiba sāla ||
(3) sone phule phulala akāśa | jiba mora paḍala hatāsa ||
(4) bichu tana sineha amola | dui mana āmtara ḍola ||
(5) daiba dosa dūra gela | giri nadi ātara bhela ||
(6) kanaka latā śani nārī | bāmkeṃṃ nayane gelī mārī ||
(7) kaṃsa narāyaṇa ehe | punu kaiśe dekhabi sehe ||

Song 126

(Folio 29b, line 7; Folio 30a, lines 1-3 [PDF pp. 30-31])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- (1) prathama pahara niśi sājala dhāra | gae chekala gokula thala dāra ||
(2) sundari āili senā sāji | pāñcaobāṇa bekata bhela ājī ||
(3) dekhaite kanha bara na bhaya gela | samari sela mādhabe gaya lela ||
(4) loha jara lāgala nayanaka dhāra | dūti bayari bheli doba dāra ||
(5) tikha tarala ghana barisae lela | rati maha mādhaba āphara bhela ||
(6) jaladhare āni jiāola kānha | agirala loha bidyāpati bhāna ||

³⁸⁴ These fragments appear at the end of this *pada* with a space b

Song 129

(Folio 30b, lines 3-7 [PDF p. 31])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

- (1) s̄ae s̄ae samaya piḍa samāsa piya paradeśa basa jāhi deśa basanta na bhelā ||
phulala kadama-gācha hāṭe bāṭe kata acha mora piya seo na dekhālā ||
- (2) bhare re bhādaba māsā paṁkhi o na teja bāsa tahi ritu piya parabāsī |
hoitahu pākhi uḍi jāitahu tatahi baru dukha sukha piya saha bāsī ||
- (3) hamara parāna nātha kone biramāola kata jiba deba bisabāse |
piya patha heri heri uṭhaya dharaṇidhari kakhane puruta mora āśe ||
- (4) jakhane āyaba hari rahaba caraṇa dhari cāmde pujaba arabindā |
kusume seja bhari karaba surati keli duhu mane hoeta s̄anandā³⁸⁵ ||

Song 130³⁸⁶

(Folio 31a, lines 1-5 [PDF p. 32])

Rāja Bijaya —

- (1) pahili pirīṭhi prāṇa āṁtara takhane aisani rīti |
se ābe katahu heri na herathi bhelahu nima sani tīti ||
[*Dhruva.*]
- (2) sājani jibathu śae pacāśa |
sahase ramani rayani khepathu taiao hunaki āśa ||
- (3) kate jatane gori arādhia māgia svāmi sohāga |
tathuhu apana karama bhujjia jaisana jakara bhāga ||
- (4) śamaya gele megha barisae kīdahu te jaladhāra |
śīta samāpale basana pāia kīdahu teṁ upakāra ||
- (4) rayani gele dīpa nibodhiya bhojana dibasa anta³⁸⁷ |
yaubana gele yubati piriti kī phala pāoba kanta ||
- (5) bhane bidyāpati sunaha jubati āpada dhairaja sāra |
rājā śibasimha rupa nārāyaṇa ekādaśa abatāra ||

Taraunī Manuscript — 184

- (1) pahili pirīṭhi parāna āṁtara takhane aisana rīti |
se ābe kabahum heri na herathi bheli nima sani tīti ||
[*Refrain.*]
- (2) sājani jibathu sae pacāśa |

³⁸⁵ Missing lines indicated in manuscript.

³⁸⁶ TM (BRBP ed.): 184

MM ed.: 161

NG ed.: 645

³⁸⁷ This line was switched with the second hemistich of line 4. The scribe seems to have marked his error with two “1” marks indicating these two half-lines to be switched.

- sahase rayani ramani khepathu morāhu tanhiki āsa ||
- (3) katane jatane gaūri arādhia māgia svāmi sohāga |
tathuhu apana karama bhujjia jāisana jakara bhāga ||
- (4) samaya gele meghe barīsaba kīdahu teṃ jaladhāra |
sita samāpale basana pāia te dahu kī upakāra ||
- (5) rayai gele dīpe nibodhia bhojana dībasa anta |
jāūbana gele jubati piriti kī phala pāota kanta ||
- (6) dhana achaite je nahi bhogae tā mane ho pacatāba |
jāūbana jībana baḍa nirāpana gele palaṭi na āba ||
- (7) bhana bidyāpati sunaha jāūbati samaya bujha sayāna |
rājā sibasimha rūpa narāyana lakhimā debi ramāna ||

Song 132

(Folio 31b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 32])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) nita nita niyara āba binu kāja | guputa o neha lukābaya lāja |
| (2) anatahu jāite o tahi nihāra | lubudhala nayana haṭhae ke pāra |
| (3) e sakhi e sakhi na boliya āna | tua guṇe lubudhala nita āba kānha |
| (4) tohe ati nāgari ota śitrūna | eka nara gāṃthala jani dui phula |
| (5) bhaṇāi bidyāpati kabi kaṇṭhahāra | ekaśara manamatha dui jiba māra |

Song 133

(Folio 31b, lines 4-7; Folio 32a, line 1 [PDF pp. 32-33])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) cala cala mādhaha tua nahi lāje | jata bola lahata ta sakala beyāje |
| (2) niyama lele guṇala na puchala keo | apanā jati apane dela cheo |
| (3) tua parasāde eka o nahi bhela | para dhana lobhe nia o dura gela |
| (4) apane apajase jāhi nahi lāja | tā sao ucita boli kī kāje |
| (5) boli bisaralaha daya bisabāse | keo nahi jībae tesara pacāse |
| (6) sagari jana madharu āsā lāya | tua dhandhika bola ke pati yāya |
| (7) toharahi bole pacāola rāhī | abasara jāni bisaralaha tāhī |
| (8) bhaṇāi bidyāpati bujala bheo | gācha caḍhāe pedā dela cheo |

Song 134

(Folio 32a, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 33])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) jahahi prema basa tahahi duranta | kara punu prīti palaṭi guṇamanta |
| (2) sabatahu suniya esana bebahāra | punu ṭuṭae punu gāṁthia hāra |
| (3) jagatahu bidita tohahi hama neha | eka parāna achala dui deha |
| (4) je neha lāia premaka ora | śe na tori ahe durajana bola |
| (5) e kānhu e kānhu tohahi śayāna | biśariya kopa karia samadhāna |
| (6) bhaṇai bidyāpati tribhubana sāra | ye parataha kara para upakāra |

Song 138

(Folio 32b, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 33])

Dhanachī Rāge —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) śara hari rahalahu nahi bhala bhela | garua māna chala seo dura gela |
| (2) bhala bhala alape gela anurāga | toharā dūṣaṇa hamara bhāge |
| (3) jaba dudha SSSSSSSS bhae jadi bāṭala pema | beri o pūchia kuśala chema |
| (4) kamala bhamara jaga achaya aneka | se parasamsiya bujaya bibeka |
| (5) bhaṇayi bidyāpati rahi mela goya | niya khati binu para hita nahi hoya |

Song 139

(Folio 33a, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 34])

[*Dhruva.*]

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) bhūṣe umata rusalā | kākke bokāna laya ī bāgha chālā |
| (2) kṛṣi teji bhiṣi māgu ki dosa hamāre | niradhana na milaya paica-udhāre |
| (3) ki pacāola naihara ki dhayala goya | arajane bhojana samucita hoyā |
| (4) bhaṇayi bidyāpati sunu bara nāri | binu dhane na hoaya dhara gharuāri |

Appendix 2: Padas of Other Poets Found in the Bhāṣā Saṅgīta Manuscript

Sadānanda

Song 1

(Folio 2a, Line 1-2 [PDF p. 3])

...ha raga āsāvarī —

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) dekhaha premaī he yogi raṅga rasiyā | gori mukha heri heri haṁsae bihuṁsiā |
| (2) vibhūti bhūṣana grima phani-mani śobhe ³⁸⁸ | rāja-kumāri kata lābaya lobhe |
| (3) śira śasadhara kare ḍamaru bajāve ³⁸⁹ | cañcala locana manamatha bhāve |
| (4) punu punu ābae haṭala namāne | kone pari bolaba vacana nidāne |
| (5) bhanayi sadānanda kabahau uchāhe | baḍa samucitā gori śaṅkara nāhe |

Song 17

(Folio 4b, lines 7-8; Folio 5a, lines 1-2 [PDF pp. 5-6])

Mālaba Rāge —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) uṭhaha sulākhani choṭi achi rajanī | hama uṭhi samadaha sāraṅga badanī |
| (2) tilā eka sumukhi karaha mukha apanā | toha hama daraśana hoeta abe sapanā |
| (3) lāja nebāri kahaha kichu kata helī | jība abalambiṁ dharaba se kahinī |
| (4) se suni sundari mukhahu na bolayī | nayanaka nīra ḍharie uraṁ paḍayī |
| (5) sukabi sadānanda sakuni na gabayī | biraha dāruṇa dukha bihi pae janayī |

Song 30

(Folio 7a, lines 7-8; Folio 7b, line 1 [PDF p. 8])

Bhupālī —

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) aruṇa udita bhela niśi abasāna | tilā eka mānini tejaha māna |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|

³⁸⁸ ligature of ś-o unclear, resembles l-o

³⁸⁹ This seems like a western/Brajverb form

- (2) kumudini³⁹⁰ malina bhela canda |
 (3) bhamae bhamara sarasī raha pāsa |
 (4) āsāe sagari bibhābari geli |
 (5) bhanayī Sadānanda sunaha sayānī |

- abahu upara³⁹¹ kara sukha arabinda ||
 karaha kamala-mukhi nayana bilāsa ||
 rahali manahi māna³⁹² manasija keli ||
 abasara na kariya rati rasa hānī ||

Song 37

(Folio 8b, lines 5-7 [PDF p. 9])

*Dhanāsrī Rāge*³⁹³ —

- (1) bhaurī bharamē amie bama caṁdā |
 (2) kone pari hoeta naṭa nira bāhe |
 (3) saṁsari dhasali phaṇi diṣe diṣe bule |
 (4) śiraṁ surasari bhare geli baḍhi yāyī |
 (5) sukabi sadānanda niteṁ kara sebā |

- bāgha jibi e basaha karu dandā³⁹⁴ ||
 parama beyākula tribhuvana nāhe ||
 tāke uparaṁ bula kātika mayūre³⁹⁵ ||
 nayana hutāśana parase mijāyī ||
 dethu abhaya bara śaṅkara debā ||

Song 140

(Folio 33a, lines 3-6 [PDF p. 34])

- (1) śira surasari parijana parihari re |
 (2) umatā re tohi kone mati deli re |
 (3) palaṅga teji nita bhumi śayāna re |
 (4) maṇi na dhariya phaṇi kaone geāne re |
 (5) amṛta na khāha kariya biṣa pāna re |
 (6) apane bhiṣāri sebaka diya rāja re |

- bhūta samāja rahiya kone pari re ||
 turaya teji gaja basaha palāna re ||
 cādana nahi tanu bibhuti bhuṣaṇa re ||
 lalita dhāma teji basiya masāna re ||
 sukabi sadānanda bipolarita kāja re ||

³⁹⁰ The scribe has crossed out his repeated half-word ‘mudini’. Interestingly, the ‘mu’ character is different than in the word preceding it.

³⁹¹ The scribe has erased a *mātrā* sign at the end of line 7.

³⁹² Written as ‘mana’, but contextually it only makes sense as ‘māna’.

³⁹³ This looks like it might have been marked out by the scribe.

³⁹⁴ Orthography:

The -reph- like mark above -nda- seems to confirm my idea that it is meant to lengthen the vowel. This would make ‘danda’ work with the end of the first hemistich as a rhyme with ‘caṁdā’.

³⁹⁵ Phonology:

This end rhyme is based on a rhotic shift between -l- and -r-.

Kaviśekhara

Song 9

(Folio 3a, lines 6-8; Folio 3b, line 1 [PDF p. 4])

Mālava Rāge —

- (1)³⁹⁶ sakhi he kānhake kahabi binatī |
 eha o basanta ṛtu o tahi gamāoba eta eka bhali nahi rītī ||
- (2) je biparita jata se sabe kahaba kata? tanhi pati āeba āne |
 jakhane āoba ri hamahi nibedaba jadi rākhata pañcabāne ||
- (3) ghana malayaja rasa, parase lāga bisa, dusaha sunia pika nāde |
 anala barisa śaśi nida o na ābae niśi ohi deśaṃ baḍa paramāde ||
- (4) sumukhi samāde samāda rasa mane niśi basāhi suri tāne |
 dae biśabāsa āsa kata rākhaba kaviśekhara eho bhāne ||

³⁹⁶ This line has the structure and content of a *dhruvapada*. it is unusual for a *dhruvapada* to be placed first in a *pada*. Perhaps there were lines missing when this was written down?

Caturbhuja

Song 11

(Folio 3b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 4])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) na kara na kara re dhani apada rose | kahaha mānini re mora kīdahu dose |
| (2) ānata na kara re dhani ānana candā | locana cakora re mora hoa o sanandā |
| (3) adhara komala re naba pallaba bhāse | malina na kara re khara tarani sāse |
| (4) kara kalābati re mohi kichu karuṇā | hana binu he o re manamatha dāruṇā |
| (5) biraha dahana re daha dehaka rālā | deha hatāśa na re janu mālati mālā |
| (6) kabi catturbhuja re bhane niya geyāne | deha bināsini re piya bina e māne |

"King Simha"

Song 13

(Folio 4a, lines 3-7 [PDF p. 5])

Āsābarī rāge —

- (1) supuruṣa boli neha lāola bolala purata sabe sādha |
dine dine prīṃti ki bādhati abeda rasa na bhela bādha ||
- (2) kiya re kudina mora māi he ki e bihi bhela mohi bāma |
kiya hari sebāṃ cukalahu teṃ prabhuṃ bisarali nāma ||
- (3) bālihi baesa, piya teji gela, piya mana acha sehe bhāna |
dine dine nāraṃgi suragi bheli lurae cāha ||
- (4) paṃcabāṇā patha heri heri deha khini bheli jani śaśi garāsala rāhu |
jībana yauvana hama sani hoa janu aora hakāhu ||
- (5) nrpati siṃha kaha śaśimukhi suna dhani guṇamati nāri |
harika bhagati mana lāubī te pune milata murāri ||

Song 14

(Folio 4a, lines 7-8; Folio 4b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 5])

Āsāvarī —

- (1) biraha³⁹⁷ bīja piya dae gela hamahi akhaḍi khara dela |
nayanaka nīra³⁹⁸ rapaṭāula bāḍi mahā-taru bhela ||
- (2) cikure nayana beḍhi rākhala jāgiyo gāuli rāti |
kusume phule phale maurala phaladahu dhara kauna bhāṃtī ||
- (3) more bole, kahihaha sajanī, kare joḍi lebi mori nāma |
ehi khane o sānaka³⁹⁹ jagati kaisana, hoeta parināma ||
- (4) nrpati siṃha kaha śaśimukhi, gāele lanua gīta |
tiryā (anumita)⁴⁰⁰ bhare jaubati, puruṣa lanua dhana bīta ||

³⁹⁷ 'ha' not included but added interlineally by the scribe.

³⁹⁸ 'ni' is smudged in manuscript.

³⁹⁹ 'E' and 'o' are superimposed...can't tell which one is being corrected to.

⁴⁰⁰ only thing that makes sense.

Song 40

(Folio 9a, lines 4-6 [PDF p. 10])

Koraba —

(1) he raghunātha nātha punu punu |
(2) nāri rabhase rase eta dina gelā |
(3) abe kāṁpae jiba guṇi dina rāti |
(4) paḍa aparādha sebaka kāṁ nīte |
(5) kumara gajā dhara alapa geyāne |

bina bama eṁ abasara bisaraha janu ||
tua anugati kichu kaïo na bhelā ||
kone pari khepabae heya masāti ||
supahu rūpahu nahi se dhara bite ||
harika caraṇa chāḍi gati nahi āne ||

Gajasimha

Song 39

(Folio 9a, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 10])

Mālaba —

(1) hāsa bisari mukha masi bhela mandā |

[*Dhruva.*]

(2) birahe bikhini bheli re anurāgini bālā ||

(3) balaya taraki paruhāra bhela bhāre |

(4) aruṇi malaya na bahae bahu norā |

(5) dhairaja kara dhani Gajasimha bhāne |

amiya na barisae dibasaka candā ||

nikaruṇa manamatha punu punu māre ||

moti marama jani he ati nicala cakorā ||

nṛpa puruṣotama he saba guṇaka nidhāne ||

Song 43

(Folio 9b, lines 5-7; Folio 10a, line 1 [PDF pp. 10-11])

Korāba Rāge —

(1) supuruṣa boli pema dela ṭhāma |

(2) biṣama bhuaṅgama ṭhinhi o na bhela |

(3) e sakhi karabaka o na upacāra |

(4) kata mana achala baḍhāoba māna |

(5) anukhana ganaite gahae bikāra |

(6) Gajasimha kaha dhani dhara upadeśa |

(7) Nṛpa puruṣotama eho rasa jāna |

parajante jānala sahajaka bāma ||

hāruka bharama hṛdaṃe hame dela ||

apanahi kaela apana apakāra ||

dine dine śaṃsae paḍala parāna ||

gelā sarabasa anuśaya śāla |

acirahi tora piyaka rata udeśa ||

guṇi-gaṇa rañjana guṇaka nidhāna ||

Biṣṇupurī

Song 41

(Folio 9a, lines 6-7; Folio 9b, line 1 [PDF p. 10])

Kedārā —

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) bhana raghunātha bisaralaha mohi | je kichu kaela moe mānūsa tohi |
| (2) dhāe phedaelahu ṭṭala ṭaṅga | hārāla heri e bisama hoa saṅga |
| (3) ye kichu kaela moe ⁴⁰¹ kaelaha mora | mora abhāga dukha na kī tora |
| (4) bhujī serāela karamaka bhoga | dekhi daśā upahāsaē loga |
| (5) biṣṇupurī kahala karia nātha | saba kām̃ hṛdaya sākhi raghunātha |

⁴⁰¹ Orthography note:

written as -me- with a long double ‘reph’. This probably indicates a mistake as it should be written as -moe-.

Kaṁsa

Song 45

(Folio 10a, lines 4-7 [PDF p. 11])

[*Bibhāsa Rāge* —]

- (1) nakhata bekata bhela timira pasari gela taraṇi tirohita bhelā |
Aruṇa tāmarasa bheli nide parasa dūre bhamara uḍi gelā ||
Dhruva.
- (2) kahaha sumukhi mohi paradoṣe parataha kāma ki cātara delā |
- (3) Baha khara tara ghana, manda samīraṇa bheli madhuri phula hāre,
ugala mahidhara ādhe sudhākara mālāti bheli nimāle⁴⁰² ||
- (4) Dekhia sambhaba bisama eho sakhi Kaṁsa narāena bhāne |
Janagata anugati rukumini dei pati kṛṣṇa caraṇa rasa jāne ||

Song 128

(Folio 30b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 31])

[*Dhanachī Rāge* —]

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) sa uti niśā na baḍa dūra bāra | parasi tejala phula kusuma nimāla |
| (2) kata deha asabāsa deha visabāsa | para kara tana piya parama udāsa |
| (3) hame dhani āja kaela akāja | ekasari aelahu tohara samāja |
| (4) śāraṅga pāṇidhara bamae āni | e beri nāgare bisarabi bānī |
| (5) pahilu bhāba punamanta pāba | kaṁsa nā..... kautuke gāba |

⁴⁰² Orthographic note:

A long -ā- after -m- is possibly indicated by a mark above the letter. This would make it rhyme with ‘hāre’ of the first hemistich, but the -r/-l- rhyme would still be unusual.

Śaṅkara

Song 52

(Folio 12a, lines 2-5 [PDF p. 13])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| (1) kāṅhu karama morā | dūṣana kaona deba mae torā |
| (2) nāgara jāṅia elahu tua pāśe | piśuna bacane kaela udāse |
| (3) tua bolā śuni bhelahu bāśī | ābe sakhi śuni karati hāśī ⁴⁰³ |
| (4) hame kula-badhu tohe sugyānī | bhala jana nahi bisaraya ānī |
| (5) sarasa isara śaṅkara kabi gābe | ānana jagata bujae bhābe |
| (6) lakhimi ṅṛpati ī rasa jāne | rānī kauśilyā dei biramāne |

⁴⁰³ A correction has to be made between the long -ī- of ‘bāśī’ and the short -i- of ‘hāśī’ as well as the shift from the first palatal sibilant and the second dental sibilant.

Narendra

Song 54

(Folio 12b, lines 1-4 [PDF p. 13])

Korāba Rāge —
[*Dhruva.*]⁴⁰⁴

- (1) sājani kaona se kānana deśa |
dekhi na pabane dhani beyākuli pathika pucha sandeśa||
- (2) na ohi deśā kāga takala mana pika dādura mora |
na ohi deśā kāmini nehā biraha bedana thora ||
- (3) śāhara mañjaraṃ bhamara guñjara kokila pañcama gāba |
biraha bedane dhani beyākuli niṭhura kanta na āba ||
- (4) nandaka nandana jagata bandana jana narendra kabi gāba |
je dhani svāmika bhagati karae se jagadīsara pāba ||

⁴⁰⁴ It is unusual that the *dhruvapada* is in the first line of a *pada*. This could be because part of the *pada* is missing when this manuscript was copied.

Govinda

Song 55

(Folio 12b, lines 4-7; Folio 13a, line 1 [PDF pp. 13-14])

Mālaba Rāge —

- (1) ghana sāraśī śira u sira⁴⁰⁵ pañkaja sajala nalinī seja |
daba dahana tasu jīmī parase paribhaba kāhu na dhara dhani dheja ||
- (2) cañda candana cāhi cauguṇa mānasa ādhī |
kateka jatane saha barīsa tābae kaṭhina biraha beyādhī ||
- (3) kāñeñ hari parihariya kāmīnika paṭa kauśala śīkhi |
ajahu bisari aruṣa rākhiya madana māgae bhīṣi
- (4) udhiyāe aṁcala pabana pari śata adhika adhika bikāra |
tasu bikhama biśikha biśākha śāeka marama kara parahāra ||
- (5) tasu śāmsa kata pare āseñ nirupiya dekhi sakhi jiba kāñpa⁴⁰⁶ |
kahiya mādhaba kaona paraśata kaṭhina tiri badha pāpa
- (6) gobinda bhane arabinda sundari na kara hṛdae adeśa |
Debi yaśodā bhajie ballabha vāsudeba nareśa ||

Song 67

(Folio 16a, lines 6-7 [PDF p. 17])

Mālaba-Kedārā —

- (1) kāñha ke kahaba sakhi anugati hamarī | pema bisari piya basa eka nagarī |
- (2) ehi pathaṁ karia gatāgata anukhana | bharamahuṁ hamara nihāra anukhane ||
- (3) bhane gobinda kabi anukhana dhāraṇa | śobama deī pati kañsanā Rāyaṇa ||

Song 107

(Folio 25a, lines 6-7; Folio 25b, lines 1-3 [PDF p. 26])

Mālaba Rāge —

- (1) gamana dibasa sao, re re, bolitaha | nayana juḍāyata toha taha ||
- (2) se sabe dayibe bhela re re ātara | achala nagara bhela pāñtara ||

⁴⁰⁵ Orthographic note/correction:
written as ‘sīra’ with correction to ‘sira’.

⁴⁰⁶ written as ‘kañpa’ with a ligature above the final character indicating a lack of room for an additional -ā- *mātrā*.
This is confirmed by the end rhyme with ‘pāpa’.

(3) jatanahu jata o na re re nirabaha |⁴⁰⁷
(4) se sabe bisaru tohe re re binu hetu |
(5) e k̄n̄hu kapaṭa kae re re k̄i hita |
(6) hame abalā badha re re daya jiba |
(7) puruṣa sineha ki re re ehe Laya |
(8) jagata janami jata re re kulamati |
(9) bhane gobinda kabi re re rasamaya |

e k̄n̄hu tate o tohe agirala ||
maratu madhatha hemakara ketu ||
baḍa bhaya bolachaḍu anucita ||
taraba duḥsaha kahi śiba śiba ||
kidahu paḍali mori kubilaya ||
abe ke karata para paratiti ||
kaṁsa nārāyaṇa buja paya ||

⁴⁰⁷ *Rhyme:*

Perhaps there is the possibility of semi-vowels and sibilants being interchangeable for end-rhymes?

Viśvanātha

Song 72

(Folio 17a, lines 4-7; Folio 17b, line 1 [PDF p. 18])

Mālaba Rāge, Daṇḍaka —

- (1) tejae candana manda manasija dūraṃ dhari dhari jība |
tua biyoge hutāśa bidhumukhi amiya jalaja o pība ||
- (2) cali e mādhava pekhi peyasi surasa pāsa na neha |
piriti bhāba bilāse bhābi eha ṭhahi chāḍie geha ||
- (3) manda na khapada danda lāgae chīna śaśi sama sobha |
durahu dekhi jaga jubati peyasi kāela upajala lobha ||
- (4) bāṭha saṁcara bāri dhārā dekhi pathika aneka |
jiba o mānini apani kheḍi saha athika eha bibeka ||
- (5) biśvanātha bibhāri rasa bhaṇa toṁhaṁ kichu nahi bhīti |
jagata bhābana thīti kāraṇe athika puruṣa pirīti ||

Jagadīśa

Song 76

(Folio 18b, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 19])

Barāḍī Rāge —

- (1) sāe dekhali maem̃ tori rāhi khini re | kaṁkana rāhu banae geli jini re ||
- (2) cikureṁ beḍhala mukha abanati bheli re | cāṁda tarāseṁ jalada rahu mili re ||
- (3) nayana jalada jala dravae jasārā re | kara abhiṣeka śāmbhu śiba dharā re ||
- (4) bhane jagadīśa suna śāraṅga dhāri re | palaṭi hera bṛṣabhāna kūmāri re ||

Virala

Song 77

(Folio 18b, lines 5-7; Folio 18b, line 1 [PDF p. 19])

Korāba Rāge —

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| (1) śarasa pati jani dineśa | pabana pābaka jama janeśa |
| (2) jagata katana acha bedeo | morā mana na parae keo |
| (3) śiba sumari pujaom̃ tohi | abhimata phala dihaha mohi |
| (4) eka pae māṅgao surapura rāja | parama pade morā kī kāja |
| (5) ethi acha prabhu bibeka tohi | karahu janu bisaraha mohi |
| (6) bhane birala rāe narāo | caraṇa śaraṇa mohi ⁴⁰⁸ bolāo |

⁴⁰⁸ *Orthographic note:*

There is evidence here that the scribe was attempting to exactly copy a previous manuscript. The -o- around -m- is split between two folio. This is especially unusual because of the space left after the *pada*.

Sundara

Song 106

(Folio 25a, lines 3-5 [PDF p. 26])

- (1) jāyite dekhali patha re re bidhu mukhi | karayite keli sabaha sakhi ||
(2) bājali kichu kichu re re kānha hasi | pasarala kusuma punima śaśi ||
(3) jakhane calali mahi re re hari kahu | dhairaja takhane katae dahu ||
(4) sumari rahia tasu, re re, bara tasu | madana hanaya mana punu punu ||
(5) sundara kabi bhane re re rasamaya | hari pada paṁkaja mana daya ||
(6) puruta rasika jana re re tua mana | hr̥ṣṭu narāyaṇa anukhana ||

Jadupati

Song 127

(Folio 30a, lines 3-7; Folio 30b, line 1 [PDF p. 31])

Bibhāsa Rāge —

- (1) hame anumāni jāni jibe apane kaela supahu sao saṅga |
baḍa bhaya abasaraṁ o yadi bibhicara ki karaba kae mana bhaṅga ||
- (2) sakhi he ki kahaba niya age āne |
baḍā piyāsa āse hame dhabalihu maru marīca jala pāne ||
- (3) tanhi abhisāra gamana nahiṁ guṇale caraṇa bhuaṅgama baṅdhe |
hamahu pema bhare kare dhari duna kae rati rase bhelahu andhe ||
- (4) dekhaite deha neha hame mānala ripu sama nayana nimekhe |
o ābe patha paricayaom̃ na rākha khieta baḍa śamaya ...khe⁴⁰⁹ ||
- (5) daiba adhīna thika sabhe sundari thira nahi kānhaka sāthe |
jadupati gāba phāba tābe dhari jābe yaubana dhana hāthe ||

⁴⁰⁹ A few words and fragments seem to be marked over here. The final -khe- is the only legible portion and maintains the end-rhyme.

Kaṇṭhahara

Song 136⁴¹⁰

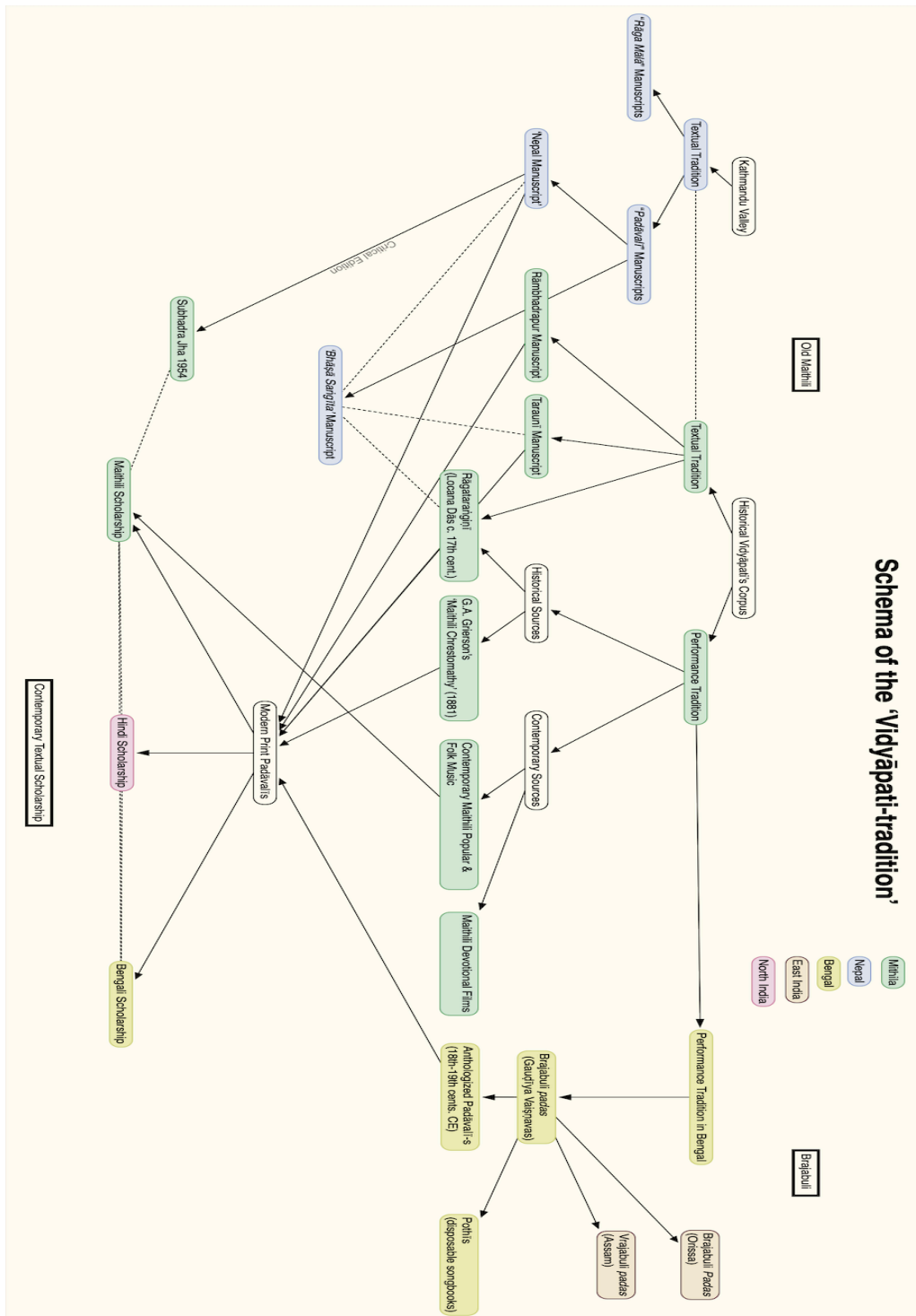
(Folio 32a, line 7; Folio 32b, lines 1-2 [PDF p. 33])

Bhūpālī Rāge —

(1) thira nahi jībana thira nahi deha	thira nahi rahaya bālabhu sineha
(2) thira janu jānaha ī saṁsāra	eka thira raha para upakāra
(3) bhala bhana sundari kaelaha māna	kī parasāṁsaba tohara geyāna
(4) kaulati kaya hari ānala geha	mūra bhāgala sana bhela sineha
(5) ārati ānala bighaṭala raṅga	tetarika rāba sariśa bhela saṅga
(6) bimukhi calala hari buji bebahāra	abe kī gāota kabi kaṅthahāra

⁴¹⁰ BS manuscript: 138
TM (BRBP ed.): 138
NG ed.: 449
MM ed.: 399

Appendix 3: Schema of the Vidyāpati Tradition



Selected Glossary of the Cited Padas from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* Manuscript

This glossary records a selection lexical items found in the *padas* from the *Bhāṣā Saṅgīta* manuscript that I have translated in this study. There are additional entries for *padas* 1-70, even from those only included in transcription in Appendix 1. This is not a complete glossary of every word found within these *padas*, but a careful selection of those items which might cause trouble for a reader uninitiated in reading Old Maithili. Special attention has been given to verbal forms (cited as they appear in the *padas*), since those are the most unique features that might cause difficulties for readers.

I have not recorded *tatsama* words that are uninflected in this word list since these can be easily found in other lexicons and dictionaries available to the reader. Similarly, I have not recorded words that would be easily recognized by speakers of contemporary North Indian languages. Because in Mithilākṣara there are no separate -va- and -ba- characters, I will also not include words that would be *tatsama* if this were not the case (e.g. *naba* > *nava* [‘new, fresh’]) On the occasion that a particle, post-position, etc., is derived from other verbal forms, the conjugated verbal form is cited in the brackets instead of the derivational etymology (e.g., *lae* (inf. of le-) [BS 4]). I have indicated dubious etymologies with a (*) in the case of theoretical stem forms and (?) in the case of unknown or forced derivations.

Abbreviations used in the word index

Absol.	Absolutive
Adj.	Adjective/adjectival
Adv.	Adverb
Ar.	Arabic
Aux.	Auxiliary
Conj.	Conjunctive
Corr.	Correlative
D.	<i>Deśī</i>
Dim.	diminutive
Emph.	Emphatic
Fem.	Feminine
Gen.	Genitive
Ger.	gerund
Inf.	Infinitive

Imp.	imperative
Interj.	Interjection
Instr.	Instrumental
Ip.	Imperfect Participle
Irr.	Irregular
Loc.	Locative
N.	Noun
Perf.	perfective
P.Ind.	Past Indicative
PN.	Proper Noun
Post Pos.	Post position
Pp.	Past participle (passive)
Pr.Ind.	Present Indicative
Pron.	Pronoun
Prox.	Proximate
Refl.	Reflexive
Rel.	Relative
Var.	variant
V.t.	Verb, transitive

A

A-/ae-	vi. (<i>ā[gam-]</i>) ‘come’: -lahu/-laṃhuṃ (1 P.Ind.), BS 5, 34, 38, 135; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 15;
Aokā	adj. (<i>anya</i>) ‘other’: BS 4
Aora	conj. (<i>apara</i>) ‘and; another; futher’: BS 13
Akāmika	adv. (<i>ākasmika</i>) ‘suddenly, by chance’: BS 3
Akāśa	n. (S.) ‘sky, firmament’: -e (loc.), BS 6, 38
Akhaḍa-	vt. (?) ‘appear disagreeable, unsuitable’: -i (absol.), BS 14
Agara	n. (<i>agaru</i>) ‘Agarwood [<i>Aquailaria Agalocha</i>]’: -a (nom./obj.), BS 8; -u (nom./obj.), BS 46
Aṅgari	n. (<i>aṅgarī</i>) ‘doublet; armor, bodice’: BS 48
Aṅgaṃnā	n. (<i>aṅgana</i>) ‘courtyard; inner part of home’: BS 51
Age	inter. (?) ‘term of address for non-honorific woman’: BS 15, 113
Aṅkuśa	n. (S.) ‘goad [usually for herding]’: -e (instr.), BS 46
Aṅgira-	vt. (<i>aṅgi+kr-</i>) ‘admit, accept’: -ia (2 imp.), BS 57
Acira	adj. (S.) ‘soon, in short order’: -hi (instr. as adv.), BS 43
Acha	aux. vi. (> <i>as-</i>) ‘be, exist’: BS 13; -i (3 fem. Pr.Ind.), BS 18; -lihu (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 21, 35; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 23, 44, 117; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 28, 43, 131
Ajahu	adv. (<i>adya+hi</i>) ‘now; today’: BS 7, 50, 55
Atāpa	n. (S.) ‘heat (from the sun); sunlight; moonlight’: -e (nom./instr.), BS 53
Adabuda	adj. (<i>adbhuta</i>) ‘wonderful, miraculous, unusual’: BS 58
Adeśa	n. (<i>ādeśa</i>) ‘instruction, rule, advice’: BS 55

Aṁdhakāra	n. (<i>andhakāra</i>) ‘darkness; torpor’: BS 58
Aṁdhārā	n. (<i>andhakāra</i>) ‘darkness; torpor’: BS 6, 25
Ana-	vt. (<i>ā+nī-</i>) ‘bring’: -lanhi (3 fem. pl. P.Ind.), BS 46
Anatae	adv. (<i>anyatra</i>) ‘elsewhere’: BS 66
Anaya	n. (S.) ‘misfortune, adversity’: BS 2
Anukhana	adv. (<i>anukṣaṇa</i>) ‘every moment; continually, perpetually’: -e (instr.), BS 24; -a, BS 38, 43
Anucita	adj. (S.) inappropriate, unfit, unbecoming; improper’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 57
Anurāga	n. (S.) ‘passion, affection, love, attachment’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 16, 32
Anurāgini	n. fem. (<i>anurāgiṇī</i>) ‘impassioned, attached, enamored woman’: BS 39
Anurodha	n. (S.) ‘persuasion; request, supplication’: -e (obj.), BS 36
Apakāra	n. (<i>apakārya</i>) ‘harm, ill; hindrance, detriment, injury’: BS 43
Apajasa	n. (<i>apayaśa</i>) ‘infamy, ill fame, disgrace, ill-repute’: BS 57
Apathaṁ	n. (S.) ‘wrong course, improper path; unwholesome, harmful’: -huṁ (loc.), BS 24
Apada	n. (S.), ‘out of place, in vain’: -hi (loc. [adv.]), BS 31; -ṁ (instr. as adv.), BS 57
Apana	refl. pron. (<i>ātmanah</i>) ‘self, one’s own’: BS 17, 26, 43, 48; -hi (nom./obj.), BS 43
Apanu	refl. pron. (<i>ātmanah</i>) ‘self, one’s own’: -ki (gen. fem.), BS 63; -(x) (nom./obj./gen./loc.), BS 113
Apanuti	adv. (<i>ātmanah</i>) ‘personally’: BS 66
Aparādha	n. (S.) ‘fault, offence’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 36
Apuraba	adj. (<i>apurva</i>) ‘unprecedented, unique, unusual’: BS 42, 49
Aba	adv. (<i>adya</i>) ‘now; this moment’: -hu (loc./emph.), BS 29
Abakāśa	n. (S.) ‘place, room; occasion, opportunity’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 12
Abagāha-	vi./vt. (<i>avagāhana</i>) ‘bathe; immerse’ -i (absol.), BS 21
Abadhāra-	vt. (<i>ava+dhṛ-</i>) ‘hold, take, accept’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50
Abalamba	adj. (<i>avalamba</i>) ‘dependent, hanging, suspended’: -eṁ (nom./obj.), BS 8; -iṁ (nom./obj.), BS 17
Abilamba	adv. (<i>a+vilamba</i>) ‘quickly, without delay’: -e (instr./adv.), BS 8
Abe	adv. (<i>adya</i>) ‘today; now’: BS 17, 18, 40
Abeda	adj. (<i>avedya</i>) ‘unknowing, uninformed’: BS 13
Abhāga	n. (<i>abhāgya</i>) ‘misfortune’: BS 41
Abhimāna	n. (S.) ‘self-conceit, pride, haughtiness’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 18
Abhisāra	n. (S.) ‘tryst; secret rendezvous with lover at night’: -ka (gen.), BS 32
Amarakha	n. (<i>amarṣa</i>) ‘anger, rage’: -eṁ (instr.), BS 36
Amia/ya	n. (<i>amṛta</i>) ‘nectar’: -ṁ (instr.), BS 15; -a (nom./obj.), BS 24, 39, 46, 61
Amie	n. (<i>amṛta</i>) ‘nectar’: BS 37
Ambara	n. (S.) ‘garment; firmament, sky’: -ṁ (nom./obj./instr.), BS 32
Araja-	vt. (<i>arja-</i>) ‘earn, gain’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 51
Arā-	vt. (caus. of <i>ara-</i>) ‘to cause to be resistant, stand firmly, be obstinate, stuck’: BS -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 11
Arādha-	vt. (<i>ārādh-</i>) ‘worship, adore, propitiate’: -ba (3 fut.), BS 38
Arūṇi	n. (<i>arūṇī</i>) ‘morning; dawn’: BS 39

Alaka	n. (S.) ‘lock of hair, curl, ringlet’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 46
Alapa	adj. (<i>alpa</i>) ‘little, meagre, slim’: -e (instr. [adv.])
Alasa	n. (<i>ālasya</i>) ‘idleness, sloth’: -eṃ (instr.), BS 61
Aṃśu	n. (<i>ambu</i>) ‘cloth; clothing’: -ka (gen.), BS 117
Ahaniśi	adv. (<i>aharniśa</i>) ‘day and night’: BS 28, 62

Ā

Ā-/āe-/āo-/āu-	vi. (<i>ā-[gam-]</i>) ‘come’: -e (absol./ 3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8, 34; -ba (3 fut.), BS 9, 50, 54, 114; -ti (3 fem. Fut.), BS 18, 124; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 19, 35, 56, 74; -ta (3 fut.), BS 29; -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 29; -(x)/-ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 122; -ili (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 124
Āiti	n. (<i>āyati</i>) ‘control, clutch; meeting, union’: BS 34
Ākura	adj. (<i>ākula</i>) ‘perplexed, restless, confounded; afflicted’: BS 42
Āṃkhi	n. (<i>akṣi</i>) ‘eye(s)’: -ka (gen.), BS 57
Āgi	n. (<i>agni</i>) ‘fire’: BS 5; -hika (gen.), BS 5; -ī (nom./obj.), BS 25, 38
Ācara/Āṃcara	n. (<i>āñcala</i>) ‘the end of a <i>sari</i> ’: -ṃ (obj.), BS 34; -e (instr.), BS 35; -a (obj.), BS 42
Āja	adv. (<i>adya</i>) ‘today; now’: BS 31, 42, 62; -u, BS 47
Āḍa-	vt. (?) ‘stop, restrict, impede’: -hu (2 imp.), BS 16
Āṃtara	n./post.pos. (<i>antara</i>) ‘space in between; between’: BS 4
Ātitha	n. (<i>āthithya</i>) ‘hospitality’: BS 74
Ādara	n. (S.) ‘attention, notice; respect’: -e (instr.), BS 46
Ādha/ā	adj. (<i>ardha</i>) ‘half’: -e (loc.), BS 45, 48; -a (nom./obj.), BS 48; -o (emph.), BS 53; -i (fem.), BS 55
Āna-	vt. (<i>ā+nī-</i>) ‘to bring’: -(x) (3 Pr.ind.;inf.) BS 2, 10, 11, 21, 113, 137; -i (absol./2 imp.), BS 6, 36, 46, 52, 62, 74, 117; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 9, 18, 21, 40; -ta (2 fut. [as imp.]), BS 10; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 11; -ka (gen.), BS 26
Āpada	n. (S.) ‘evil, trouble, disaster’: -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 24
Āba-	vi. (<i>āgamana</i>) ‘to come’: -e (Pr.Ind.), BS 1, 9; -(x) BS 8
Ābe	adv. (<i>adya</i>) ‘now, today’: BS 19, 28; -hi (emph.), BS 29; -(x), BS 52
Ārati	n. (<i>ārati</i>) ‘painful incident; pain, injury, mischief’: BS 21, 27
Āre	interj. (<i>are</i>) ‘Oh! Hey!’: BS 24
Ālasa	n. (<i>ālasya</i>) ‘sloth, laziness’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 48
Āsa	n. (<i>āsā</i>) ‘hope, wish, desire’: -e/eṃ (instr./loc.), BS 8, 55; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 9, 20, 28
Āsā-	vi./vt. (*> <i>āsā</i>) ‘to hope, wish’: -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 30

I

I	pron. 3 prox. (<i>etat</i>) ‘this’: BS 5, 31, 53
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Isara	n. (<i>īśvara</i>) ‘lord, master, god, deity’: BS 52
Ī	
Ī	pron. 3 prox. (e[<i>tat</i>]) ‘this, this one’: BS 7, 48, 52, 61
U	
U	pron. 3 (?) ‘it, that’: BS 55
Ukūti	n. (<i>ukūti</i>) ‘statement, words, utterance’: - <i>m̃</i> (nom./obj.), BS 61
Uga-/uṁga-	vi. (<i>ud-gam-</i>) ‘rise, come up; grow’: - <i>la</i> (3 P.Ind.), BS 7, 12, 45, 53, 56, 58; - <i>o</i> (3 imp.), BS 16; -(<i>x</i>)/- <i>ya</i> (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 26, 97
Ujara	adj. (<i>ujjvala</i>) ‘shining, brilliant; lovely, beautiful, glorious’: - <i>i</i> (fem.), BS 44
Uchāha	n. (<i>utsāha</i>) ‘joy, excitement; energy, exertion; festivity’: - <i>e</i> (loc.), BS 1
Uṭha/uṁṭha-	vi. (<i>ut-sthā-</i>) ‘stand up, rise, wake up’: - <i>ha</i> (2/3 imp.), BS 17; - <i>i</i> (absol.), BS 17, 38; - <i>li</i> (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 56; -(<i>x</i>) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 63; - <i>la</i> (3 P.Ind.), BS 115
Uḍa-	vi. (<i>ud-ḍī</i>) ‘fly, leap up’: - <i>i</i> (absol.), BS 6, 45; - <i>ta</i> (3 fut.), BS 6; - <i>e</i> (3 Pr.Ind./inf.), BS 49
Utakaṅṭhā	adj. (<i>utkaṅṭha</i>) ‘longing for; desiring’: BS 20
Udeśa	n. (<i>uddeśya</i>) ‘direction, indication; intention, purpose, object’: BS 43
Udhīa-	vi. (<i>uddhriya-</i>) ‘overflow, swell, fly away in the air’: - <i>e</i> (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55
Unata	adj. (<i>unnata</i>) ‘elevated, lifted high; raised up; great, noble; high, sublime’: BS 19, 58
Upaca-	vt. (<i>upakṣaya-</i>) ‘bail out; throw off water from’: - <i>e</i> (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 36
Uṁpacara	n. (<i>upacara</i>) ‘remedy, solution’: BS 21
Upaja-	vi. (<i>upa+yā-</i>) ‘ascend; grow up, develop’: - <i>u</i> (3 P.Ind.), BS 47; - <i>la</i> (3 P.Ind.), BS 49
Upara	adv. (<i>upari</i>) ‘above, on top of’: BS 7, 30; - <i>m̃</i> , BS 37
Upahāśa	n. (<i>upahāśya</i>) ‘laughter, ridicule’: BS 51
Upahāsa-	vt. (<i>upahās-</i>) ‘to laugh at, ridicule’: - <i>e</i> (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 41
Upāe	n. (<i>upāya</i>) ‘device, means, way; contrivance; remedy’: BS 44
Upāyī	n. (<i>upāyīn</i>) ‘the one with a solution/means/contrivance’: BS 38
Upāsa-	vi./vt. (<i>upahās-</i>) ‘laugh; ridicule’: - <i>i</i> (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 97
Ubara-	vi. (<i>udvar-</i>) ‘get rid of, be relieved’ - <i>u</i> (3 P.Ind.), BS 26
Umata	adj. (<i>unmatta</i>) ‘intoxicated; mad, insane’: BS 38
Ura	n. (S.) ‘breasts; chest’: - <i>m̃</i> (obj./loc.), BS 17
Uraja	n. (<i>uroja</i>) ‘breast(s)’: BS 58
Ulaṭā-	vt. (caus of <i>ulaṭ-</i>) ‘to turn upside-down, make topsy-turvy; to confuse’: - <i>ba</i> (3 fut.), BS 58
Uha	n. (?) ‘flash of an idea, quick wit, presence in mind’: BS 56

Ū

Ū	pron. 3 (<i>eṣaḥ</i>) ‘he/she/it’: BS 20
Ūṭa	n. (<i>uṣṭra</i>) ‘camel’: BS 63
Ūda	n. (<i>udra</i>) ‘otter’: BS 63
Ūdhasa-	vi. (<i>uddhvas-</i>) ‘be disheveled, untidy’: -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 61
Ūna	n. (<i>ūrṇā</i>) ‘wool; woolen’: BS 63

E

E/eṃ	interj. (<i>he</i>) ‘hey! oh!’: BS 3, 44, 49
E	prox. pron. (<i>Etat; atra</i>) ‘this, this one; here/there’: BS 4, 5, 10, 13, 18, 20, 21, 24, 37, 41, 43, 47
E-	vi. (perf. root of <i>ā-</i>) ‘come’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 46, 47; -lahu (3 P.Ind.), BS 52
Eka	nu. (S.) ‘one’: -hi (emph.), BS 7, 36; -e (instr.), BS 16, 19
Ekala	adv. (S.) ‘Alone; solitary’: -i (fem.), BS 34
Ekahoka	adv. (?) ‘each one; one by one’: BS 7
Eta	pron. adj. (<i>etat</i>) ‘this much, so much’: BS 9, 21, 28, 40, 122; -bā (var.), BS 28, 31, 141
Eti	adj. (> <i>etat</i>) ‘so much’: BS 11
Ethi	adv. (<i>atra</i>) ‘here’: BS 3; -ṃ, BS 64
Eha	pron. 3 (<i>eṣaḥ</i>) ‘this’: BS 9
Ehana	pron. adj. (?) ‘Like this; in this way’: -u, BS 48
Ehi	pron.+emph. (<i>eṣaḥ + hi</i>) ‘this very one’: BS 4, 14, 16, 26, 51
Eho	pron. 3 (<i>eṣaḥ</i>) ‘this’: BS 9, 12, 20, 28, 31, 43, 45

Ai

Ai-	vi. (perf. root of <i>ā[gam]-</i>) ‘come’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 51
Aisana	adj./adv. (<i>īdrśaka</i>) ‘in this way; like this’: -i (fem.), BS 58

O

O	pron. 3 (?) ‘he, she, it’: BS 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 24, 43, 48, 57, 60, 63; -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 11, 56, 69
Oja/ā	adv. (<i>ojasvī</i>) ‘vigorously, strongly’: BS 50
Ota	n. (?) ‘obstruction; curtain’: BS 137

Ora n. (*avāra*) ‘end, extremity’: -e (loc.), BS 4
Ohi pron. 3 + emph. (? + *hi*) ‘it, that, he’: BS 9, 54

Ka

Ka- vt. (perf. root of *kara-*) ‘having done; did’: -e (absol.), BS 18, 21, 24, 31, 56, 115; -ela (3 P.Ind.), BS 21, 41, 43, 46, 49, 60, 63, 131; -elanhi (3 P.Ind.), BS 25; -ie (absol.), BS 29, 47; -elaha (3 P.Ind.), BS 36, 41; -io (absol. + emph.), BS 40; -ie (inf.), BS 58; -oli (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 122

Kaūmā n. (*kāka*) ‘crow’: -eṃ (nom.), BS 63

Kaona pron. adj. (*kaḥ+punaḥ*) ‘who, whom; which’: BS 11, 16, 21, 29, 32, 38, 52, 54, 55, 66

Kaṅcana/kaṅcana n./adj. (*kāṅcana*) ‘gold; golden’: BS 21, 62

Kaṁṭaka n. (*kaṅṭaka*) ‘thorn, prick; a troublesome person; fingernail’: -ke (nom./obj.), BS 51

Kaṭākha n. (*kaṭākṣa*) ‘side-long glance; side-eye’: BS 7, 18

Kaṭhorī n. (*> *kaṭhora*) ‘strictness, hardness, difficulty, cruelty’

Kata pron. adj. (*kiyat*) ‘how much?’: BS 1, 5, 9, 17, 19, 25, 28, 34, 43, 49, 55, 58, 116, 137; -e (instr.), BS 11; -i (fem.), BS 42, 65

Katae/kataya pron. adj. (**kaḥ+sthāna*) ‘where? somewhere/anywhere’: BS 53, 60, 97, 141

Katana pron. adj. (*kiyat*) ‘how much?’: BS 23; -e, BS 56, 58, 113

Kateka adv. (*kati+eka*) ‘how many/much?’: BS 55, 58

Katham̐ pron. adj./adv. (*katham*) ‘how, in what way’:

Kanakana adj. (?) ‘excited, furious, agitated’: -e (instr. as adv.), BS 50

Kanaya n./adj. (*kanaka*) ‘gold; golden’: BS 33

Kanu n. (*kṣana*) ‘moment, second’: BS 25

Kanta n./adj. (*kānta*) ‘beloved, lover, delight’: BS 51, 54

Kapaṭī n. (*kapaṭin*) ‘deceiver, trickster, disguised person’: BS 20

Kapāra n. (*kapāla*) ‘forehead, skull; fig. fate’: BS 135

Kabanu indef. pron. (*kaḥ punaḥ*) ‘who?’: BS 51

Kabari n. (*kavarī*) ‘plait; braided hair’: BS 46

Kabahu adv. ‘some time; any time’: BS 1, 27

Kabi n. (*kavi*) ‘poet’: -ṃ (obj.), BS 51

Kamala n. (S.) ‘lotus’: -ṃ (obj./loc.), BS 7, 29

Kamini n. fem. (*kāminī*) ‘ardent, passionate woman’: -ke (obj.), BS 51; -(x) (nom.), BS 51

Kara n. (*kara*) ‘hand’: -e/eṃ (instr./loc.), BS 1, 14, 29, 32; -ṃ (obj.), BS 27, 69

Kara post. Pos. (?) ‘of X, genitive post position’: BS 3, 12, 25, 26

Kara- vt. (*kṛ-*) ‘do, make’: -ba (3 fut.), BS 1, 31, 34, 69, 114; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 2, 6, 54; -i (2 imp.), -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8, 30, 55, 66, 97, 116, 124; -(x) (2 Imp.), BS 10, 39, 55, 61; -ti (3 fem. Fut.), BS 11, 52; -ha (2 imp.), BS 17,

	30, 117, 124, 137; -ia/iya (2 imp.), BS 20, 29, 30, 36, 41, 57, 124, 141; -ite (ip.), BS 24; -iahe (2 imp.), BS 26; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 37
Karakha	n. (<i>karaṣa</i>) ‘hostility, anger, envy’: -e (instr.), BS 56
Karabaka	n. (?) ‘fickleness; infidelity; movement, tremor’: -a (nom./obj.), BS 43
Karama	n. (<i>karma</i>) ‘work, deed; performance; fate’: -ka (gen.), BS 41, 60; -a (nom./obj.), BS 52
Karebara	n. (<i>kalevara</i>) ‘body’: BS 51
Kalaśa	n. (S.) ‘pitcher, jar, jug’: -i (loc.), BS 47
Kalasa	n. (<i>kalaśa</i>) ‘pitcher, jar, jug’: BS 33
Kalmaka	adj. (<i>kalmaṣa</i>) ‘stained, sinful, disgraceful’: BS 50
Kasani	n. (<i>karṣaṇī</i>) ‘girdle, brace, bodice’: -ke (gen.), BS 42
Kaha	inter. pron. (<i>katham</i>) ‘how?’: BS 63
Kaha-	vt. (<i>katha-</i>) ‘speak, say, tell’: -ite (ip.), BS 2, 42; -hi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8, 44, 47, 69; -bi (3 fem. Fut.), BS 9, 28; -ba (3 fut.), 56, 69, 113, 122, 131; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind./2 imp.), BS 9, 13, 14, 24, 43, 56, 62, 97; -ha (2 imp.), BS 10, 17, 45; -haha (2 imp.), BS 14, 28; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 38; -laha (3 P.Ind.), BS 41; -i/-aī (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 46, 63, 122; -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 48; -ia/iya (2 imp.), BS 55, 137; -yite (ger.), BS 65; -thi (3 hon. Pr.Ind.), BS 113
Kahini/ī	n. (<i>*kathānaka</i>) ‘story, tale, telling’: BS 17, 42, 47, 57
Kahu	pron. (<i>kva+hī</i>) ‘somewhere’: BS 32
Kahu	adv. (?) ‘often’: BS 62
Kā	pron. (<i>kaḥ/kim</i>) ‘who’: -ke (obj.), BS 12
Kām	adv. (<i>kim</i>) ‘for which reason? why?’: BS 19, 22, 40, 41, 63; -e/eṃ, BS 55
Kām̃ti	n. (<i>kānti</i>) ‘splendor, appearance; countenance’: BS 42
Kāca-	vi. (<i>*kākṣā</i>) ‘assume false appearance/countenance; play the role of; be made into’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21, 61
Kācā	adj. (<i>kaṣaṇa</i>) ‘unripe, green; raw’: BS 35; -e (nom./obj.), BS 60
Kāja	v. (<i>kārya</i>) ‘work, deed; action’: -e (obj.), BS 5; -a (nom./obj.), BS 31, 57
Kājara	n. (<i>kajjala</i>) ‘lamp-black, soot; eye-liner’: BS 35; -e/eṃ (nom./instr.), BS 49, 53
Kātika	pn. (<i>Kārttika</i>) ‘Kārttikeya/Skanda (son of Shiva)’: BS 37
Kāna/kām̃na	n. (<i>karṇa</i>) ‘ear’: BS 8; -e (nom./obj.), BS 19; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 28
Kām̃na-	vi./vt. (<i>krand-</i>) ‘cry, weep’ -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 19
Kānha	pn. (<i>kr̥ṣṇa</i>) ‘Kṛṣṇa’: BS 3; -ka (gen.) BS 4; BS 7; -ke (obj.), BS 8; -u (voc.), BS 19, 49, 52; -(x) (nom./obj./voc.), BS 26, 28
Kām̃pa-	vi. (<i>kamp-</i>) ‘shake, tremble’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 5, 40; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 4, 29, 55
Kāma/kām̃ma	n. (S.) ‘desire, lust; Kāmadeva’: -e/eṃ (nom.), BS 5, 26, 32, 55, 61
Kāmini	n. fem. (<i>kāminī</i>) ‘ardent, passionate woman’: BS 4, 6, 32, 44, 53, 54; -ka (gen.), BS 55
Kāra	adj. (<i>kāla</i>) ‘black, dark: -a (masc.), BS 35; -i/ī (fem.), BS 33
Kāraṇa	n. (S.) ‘reason, purpose’: -e (instr. [adv.]), BS 24

Kāhi	pron. (<i>kāya</i>) ‘whom? which?’: BS 21
Kāhu	pron. (<i>kāya</i>) ‘to whom; which’: BS 55
Ki/kī	indef. pron. (<i>kaḥ</i>) ‘what (thing)’: BS 11, 13, 19, 31, 33, 36, 41, 45, 47, 48, 53, 56, 62, 69, 113, 122
Ki	conj. (<i>*kah</i>) ‘or’: BS 3
Kichu	pron. adj./adv. (<i>kaścit; kiñcit</i>) ‘some; a little bit; something, to some extent’: BS 10, 17, 24, 36, 40, 41, 51, 57, 113, 137
Kiya	pron. adj. (<i>kim</i>) ‘what?’: BS 13
Kiśalaya	n. (<i>kisalaya</i>) ‘shoot; sprout’: BS 50
Kīdahu	pron. (?) ‘Something [whatsoever]’: BS 10
Kughaṭhana	n. (<i>ku+ghaṭhana</i>) ‘inauspicious/bad connection, union, happening’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 60
Kudina	n. (<i>ku+dina</i>) ‘wicked/bad day’: BS 13
Kujāti	adj. (<i>ku+jāti</i>) ‘of evil/poor birth/origin’: BS 12
Kumara	n. (<i>kumāra</i>) ‘prince’: BS 40
Kusuma	n (S.) ‘flower, blossom’: -e (instr.), BS 8, 14, 20; -ka (gen.), BS 23
Kuhū	pn. (D.) ‘the night during which the sun and moon are in conjunction (<i>amāvasyā</i>)’; night of the new moon, last day of the dark fortnight’: BS 46
Kṛpana	n. (<i>kṛpana</i>) ‘narrow-minded; miser’: BS 53
Ke/ ĩ	indef. pron. (<i>kaḥ</i>) ‘who? what person?’: BS 5, 11, 29, 31, 32, 36, 63, 69
Keo	indef. pron. (<i>kaścid</i>) ‘someone’: BS 3, 4, 19, 29, 97, 124, 131
Kethae	adv. (<i>*kaḥ+sthāna</i>) ‘where?’: BS 53
Kera	post pos. gen. (<i>kasya</i>) ‘of, belonging to’: BS 28
Kela-	vi./vt. (<i>*khel(l)-</i>) ‘play’: -i (absol.), BS 18, 30
Kesu	pn. (<i>kiṃśuka</i>) ‘a kind of tree with red blossoms and no odor (<i>Butea Frondosa</i>)’; a.k.a. <i>palāśa</i> ’: BS 35
Kehu/ĩ	indef. pron. (<i>kaḥ+emph.</i>) ‘someone’: BS 32
Kaisana	pron. adj. (<i>kīdṛśa</i>) ‘of what sort/kind?’: BS 14, 35
Koi/koya	indef. pron. (<i>kaḥ+apī</i>) ‘someone, anybody’: BS 34, 131
Kokila	pn. (<i>kokila</i>) ‘the Cuckoo bird’: -i (nom.), BS 3
Koṭabāra	pn. (?) ‘cell/tank made for storing treacle/sweets’: BS 66
Kone	pron. adv. (<i>*kaḥ punaḥ</i>) ‘who, which one? how?’: BS 6, 11, 19, 115
Kone pari	pron. adv. (<i>*kaḥ punaḥ + pari</i>) ‘in what direction, manner? how?’: BS 1, 11, 37, 40
Kolāhala	n. (S.) ‘loud noise, uproar, clamor, din’: -e (instr.), BS 53
Kautuka	n. (S.) ‘curiosity, eagerness; interest’: -eṃ (instr.), BS 48
Kauna	pron. adv. (<i>*kaḥ+punaḥ</i>) ‘who? what? which?’: BS 14
Kauśilyā	pn. (<i>Kauśalyā</i>) ‘ <i>Kauśalyā</i> ’: BS 52
Krupa	n. (<i>kṛpā</i>) ‘mercy; kindness’: BS 21

Kha

Khaṁjana	pn. (<i>khañjana</i>) ‘a wagtail bird [<i>Motacilla alba</i>]; (fig.) to which the pupil of the eyes of the beloved are compared’: -e (Instr.), BS 4; BS 7; -ṁ (nom.), BS 62
Khata-	n. (<i>kṣata</i> ; <i>kṣati</i>) ‘mark, hurt, injury; damage; fault, mistake’: BS 26
Khana	n. (<i>kṣana</i>) ‘moment; time’: BS 12; -e (loc./adv.), BS 60
Khasa-	vi. (<i>skhala-</i>) ‘decline, dropped, dig down’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 113
Khini	adj. fem (<i>khinna</i>) ‘sad, vexed; sore’: BS 13, 62
Khiyāu-	vi. (<i>kṣi-</i>) ‘wear out, be rubbed off, reduce’: -li (3 fem. P.S.), BS 64.
Khedha	n. (<i>kheda</i>) ‘pain, suffering; vexation’: BS 51
Khepa-	vt. (<i>kṣepa-</i>) ‘pass time; cross over, pull on’: -bae (inf.), BS 40
Khela	n. (<i>khelā</i>) ‘game, sport’: BS 7
Khela-	vi. (> <i>khelā</i>) ‘play, sport’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62

Ga

Ga-	vi. (perf. stem for <i>jā-</i>) ‘go, move’: -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24, 38
Gaṅga	pn. (<i>Gaṅgā</i>) ‘the Ganges’: BS 62
Gaja	n. (S.) ‘elephant’: -e (obj.), BS 39
Gaṁtha-	vt. (<i>granth-</i>) ‘string, thread, entwine, interlock’: -le (ger.), BS 53
Gana-	vt. (<i>gaṇ-</i>) ‘count, enumerate’: -ite (ip.), BS 43
Gaba-	vt. (<i>gā-</i>) ‘sing’: -ite (ip.) BS 4; -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 17
Gamana	n. (S.) ‘going, departure’: -e (obj.), BS 49
Gamā-	vt. (<i>gum-</i>) ‘Lose, waste, squander’: -ba (3 fut.) BS 9; -ili (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 20; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 74
Gamāra	adj. (> <i>grāma</i>) ‘rustic, vulgar, boorish, stupid; lit. of a village’: BS 53; -e (nom./instr.), BS 62
Garabha	n. (<i>karabha</i>) ‘young/baby elephant’: BS 62
Garāsa-	vt. (<i>*gras-</i>) ‘devour, eat up; eclipse’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 13
Garī	n. (<i>gaḍa</i>) ‘narrow lane, alley’: -ṁ (loc.), BS 97
Garua	adj. (<i>guruka</i>) ‘heavy; intense’: BS 21
Gala-	vi. (<i>garaṇa</i>) ‘melt, smelt; sink; ooze, leak, drip’: -i (absol.) BS 4; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6, 69
Gasa-	vt. (<i>gras-</i>) ‘grab, assume; tie, fasten’: -e (Pr.Ind.), BS 7
Gaha-	vt. (<i>grabh-</i>) ‘take in hand; hold, catch’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 43
Gā-/gāu-/gāo-/gāe-	vi./vt. (<i>gā-</i>) ‘sing’: -li (3 P.Ind.), BS 14; -ele (ger.); -e (absol.), BS 21; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 33, 48, 51, 63; -ba (3 fut.), BS 116
Gāja-	vt. (<i>garjan-</i>) ‘sing; make joyful noise/ruckus’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56
Gāṅga	pn. (<i>Gaṅgā</i>) ‘the river/goddess Ganges’: BS 22
Gātā	n. (<i>gātrā</i>) ‘body; limbs’: BS 49
Gāba-	vt. (<i>gā-</i>) ‘sing’: BS 4; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6, 27, 52; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 54, 58

Gāra-	vt. (<i>gr-</i>) ‘squeeze, wring, extract juice, decant’: -i (absol.), BS 24
Gāri	n. (<i>gāli</i>) ‘insult, abuse’: BS 34, 57
Gāruḍi	n. (<i>gāruḍin</i>) ‘a doctor that cures snakebites; snake-charmer’: BS 3
Giri	n. (S.) ‘mountain’: -ṁ (obj./loc.), BS 61
Girirāja	pn. (S.) ‘lit. king of mountains; <i>Himālayas</i> or Mt. Meru’: -ka (gen.), BS 38
Guñjara	n. (<i>guñja+āra</i>) ‘buzzing of bees’: BS 54
Guṇa	n. (S.) ‘[good] qualities; virtues’: -e (obj./instr.), BS 8, 58; -ka (gen.), BS 39, 43
Guṇa-	vt. (> <i>guṇa-</i>) ‘to enumerate, to qualify’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 40, 57; -ia/iya (2 imp.), BS 57; -thi (3 hon. Pr.Ind.), BS 63
Guṇamati	n. fem. (<i>guṇamatī</i>) ‘a lady possessed of virtue’: BS 6, 13, 58
Guputa	adj. (<i>gupta</i>) ‘hidden, concealed’: BS 61
Gṛma	n. (<i>grīva</i>) ‘neck, throat’: BS 26
Geyāna	n. (<i>jñāna</i>) ‘knowledge, wisdom’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 10, 40
Gela	vi. (irr. perf. of <i>jā-</i>) ‘went; aux. <i>vi</i> ’: -(x) BS 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 29, 31, 35, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 56, 97, 116; -āhuṁ (1 P.ind.), BS 5; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 30, 35, 37, 46, 53, 116, 122; -le (ger.), BS 137
Geha-	n. (<i>grha</i>) ‘house, home, abode; building, room’: -hu (loc.), BS 11
Go-/goa-	vt. (<i>gop-</i>) ‘hide, conceal, cover’: -i/yi (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 19, 34, 35, 65; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 42, 44, 58; -a/ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 114
Goṭā	n. (?) ‘individual, single object; used for counting’: BS 23, 63
Gori	n./pn. (<i>Gaurī</i>) ‘fair lady; <i>Gaurī</i> (I.e. Parvatī)’: BS 1, 38, 48
Gohanā	n. (?) ‘group, assembly’: BS 64
Gohāri	n. (?) ‘supplication, request; prayer, cry for help’: BS 57
Grima	n. (<i>grīva</i>) ‘neck, nape of neck’: BS1

Gha

Ghaṭa-	vt. (> <i>ghaṭana</i>) ‘erect, construct’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 62
Ghanatara	adj. (<i>ghana+tara</i>) ‘exceedingly dense/thick’: BS 32
Ghara	n. (<i>grha</i>) ‘home, house, abode; room’: BS 25, 34; -ṁ (obj.), BS 35
Ghāṭa-*	vt. (?) ‘blow, strike, wound, injure; murder, slay’: -i/ī (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 63

Ca

Caūdiśa	<i>see</i> ‘caudiśa’
Cakebā	n. (<i>cakravāka</i>) ‘sheldrake, ruddy duck (<i>Casarca rutila</i>), cannot meet their mates during night’: BS 6
Caṅgima	adj. (<i>caṅga</i>) ‘splendid, charming’: BS 58
Caḍha-	vi. (<i>uccālana</i>) ‘climb, ascend, ride’: -i/yi (absol./3 Pr.S.), BS 24, 29, 62; -la/-lahu (3 P.Ind.), BS 69, 124; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 141

Caturāi	n. (<i>catura</i> +?) ‘cleverness’: BS 27
Canda/ā	n. (<i>candra</i>) ‘moon’: BS 7, 12, 29, 30, 39, 48, 53
Candana	n. (S.) ‘sandalwood; sandalwood paste’: -e (instr.), BS 19; -ka (gen.), BS 23
Caṁdana	n. (<i>candana</i>) ‘sandalwood’: BS 18, 23
Cala-	vi. (<i>cal-</i>) ‘move, go’ -i (absol.), BS 18; -lihu (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 21; -li/ri (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32, 38; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 38
Caṁcha-	vt. (<i>tvakṣ-</i>) ‘create, produce’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 21
Cātara	n. (?) ‘machination; conspiracy’: BS 45
Cāda	n. (<i>candra</i>) ‘moon’: -ka (gen.), BS 20
Cāṁda	n. (<i>candra</i>) ‘moon’: BS 5, 37, 55, 56, 61, 63
Cāṁdana	n. (<i>candana</i>) ‘sandalwood (paste)’: -e (instr.), BS 46
Cādana	n. (<i>candana</i>) ‘sandalwood’: BS 3
Cāṁpa	n. (<i>campaka</i>) ‘Campak flower’: BS 4
Cāri	nu. (<i>catvāraḥ</i>) ‘four’: BS 12, 35
Cāha	n. (<i>icchā</i>) ‘desire, want’: BS 13
Cāha-	vt. (* <i>cāh-</i>) ‘want, desire, wish for’: -ia (pp.), BS 44; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55
Cikura	n. (S.) ‘hair; lock’: -e (instr.), BS 14; -ka (gen.), BS 23
Cita	n. (<i>citta</i>) ‘mind, consciousness’: -e/-eṁ (nom./obj.), BS 12, 21
Cintā-	vt. (caus. of <i>cinta-</i>) ‘to cause to think, consider; worry’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6
Cinha-	vt. (<i>cinh-</i>) ‘recognize the signs/characteristics/qualities’: -ia (2 imp.), BS 29
Cira-	adj./adv. (S.) ‘for a long time, long-lasting’: -eṁ (instr./adv.), BS 58
Cīra	adv. (<i>cira</i>) ‘for a long time, long-lasting’: BS 3, 50
Cuka-	vi. (<i>cyutkṛta</i>) commit fault/mistake; miss, fail to do so’: -lahu (3 P.Ind.), BS 13
Cuṁba-*	vi./vt. (<i>cumba-</i>) ‘kiss, fondle’: -a/ā (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 63
Cuṁbita	adj. (<i>cumbita</i>) ‘kissed’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 50; -a (nom./obj.), BS 50b
Ceta-	vi. (<i>citta-</i>) ‘come to senses, be conscious/aware’: -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 3
Cepa	n. (D.) ‘a lump of soil; dirt’: BS 135
Cerī	n. (<i>ceṇḍī</i>) ‘female goat’: BS 63
Cehā-	vi. (?) ‘startle, be alarmed’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56
Cora-	vt. (cor-) ‘steal, take’: -i/ī (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 35
Cauguṇa	adj./adv. (<i>catuḥ-guṇa</i>) ‘four-fold’: BS 55
Caudiśa/cauṁdiśa	n. (<i>catuḥ+diśā</i>) ‘(lit.) four directions; (fig.) everywhere’: BS 3, 8, 20; -ṁ (obj.), BS 56

Cha

Chala	vi. (pp. of <i>achi</i> > <i>as-</i>) ‘moving, unsteady’: BS 7
Chaḍā-	vt. (<i>choraṇa</i>) ‘abandon, leave’: -bae (inf.), BS 56

Chapā-	vt. (caus. of <i>chapa-</i>) ‘hide, conceal; cause to be marked’: -bae (inf.), BS 58; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 58
Chāgara	n. (D.) ‘young male goat’: BS 63
Chāḍa-	vt. (> <i>choraṇa</i>) ‘leave, give up; forego’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8; -i (absol.), BS 40; -la/-ola (3 P.Ind.), BS 48, 135; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 64; -ta (3 fut.), BS 69
Chāja-	vi./vt. (<i>chādana</i>) ‘to be/appear pleasant, good, beautiful’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Chāla	n. (<i>challa</i>) ‘skin; hide’: BS 22, 23
Chia	vi. 1 (<i>as-</i>) ‘I am; we are’: (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 36
Chica-	vt. (<i>siñc-</i>) ‘sprinkle’: -I (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 64
Chidiā-	vt. (?) ‘disperse, scatter’: -ela/-yala (3 P.Ind.), BS 5, 141
Chūcha	adj./adv. (<i>śunya*</i>) ‘empty, vacant, pure; only’: BS 131
Cheri	n. fem. (D.) ‘female goat’: BS 63
Choṭa	n. (<i>*cotṭ-</i>) ‘blow; injury’: BS 4
Choṭa	adj. (<i>kṣudra</i>) ‘small, tiny’: -i (fem.), BS 17, 64

Ja

Jae-	vi. (<i>yā-</i>) ‘go, move’: -be (1 fut.), BS 5
Jao/jaṃō	conj.; rel. pron. (<i>yadi; yaḥ</i>) ‘if, in case; when’: BS 4, 18, 34, 117, 131, 135
Jakara	rel. pron. gen. (<i>yasya</i>) ‘whose, of whom’: BS 3
Jakāṃ	adv. (?) ‘like; compared to’: -ra BS 3
Jakāra-	vt. (?) ‘shake, shuffle, rumble’: -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50
Jake	pron. rel. obj. (<i>yam*</i>) ‘to whom, to that’: BS 115
Jaṃkha-	vt. (?) ‘to grieve, regret, lament’: -ṃite/ite (ip.), BS 74
Jakhana	adv. (<i>yatkṣaṇa</i>) ‘when’: -e BS 9, 42, 47
Jaga-	vi. (<i>jag-</i>) ‘to awake; wake up’: -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 14; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 62
Jagadīśara	n. (<i>jagat+īśvara</i>) ‘lord of the universe’: BS 54
Jagā-	vt. (caus. of <i>jag-</i>) ‘to awaken’: -ba (3 fut.) BS 4
Jaṭaka	n. (?) ‘storm, gale, flurry’: -ka (gen.), BS 135
Jata	pron. adj. (<i>yatū</i>) ‘as much, as many’: BS 9, 56, 60, 74, 137
Jatana	n. (<i>yatna</i>) ‘effort, toil’: BS 2; -e (instr.), BS 55, 56, 58; -a (nom./obj.), BS 58
Jadi	conj. (<i>yadi</i>) ‘if, in case’: BS 9, 50
Jana-	vt. (<i>jñā-</i>) ‘know, understand; consider’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 17
Janagata	adj. (<i>janagatya</i>) ‘pertaining to/concerned only with the people/populace’: BS 45
Janama	n. (<i>janma</i>) ‘birth, life’: -ka (gen.), BS 63
Jani	adv. (?) ‘as if, like; do not’: BS 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18, 24, 32, 33, 39, 44, 56, 58

Janī	n. fem. (> <i>jana</i>) ‘woman’: BS 50
Janu/ṁ 113	adv. (?) ‘as if, like, similar; do not’: BS 10, 11, 13, 21, 27, 35, 40, 49, 74,
Jamaka-	vi. (?) ‘accumulate; gather’: -i (absol.) BS 4
Jasa	n. (<i>yaśa</i>) ‘repute, fame’: BS 18
Jahā	rel. pron. (<i>yatra</i>) ‘where, in that place’: BS 116
Jā	rel. pron./adv. (<i>yāvat</i>) ‘as long as; until’: BS 57, 74
Jā-/jāe-	vi. (<i>yā-</i>) ‘go, move’: -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 2, 24, 122; -ta (3 fut.), BS 6, 34; -ti (3 fem. Fut.), BS 11, 49; -ba (3 fut.), BS 15, 44, 114; -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21, 38, 60; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 25, 44, 57; -ite/yite (ip.), BS 32
Jā-	vi./vt. (<i>jī-</i>) ‘win, be victorious, subdue’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 122
Jāo-	vi. (> <i>yā-</i>) ‘attain, reach, approach’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 36
Jāṁkha-	vi. (<i>jhaṅkha-</i>) ‘bewail, lament’: -ha (2 imp.), BS 21; -ba (3 fut.), BS 25
Jāga-	vt. (caus. of <i>jag-</i>) ‘awaken; enliven’: -iyo (pp.), BS 14; -i (absol.), BS 20; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 53
Jāṭa-	vi./vt. (?) ‘thresh out, thrash; scold; storm, gale’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 135
Jāna-/jāṁna-	vt. (<i>jñā-</i>) ‘know, understand, comprehend’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 7, 11, 31, 32, 43, 61, 124; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 12, 28, 45, 52; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 21, 34, 43; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21, 28, 117, 135, 141; -si (2 Pr.Ind.), BS 28; -ia (pp.), BS 52
Jānā-	vt. (caus. of <i>jñā-</i>) ‘to inform, cause to know’: -I (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 74
Jāpa-/jāṁpa-	vt. (<i>ujjhapana</i>) ‘to cover, conceal, hide’: -la (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 16, 21; -i (absol.), BS 42; -ba (3 fut.), BS 114
Jābe	adv./rel. (<i>yāvat</i>) ‘till, while; when’: BS 8, 131, 137
Jāra	n. (<i>jāla</i>) ‘net, trap, snare’: BS 3
Jāra-	vt. (<i>jval-</i>) ‘burn, ignite, light up’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 131
Jāsa	pron. adj. (<i>vasya</i>) ‘whose? of which?’: BS 11
Jāhā	rel. adv. (<i>yatra</i>) ‘where, in what place’: BS 15
Ji-/jia-	vi. (<i>jīv-</i>) ‘live, survive’: -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 69
Jīta-	vi./vt. (<i>jīta-</i>) ‘win, be victorious; conquer’: -i (absol.), BS 61
Jini	rel. pron. hon. (?) ‘like, similar; in such a way’: BS 32
Jiba	n. (<i>jīva</i>) ‘soul, spirit, life, living being’: BS 5, 26, 60
Jiba	n. (<i>jihvā</i>) ‘tongue’: BS 40, 55
Jibi	n. (<i>jīvin</i>) ‘living being; creature’: BS 37
Jimi	adv. (?) ‘how; in the manner/way of’: BS 55
Jiyā-	vt. (caus. of <i>jī-</i>) ‘to enliven; revive; refresh, bring to consciousness’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 19
Jīta-	vi./vt. (<i>jīta-</i>) ‘win, conquer’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 32
Jīna-	vi./vt. (<i>jī-</i>) ‘win, conquer; subdue’: -i (absol./3 P.Ind.), BS 69
Jība	n. (<i>jīva</i>) ‘soul, spirit, life; living being’: BS 2
Jība	n. (<i>jihvā</i>) ‘tongue’: BS 60
Jībana	n. (<i>jīvaṇa</i>) ‘life’: BS 13
Ju-/jua-	vi. (<i>yuj-</i>) ‘To be yoked, joined’: -i/yi (absol.) 47
Jula-	vi. (<i>*jhulyati</i>) ‘swing’: BS 4
Je/ye	rel. pron. (<i>yaḥ</i>) ‘who, what, which’: BS 9, 11, 18, 20, 41, 54, 114, 124; -o/ho (emph.), BS 69

Joḍa-	vt. (<i>juḍ-</i>) ‘join, bind’: -i (absol.), BS 14
Joti	n. (<i>vyotī</i>) ‘light, brilliance, luster’: BS 53, 62
Jora	n. (?) ‘pair, couple’: BS 62
Jori	n. (?) ‘pair, couple; likeness, resemblance; equal’: BS 3, 66
Jaubati	n. fem. (<i>yuvati</i>) ‘young lady’: BS 47

Jhā

Jhāṃpa	n. (<i>ujjhāpana</i>) ‘cover, screen, veil; canopy’: -eṃ (instr.), BS 5
Jhāṃla-	vt. (?) ‘make hot, burn; (<i>fig.</i>) to impassion, make desirous; solder, join together, seal’: BS 5

Ta

Ṭaṅga	n. (<i>taṅka</i>) ‘grief/fear from separation from beloved’: BS 41
Ṭuṭa-	vi. (<i>truṭa</i>) ‘break, fracture’: -i (absol.), BS 5; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 26, 41

Tha

Ṭhāma	n. (<i>sthāna</i>) ‘place, location’: -e (loc.), BS 5, 8, 21, 25, 26; -a (nom./obj.), BS 43
Ṭhina	n. (<i>sthāna</i>) ‘place, location’: -hi (loc.), BS 43

Da

Ḍaḍha-	vi. (<i>dagdha-</i>) ‘burn’: -ia (pp.), BS 5
Ḍaṃbara-	vt. (<i>*aḍambara</i>) ‘organize; make pretension, arrogance; great noise, assertion’: -i (absol.), BS 5
Ḍara	n. (<i>dara</i>) ‘fear, fright’: -e (instr./adv), BS 11
Ḍara-	vi. (<i>dara</i>) ‘to fear, be frightened’: -eṃ (3 Pr.ind.), BS 6
Ḍas-	vt. (<i>daṃś-</i>) ‘bite; sting, pierce’: -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 3
Ḍahāra-	vi. (?) ‘go along in group through pathway (especially cattle)’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44
Ḍiṭhi	n. (<i>drṣṭi</i>) ‘sight, glance, stare’: BS 16; -hi (emph.), BS 35; -hu (obj./loc.), BS 51; -x (nom.), BS 64
Ḍuba-	vi. (<i>bruḍa[ti]</i>) ‘sink, drown; dip, plunge, dive; be inundated’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32; -thi (3 hon. Pr.Ind.), BS 63
Ḍoṃlā	n. (<i>dolā</i>) ‘swing; palanquin’: BS 4
Ḍola-	vi. (<i>dol-</i>) ‘shake; swing, sway’: BS 4
Ḍolā-	vt. (caus. of ḍola-) ‘shake, swing, sway; cause to tremble’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 57

Dha

Ḍhara- Ḍhoḍha

vi. (?) ‘pour, flow’: -ie (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 17

n. (?) ‘a (poison-less) snake’: BS 63

Ta

Ta/taṃ

conj. (-*taḥ*) ‘in that case, then; of course, indeed’: BS 48, 135

Taiāo/taiao

adv. (*tathāpi*) ‘even then, yet; still, anyhow’: BS 16, 26

Taūla-

vt. (*tulya-*) ‘weigh; assess the power of someone’: -i (absol.), BS 32

Taṃem

pron. 2 (*tva-*) ‘you’: BS 28

Takarā

adj. pron. 3 gen. (?) ‘of that, it’: -ṃ, BS 31

Takala

adj. pron. 3 gen. (?) ‘of that, it’: BS 53

Takhana

adv. (*tat+kṣana*) ‘then, that time’: BS 12; -e, BS 15

Takhanu

adv. (*tat+kṣana*) ‘then, that time’: -ka (gen.), BS 7, 21, 42, 56, 114; -ki (gen. fem.), BS 47

Tata

adv. (S.) ‘that far, to that extent’: -hi (obj./loc.), BS 25; -a (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56, 137

Tanu

n. (*tana*) ‘body’: BS 11

Tanhi

pron. 3 (*etat*) ‘he; that one’: BS 5, 9, 25, 28, 29; -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 28; -ka (gen.), BS 47

Tapa

n. (S.) ‘austerities’: -a (nom./obj.), BS 6; -eṃ (instr./loc.), BS 47

Taba-

vi. (*tapta-*) ‘burn, be heated’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50

Tara

n. (*tala*) ‘ground, surface’: -eṃ (loc.), BS 51

Tara-

vt. (> *tarāna*) ‘cross, exceed; pass over’: -ti (3 fem. Fut.), BS 10

Taraka-

vt. (?) ‘crack; break, burst’ -i (absol.), BS 39

Tarani

n. (*tarāṇi*) ‘river’: BS 10

Tarai

n. (*tarai*) ‘star, planet; heavenly body’: BS 4

Tasu

pron. adj. (*tasya*) ‘of him/her/it’: BS 18, 24, 47, 55

Taha

adv. (*tatra*) ‘there; in/on that place; just then’: BS 29, 62

Tahi

pron. 3 gen. (*tasya*) ‘of it, that, his/hers/its’: BS 6, 9

Tahu

pron. 3 gen. (*tasya*) ‘of it, that, his/hers/its’: BS 56, 62

Tā

pron. (?) ‘in/on/because of that’: BS 20, 50

Tā

correl. pron./adv. (*tāvat*) ‘for that long; until then’: BS 57

Tāka-

vt. (*tark-*) ‘look, see’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37

Tāna-

vt. (*tān-*) ‘stretch, expand; draw, pull’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 9

Tāba

n. (*tāpa/ṇa*) ‘burning, heating’: -ka (gen.), BS 50

Tāba-

vi./vt. (> *tap-*) ‘burn, be heated’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55

Tābe

adv./corel. (*tāvat*) ‘till; until that time’: BS 8, 24, 131, 137

Tāla

n. (S.) ‘rhythm; rhythmic pattern’: -e (instr.), BS 19

Tāhā

correl. pron. (*tatra*) ‘there, in that place’: BS 15, 116

Tāhi

pron. 3 obj./gen. (?; *tasya*) ‘to it/him/her/that; of it, that his/hers/its’: BS 11, 24, 50, 64; -eri (gen. fem.), BS 69

Tāhu	pron. 3 nom./obj. (<i>tava</i>) ‘your’: BS 64
Tina	nu. (<i>trīṇi</i>) ‘three’: -hu (loc.), BS 26
Tira-	vi. (<i>tī-</i>) ‘pull; draw in’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32
Tiratha	n. (<i>tīrtha</i>) ‘holy place; place of pilgrimage’: BS 28
Tiri	n. (<i>strī</i>) ‘woman, wife’: BS 55
Tila	n. (?) ‘iota, particle; fig. Moment’: -hu (loc.), BS 24
Tilaka	n. (S.) ‘ornament, adornment; forehead mark’: -e (instr.), BS 46
Tilā eka	adv. (S.) ‘for a moment’: BS 7, 11, 16, 17, 28, 30
Tikha	adj. (<i>tīkṣṇa</i>) ‘sharp; intense; hot, fiery’: BS 18
Tua	pron. gen. (<i>tava</i>) ‘your’: BS 8, 11, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 36, 40, 52, 74, 124, 135, 137, 141
Te/teṃ	pron. adv. (<i>*tathā</i>) ‘therefore, for that reason’: BS 6, 8, 13, 21, 29, 36, 47
Tejā	n. (<i>tejas</i>) ‘brightness, brilliance’: BS 8
Teja-	vt. (<i>tyaj-</i>) ‘abandon, give up; leave’: -u (2 imp.), BS 5; -i (absol.), BS 13, 122; -a/ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 26; -ha (3 imp.), BS 30; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 61, 135; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 116
Teṃbara	n. (<i>tevara</i>) ‘look of eyes, expression; attitude; (fig.) anger’: BS 5
Tesara	adj. (<i>trīya</i>) ‘third’: BS 4
Tehi	pron. adj. 3 gen. (<i>tasya</i>) ‘of him, her, it’: BS 4, 63
Taišana	adv./adj. (<i>tādṛśam</i>) ‘like that, such’: BS 66
Toṃe	pron. 2 nom./obj. (<i>tvam</i>) ‘you’: BS 64
Tora	pron. adj. 2 gen. (<i>*tava</i>) ‘your, of you’: -i (fem.), BS 3, 8, 49, 64, 124; -a/ā/āṃ (masc.), BS 41, 43, 47, 52, 53, 61
Toha	pron. adj. 2 obj. (?) ‘to you’: -a, BS 11, 17; -e, BS 11, 18, 27, 36, 52, 57, 124; -i, BS 41, 58, 74, 122; -ṃ, BS 62
Tohara	pron. adj. 2 gen. fem. (?) ‘of you’: -i (fem.), BS 18; -a (masc.), BS 31
Trasana	adj. (<i>trāsana</i>) ‘terrifying, alarming, frightening’

Tha

Thambha	n. (<i>sthambha</i>) ‘pillar, column’: BS 62
Thāna	n. (<i>sthāna</i>) ‘place, location’: -e (loc.), BS 47, 50
Thika	aux. vi. 3 hon. (perf. of <i>ach-</i>) ‘to be, exist’: BS 63, 124
Thīra	adj. (<i>sthira</i>) ‘firm, unmoving, resolved, fixed’: BS 29
Tho/thoe-	vt. (<i>sthā-</i>) ‘place on, impose’: -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 19; -lanhi (3 fem. pl. P.Ind.), BS 46
Thora	adj./adv. (<i>stoka</i>) ‘a little bit’: BS 54, 56

Da

Da-/dā-	vt. (<i>dā-</i>) ‘give, hand over’: -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.) BS 9, 12, 13, 16, 26, 35, 46; -a/ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 18; -i/yi (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 48
Dae	post. pos./adv. (absol. of <i>da-</i>) ‘through, by means of’: BS 60

Danda	n. (<i>dvandva</i>) ‘conflict, combat’: BS 37, 48, 60
Damana-latā	n. (S.) ‘white mugwort (<i>Artemisia lactifolia</i>)’: BS 49
Daraka	vi. (<i>dara+kr-</i>) ‘lit. crack, split, rend; fig. To throb (heart); to be broken (heart)’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56
Daraśana	n. (<i>darśana</i>) ‘sight, viewing’: BS 17, 20, 44
Daraśa-	vi. (<i>drś-</i>) ‘to be visible, to show oneself; to see’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62
Daraśā-	vt. (caus. of <i>daraśa-</i>) ‘show, reveal; demonstrate’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 58; -ba (3 fut.), BS 114
Darasa	n. (<i>drśya</i>) ‘sight, vision’: -e (instr.), BS 44
Darasa-	vt. (caus. of <i>drś-</i>) ‘demonstrate, show’: -iya (ip.), BS 113
Darasana	see ‘daraśana’
Daśa	nu. (S.) ‘ten; 10’: -hu (loc.), BS 44
Daha-	vi./vt. (<i>dah-</i>) ‘burn’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 10; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 18
Dahiṇa	adj. (<i>dakṣiṇa</i>) ‘right, favorable’: -e (nom.) BS 4
Dādura	n. (<i>dardura</i>) ‘frog’: BS 54
Dāṣa-	vi./vt. (?) ‘speak, say’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Diḍha	adj./adv. (<i>dr̥dha</i>) ‘firm, resolute’: BS 137
Dina	n. (S.) ‘day’: -e (instr./adv.), BS 13, 28, 43
Dibasa	n. (S.) ‘heaven’: -ka (gen.), BS 39
Diya	adj. (pp. of <i>da-/de-</i>) ‘given’: BS 20
Diśa	n. (<i>diśā</i>) ‘direction; quarter; region’: BS 4; -e (loc.), BS 37
Dībiśa	n./adj. (<i>diviṣṭha</i>) ‘resident of heaven; celestial’: -e (nom./instr.), BS 50
Duao	adj. (> <i>dvi</i>) ‘both; the two of them’: BS 7
Dui	nu. (<i>dvi</i>) ‘two’: BS 4, 58
Duo	adj. (> <i>dvi</i>) ‘both; the two of them’: BS 56
Dubala	adj. (<i>durbala</i>) ‘thin, lean; weak’: BS 49
Dubari	adj. (<i>durbalī</i>) ‘thin, lean; weak’: BS 56
Duyi	see ‘dui’
Durajana	n. (<i>durjana</i>) ‘evil/wicked person; villain’: BS 24, 25
Dusaha-	vt. (<i>duḥ+sah-</i>) ‘to be unbearable’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 9
Duhu	adj. (> <i>dvi</i>) ‘both’: BS 7, 26, 34, 48; -ka (gen.), BS 48
Dūkha-	vi./vt. (* <i>dūkha-</i>) ‘be sad, distressed; make sad, distressed’: -le (ger.), BS 24
Dūgama	adj. (<i>durgama</i>) ‘impassable, inaccessible’: BS 18
Dūti	n. fem. (<i>dūtī</i>) ‘female messenger; go-between’: BS 11
Dūdha	n. (<i>dugdha</i>) ‘milk’: -hu (nom./obj.), BS 47; -x (nom.), BS 64
Dūra	adj. (S.) ‘distant, remote, far away’: -e (loc.), BS 36, 45
Drśa	n. (<i>drśya</i>) ‘scene, vision, sight’: BS 46
De-/di-	vt. (<i>dā-</i>) ‘give’: -ba (1/2/3 fut.), BS 6, 28, 52; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 7, 12, 25, 42, 43, 45, 47, 58, 60, 74, 117, 137; -si (2 Pr.Ind.), BS 23; -thu (3 imp.), BS 37, 38
Dea	adv. (<i>dvārā</i>) ‘via, through’: BS 24
Dei	n. (<i>devī</i>) ‘lady; goddess’: BS 18, 21, 29, 32, 33, 45, 52, 60, 62
Dekha-	vi. (<i>drś-</i>) ‘to see, look, behold’: -ha (3 imp.), BS 1; -i (absol./3 P.Ind.), BS 5, 41, 47, 54, 55, 131; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 7, 42, 47, 51, 56, 65; -ba (3 fut.), BS 7; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 44, 49, 116; -ia (2

	imp./pp.), BS 45, 47, 56; -laha (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 62
Deba	n. (S.) ‘lord; god’: -ka (gen.), BS 62
Deśa	n. (S.) ‘country, place’: -ṁ (nom./obj.), BS 9, 50
Deha	n. (S.) ‘body’: -ka (gen.), BS 10
Dehari	n. (<i>dehālī</i>) ‘doorway, threshold’: BS 8
Dosa	n. (<i>doṣa</i>) ‘fault, mistake, sin’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 10, 20, 60; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 21, 23, 25
Dosara	adj. (<i>*dviḥsara-</i>) ‘second’: BS 12, 66
Dohā-	vt. (<i>*āhvaya</i>) ‘entreaty, call for relief’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 27, 49

Dha

Dha-	vi. (<i>dhāv-</i>) ‘run; flee’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 35, 97
Dhadhali	n. (?) ‘flame’: BS 50
Dhani	n. fem. (<i>dhanī</i>) ‘girl; woman’: (voc.), BS 1, 12, 13, 39, 43, 48
Dhandha	n. (<i>dvandva</i>) ‘anxiety, perplexity, amazement; conflict’: BS 11, 60
Dhara-	vt. (<i>dhṛ-</i>) ‘hold, get; grasp; keep’: -ba/baha (3 fut.), BS 6, 17, 115; -(x), (3 Pr.Ind./2 imp.), BS 14, 34, 40, 42, 43, 46, 55, 60; -ia (pp.), BS 19; -i (absol.), BS 19, 32, 47, 56; -ha (2/3 imp.), BS 27
Dharama	n. (<i>dharma</i>) ‘dharma; the god <i>Dharma</i> ’: BS 60
Dhasa-	vi. (<i>dhaṁs-</i>) ‘be destroyed, ruined’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 37
Dhā/dhāo-	vi. (<i>dhāv-</i>) ‘run; flee’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21; -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 41; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 51
Dhāba-	vt. (<i>*dhāva</i>) ‘wash, clean; run, flee’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 19, 60
Dhuni	n. (<i>dhvani</i>) ‘noise; song, melody’: BS 19
Dhuri	n. (<i>dhūli</i>) ‘dust, dirt’: BS 51
Dheja	n. (<i>dhaja</i>) ‘splendid appearance, attitude, manner/style’: BS 55
Dhairaja	n. (<i>dhairya</i>) ‘patience; fortitude’: BS 39, 60
Dhorī	n. (<i>dhaureya</i>) ‘ox, bullock; beast of burden’: BS 63
Dhola-	vi. (<i>dolāyate</i>) ‘swing, sway’: -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 3

Na

Nakhata	n. (<i>nakṣatra</i>) ‘star, planet, heavenly body’: BS 11, 45
Nagaja	adj. (S.) ‘arising over a mountain’: BS 3
Naḍā-	vt. (<i>naṣṭa-</i>) ‘leave behind’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Nanda	pn. (S.) ‘Nanda, the adoptive father of Krishna’: -ka (gen.), BS 54
Nandana	n. (S.) ‘darling son’: -e (nom./obj.), BS
Naba	adj. (S.) ‘new, fresh; young’: -hi (nom.), BS 4; -i (fem.), BS 4, 27, 32
Nama-	vi. (<i>nam-</i>) ‘bend down; lower oneself’: -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 47
Namā-	vt. (<i>nam-</i>) ‘bed down (in greeting/honoring)’: -ñe/ne (Pr.Ind.), BS 1
Namita	adj. (> <i>nam-</i>) ‘bent/hanging down’ -eṁ (instr.), BS 33

Nayana	n. (S.) ‘eye(s)’: -ka (gen.), BS 17
Nara	n. (S.) ‘man; mankind’: -ha (loc.), BS 15
Narāena	pn. (<i>Nārāyaṇa</i>) ‘ <i>Nārāyaṇa/Viṣṇu</i> ’: BS 45
Nārāyana	pn. (<i>Nārāyaṇa</i>) ‘ <i>Nārāyaṇa/Viṣṇu</i> ’: BS 48
Nahi	adv. (<i>na+hi</i>) ‘no, not + emph.’: BS 5, 9, 11, 12, 18, 20, 21, 23, 29, 38, 40, 47, 51, 53, 60, 62
Nāgara	n. (S.) ‘urbane/cultured person’: -iṃ (fem. nom.), BS 20; -ā (nom.), BS 33
Nāda	n. (S.) ‘sound, noise’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 9
Nāma	n. (S.) ‘Good/bad name’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 23
Nāraṅgi	n. (<i>nāraṅga</i>) ‘libertine’: BS 13
Nārāyana	PN. (<i>nārāyaṇa</i>) ‘epithet of Viṣṇu’: BS 7
*Nāla	n. (S.) ‘stalk, stem; channel; artery, vein’: BS 7
Nāha	n. (<i>nātha</i>) ‘lord, husband’: -e (nom.), BS 1, 37; -a (nom./obj./voc.), BS 53
Nāhi	see ‘nahi’
Nika	adj. (<i>nikt-</i>) ‘good, well; elegant, attractive’: -hu (loc. [adv.]), BS 32
Nikaṭa	n. (S.) ‘nearness, proximity’: -hi (loc.), BS 7
Nikaruṇa	adj. (<i>niḥ+karuṇa</i>) ‘without mercy/compassion’: BS 39
Nicala	adj. (<i>niścala</i>) ‘still; without movement’: BS 39, 61
Nicita	adj./adv. (<i>niścinta</i>) ‘without worry; certainly, for sure’: -e (instr./adv.), BS 12
Nicoḍa-	vt. (?) ‘squeeze, wring; extract essence/substance’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 4
Niṭhura	adj. (<i>niṣṭhura</i>) ‘pitiless, cruel, ruthless; grave’: BS 15, 54, 60, 66, 115
Nīta	adj. (<i>nītya</i>) ‘always, constantly, regularly’: -eṃ (instr.), BS 37
Nīda	n. (<i>nīdrā</i>) ‘sleep’: BS 8, 9; -e (instr.), BS 45
Nīda	n. (<i>nīndā</i>) ‘rebuke, chastisement, dishonor’: -eṃ (nom./obj.), BS 12
Nīdāna	n. (S.) ‘conclusion, end, outcome; essence’: -e (loc. As adv.), BS 1
Nīdhāna	n. (S.) ‘pile, treasure; trove; store’: -e (nom./voc.), BS 39
Nīphala	adj. (<i>niḥ+phala</i>) ‘fruitless; useless’: -e (nom.), BS 8
Nībeda-	vt. (<i>nī+vid-</i>) ‘to tell, inform, give information’: -ba (3 fut.), BS 9
Nībola	adj. (<i>*niḥ+>brū-</i>) ‘speechless, silent’: -i (fem), BS 3
Nīmāla	adj. (<i>nirmālya</i>) ‘pure, clean, stainless’: -e (loc.), BS 45
Nīya	adj. (<i>nīja</i>) ‘one’s own, self’: BS 6, 10, 18, 31, 46, 62
Nīyara-	vt. (?) ‘intend, plan, contemplate future idea’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 29
Nīra	n. (<i>nīra</i>) ‘water; juice (<i>rasa</i>)’: BS 20
Nīramala	adj. (<i>nirmala</i>) ‘clear; pure’: BS 46
Nīramāna-	vi./vt. (<i>nirmāṇa-</i>) ‘be formed, be made; form, make, create, build’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 7
Nīrūpa-	vi. (<i>niḥ+rūp-</i>) ‘become formless, shapeless, misshapen’: -ite (ip.), BS 12; -ia/iya (pp.), BS 55
Nīrodha	n. (S.) ‘restriction, control, restrain; prevention, check’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 36
Nīrmmala	adj. (<i>nirmala</i>) ‘clear; pure’: BS 50, 62
Nīhāra-	vt. (<i>nībhāla-</i>) ‘look, behold, gaze’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 11; -i/ī (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44, 115, 117, 124; -lanhi (3 fem. pl. P.Ind.), BS 47; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 58
Nīta	adj. (S.) ‘brought, led’: -e (nom.), BS 40

Nīda	n. (<i>nidrā</i>) ‘sleep’: BS 28
Nuka-	vi./vt. (D.) ‘to be hidden; to hide, conceal’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 63
Nem̐ocha-	vt. (<i>nirmuñca-</i>) ‘slash out, skim, winnow’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 47
Netaka	n. (<i>netraka</i>) ‘a fine cloth’: BS 23
Nebāra-	vt. (<i>nivāraṇa</i>) ‘remove, discharge’: -i (absol.), BS 17
Neha	n. (<i>sneha</i>) ‘love, affection’: BS 13, 35, 54, 60
Nora	n. (<i>*lola</i>) ‘tears’: BS 20, 39; -e (instr.), BS 42

Pa

Pa/pao-	vt. (<i>pra+āp-</i>) ‘to get, attain, grasp’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 23; -a/ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50; -le (ger.), BS 53; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 124
Paśa-	vi. (<i>pra+viś-</i>) ‘to enter’: -i (absol.), BS 38
Pai-	vt. (perf. stem for <i>pā-/pāe-</i>) ‘get attain, reach’: -si (2 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Pau	n. (<i>*pati/prabhu</i>) ‘lord; husband’: BS 19
Paua/ā	n. (<i>padma</i>) ‘lotus’: -ṁ (nom./obj.), BS 53
Pae	adv. (?) ‘only, exclusively’: BS 2, 3, 17
Paṁkaja	n. (<i>paṁkaja</i>) ‘lotus’: BS 18
Paṁkhuriā/yā	n. (<i>paṁkajapūṭī</i>) ‘petals; wings of birds’: BS 35
Pagāra	n. (<i>prākāra</i>) ‘rampart, boundary wall’: BS 32
Paṁcama	n. (<i>paṁcama</i>) ‘fifth note of the scale (filled with the most <i>rasa</i>)’: BS 63
Pachatābaka	n. (<i>paścāttāpa-</i>) ‘repentance’: BS 2, 21
Paṁcabāna	pn. (<i>pañca+bāṇa</i>) ‘(lit.) The one who has five arrows; (fig.) <i>Kāmadeva</i> ’: -e (nom.), BS 9
Paṁcaṁbāṁṇa	pn. (<i>pañca+bāṇa</i>) ‘(lit.) The one who has five arrows; (fig.) <i>Kāmadeva</i> ’: -e (nom.), BS 6
Pachima	n. (<i>paścima</i>) ‘west’: BS 53
Paṭa	n. (<i>vastra</i>) ‘cloth, screen; veil’: BS 55
Paṭhao-	vt. (?) ‘irrigate; spread, infest’: -laha (3 P.Ind.), BS 35
Paṭhā-/paṭhāu-	vt. (caus. of <i>pra+sthā-</i>) ‘send (away)’: -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 18; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32; -ia/iya (pp.), BS 113
Paḍa-	vi. (<i>pat-</i>) ‘fall (down)’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 3; -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 17; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 21; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 28; -lahu (3 P.Ind.), BS 34; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 40; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 43, 97, 135
Paḍosī	n. (<i>prativeśa</i>) ‘neighborhood, vicinity’: -ā (nom./loc.), BS 66
Paḍhā-	vt./caus. (<i>paṭ-</i>) ‘to read out, instruct; recite to someone’: -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 18
Patāla	pn. (<i>pātāla</i>) ‘pātāla hell; underworld’: BS 38
Paduma	n. (<i>padma</i>) ‘lotus flower’: BS 50
Pabana	n. (S.) ‘wind; air; in haste [instr.]’: -e (instr. as adv.), BS 54, 58
Pamāra-	vi. (?) ‘outburst, overflow’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 5
Para	n./adj. (S.) ‘another, a separate person’: -ka (gen.), BS 11, 12; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 11, 12, 62

Para	adv. (S.) ‘marker denoting later time, higher direction, upper level, after’: BS 55
Parakāra	n. (<i>prakāra</i>) ‘manner, variety, means; way out, remedy’: BS 44; -e (instr./adv.), BS 60
Paragāsa	n. (<i>prakāsa</i>) ‘light, effulgence, brilliance’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 16, 117
Parajanta	adv. (<i>paryanta</i>) ‘up to, until; even; as a consequence,’: -e, BS 43
Parataha	adv. (<i>pratyaha</i>) ‘each/every day’: BS 19, 36, 45
Paratāmra-	vt. (<i>pratāra-</i>) ‘coax, deceive; allure, beguile; verify; warn’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60
Paratīti	n. (<i>pratīti</i>) ‘belief; conviction’: BS 29
Paradoṣa	adv. (<i>pradoṣa</i>) ‘in the evening/darkness’: -e (instr./adv.), BS 45
Parabasa-	vi. (<i>pravāsa-</i>) ‘staying/sojourning away from home/abroad’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 47
Paramāda	n. (<i>pramāda</i>) ‘intoxication, frenzy, lust: negligence, oversight; confusion; distress’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 9
Paraśata	adj. (<i>prasūta</i>) ‘born, produced, begotten’: BS 55
Parasa	n. (<i>śparśa</i>) ‘touch, touchstone’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 9, 44, 55; -a (nom./obj.), BS 45
Parasa-	vt. (<i>śprś-</i>) ‘touch, contact’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 27; -i (absol.), BS 29; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37
Parahāra	n. (<i>prahāra</i>) ‘striking, hitting, wounding; killing, slap’: BS 55
Parādhina	adj. (<i>parādhīna</i>) ‘entirely engaged with; devoted to’: BS 21
Parāna	n. (<i>prāna</i>) ‘life; soul, spirit; life-breath’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 15; -a (nom./obj.), BS 31, 43, 50
Parāya	n. (<i>parājaya</i>) ‘defeat; loss’: BS 122
Parāya-	vi. (> <i>palāyana</i>) ‘run, flee; go’: -ela (3 P.Ind.), BS 38
Pari	adv. (S.) ‘in the manner of; how’: BS 55
Parikha-	vt. (> <i>parīkṣā</i>) ‘test, examine’: -ba (3 fut.)
Paricaya	n. (S.) ‘acquaintance, identification, familiarity’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 60
Paricha-	vt. (<i>pari+īkṣ-</i>) ‘look into, check; perform’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 61
Parināma	n. (<i>parināma</i>) ‘result, consequence’: BS 14, 21; -ka (gen.), BS 31
Parimāna	n. (<i>parimāna</i>) ‘quantity, magnitude, dimension; extent, scope’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 24; -a (nom./obj.), BS 46
Parihara-	vt. (<i>parityāg-</i>) ‘avoid, refrain from, give up’: -ia/iya (pp.), BS 55; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60, 122
Paruhāra-	vt. (<i>parihāra-</i>) ‘abandon; take leave’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 39
Palāṭa-	vi. (P. <i>*pallatt-</i>) ‘come back, return; overturn’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44, 53
Pasana	n. (<i>pāśāṇa</i>) ‘rock, stone’: BS 8
Pasara-	vi. (<i>prasāra-</i>) ‘to be spread, to develop’: -i (absol.), BS 45
Pasāra-	vt. (<i>prasāra-</i>) ‘expand, extend, spread’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60
Pasāha-	vt. (<i>prasādha-</i>) ‘make up, decorate body’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62
Pahara	n. (<i>prahara</i>) ‘a watch/portion of the day, approx. 3 hrs.’ BS 12;
Pahila/i	adj. (<i>*prathilla</i>) ‘first’: BS 12, 60
Pahu	n. (<i>prabhu</i>) ‘lord, husband’: BS 49, 60
Pabu	n. (<i>prabhu</i>) ‘lord, husband’: BS 12

Pasāra-	vt. (<i>prasāra-</i>) ‘expand, extend, spread’: -la/lā (3 P.Ind.), BS 33; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 47
Pasāha-	vt. (<i>prasādha-</i>) ‘make up, decorate body’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 46
Pahira-	vt. (?) ‘wear, put on; adorn’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 116
Pā-/pāo-/pāba-	vt. (<i>pra+āp-</i>) ‘to get, attain, grasp’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 18, 48, 51, 56, 58; -ba (3 fut.), BS 18, 50, 54, 58, 62, 69, 116; -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 27; -be (2 fut. imp.), BS 27; -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 33; -thu (3 imp.), BS 51; -ia (pp.), BS 74
Pāgara	n. (<i>prākāra</i>) ‘rampart, boundary wall’: BS 32
Pācha	n./adv. (<i>paścāt</i>) ‘last [part]; behind, later, afterward’: BS 24; -u, BS 58
Pāta	n. (<i>pattra</i>) ‘leaf, petal’: BS 53
Pāthara	n. (<i>prastara</i>) ‘stone’: -ka (gen.), BS 64
Pāni	n. (<i>pānīya</i>) ‘water; fig. energy, lustre’: BS 36
Pābaka	n. (<i>pāvaka</i>) ‘fire; the purifier’: -e (nom./instr.), BS 50
Pāra	n. (<i>paryāya</i>) ‘term, time’: -e (nom./obj./instr.), BS 16
Pāra-	vt. aux (> <i>pāraya</i> = <i>yogya</i>) ‘be able, can; to exceed, go across, limit’: -ia (pp.), BS 2, 47, 69; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6, 49, 60; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 21; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62
Pāśa	n./adv. (<i>pārśva</i>) ‘nearness; side, direction; near, close to’: BS 51
Pāsa	n./adv. (<i>pārśva</i>) ‘nearness; side, direction; near, close to’: BS 8, 30; -m̃ (loc.), BS 11, 24; -e (loc.), BS 38, 56
Pāhāna	n. (<i>pāśāṇa</i>) ‘stone, rock’: BS 4
Pāhuna	n. (<i>prāghuṇa</i>) ‘guest, visitor’: BS 35, 53
Pio	n. (<i>piya</i>) ‘beloved, husband’: BS 11
Pika	n. (S.) ‘Indian cuckoo’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 63
Piḍa-	vt. (*> <i>piḍā</i>) ‘be in pain, suffer’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 8
Piḍā	n. (<i>piḍā</i>) ‘pain, suffering; anxiety’: BS 4
Piya/ā	n. (<i>priya/priyā</i>) ‘beloved, husband/wife’: BS 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 28, 29, 35, 56; -ka (gen.), BS 43
Piyārī	n. (<i>priyā</i>) ‘beloved, darling; wife’: BS 34
Piśuna	n. (S.) ‘backbiter; slanderer; slander, betrayal’: -eṃ (instr.), BS 57
Pīta	n. (S.) ‘yellow color’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 50
Pucha-	vt. (<i>prc-</i>) ‘ask, enquire’: -lanhi (3 fem. pl. P.Ind.), BS 46; -ha (2 imp.), BS 49; -(x)/-ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 54, 131
Puchi	n. (> <i>prc-</i>) ‘regard, demand; value’: BS 46; -o (emph.), BS 51
Putā	n. (<i>putra</i>) ‘son; offspring’: BS 63
Puna	adv. (<i>punaḥ</i>) ‘again, repeatedly’: -u (var.), BS 1, 5; puṃne (var.), BS 5; -e, BS 13
Puna	n. (<i>punya</i>) ‘merit, virtuous act/deed’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 27, 58
Punamata	n. (<i>punyamanta</i>) ‘one who possesses merit [attained]’: BS 6, 58
Punu	adv. (<i>punaḥ</i>) ‘again, repeatedly’: BS 11, 24, 26, 39, 40, 44, 51, 58
Pura	n. (S.) ‘town; room, chamber’: -m̃ (obj.), BS 34; -i/ī (loc.), BS 51
Pura/puru-	vi./vt. (<i>pūrṇa</i>) ‘be accomplished; be full in amount; carry out, attend’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 5, 60, 65, 122; -ta (3 fut.), BS 13, 15, 44, 117; -le (ger.), BS 19; -ba (3 fut.), BS 47; -bathu (3 fut. hon.), BS 69
Purā-	vt. (<i>pūraṇīyam</i>) ‘finish, complete, fulfill’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 48
Puruba	adv. (<i>pūrva</i>) ‘formerly, previously’: BS 5; -e, BS 27

Puruṣā	n. (<i>puruṣa</i>) ‘man’: BS 35
Puruṣotama	n./adj. (<i>puruṣottama</i>) ‘best/most excellent man’: BS 39, 43
Puhu	n. (<i>puṣpa</i>) ‘flower bud/blossom’: BS 50
Pūnima	n. (<i>pūrṇimā</i>) ‘full moon period’: -ka (gen.), BS 7
Peca	n. (D.) ‘owl’: BS 63
Pema	n. (<i>prema</i>) ‘love, affection’: -a (nom./obj.), BS 21, 34; -ka (gen.), BS 42
Pela-	vt. (Irr. Perf. Root > Prāp-) ‘get, attain; push, stir up’: -iahi (pp.), BS 4; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 32
Prathama	adj./adv. (S.) ‘first, primary; at first, previously’: -hi (instr./adv.), BS 21
Prabhuṃ	n. (<i>prabhu</i>) ‘lord, husband’: BS 13
Prīmti	n. (<i>prīti</i>) ‘love; amorous feelings; affection’: BS 13
Priya	n. (<i>premika</i>) ‘lover, beloved; husband/wife’: -ā (fem.), BS 2
Prema	n. (S.) ‘love, affection’: -i (inst.), BS 1

Pha

Phani	n. (<i>phaṇi</i>) ‘serpent, snake’: BS 23
Phala	n. (S.) ‘fruit’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 14
Phaladaha	n. (S.) ‘fruit-giver; fruit-giving tree’: -u (nom./obj.), BS 14
Phira-	vi. (<i>preraṇa; herana</i>) ‘return; go/come back; roam, move about’: -i (absol.), BS 21
Phuja-	vi. (<i>khuj-</i>) ‘be opened, untied’: -le (ger.), BS 16
Phuṭa-	vi. (<i>sphuṭ-</i>) ‘break, burst, be smashed; split, blow, blossom’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 34
Phura-	vi. (<i>sphura-</i>) ‘occur in the mind; flash, appear, strike’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 36
Phula	n. (S.) ‘flower; blossom’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 14
Phula-	vi. (<i>phula-</i>) ‘expand, blossom; inflate, swell’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 44, 48
Pheka-	vt. (<i>prekṣya[ti]</i>) ‘throw, pelt, dart’: -le (ger.), BS 135
Phedā/ae-	vi. (?) ‘to be tired, fed up’: -lahu (1 P.Ind.), BS 41
Phera-	vt. (<i>parye[ti]</i>) ‘to give back, return; replace, change, turn’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 65
Phoṭā	n. (<i>sphoṭa</i>) ‘dot, drop’: BS 23

Ba

Bāisa-	vi. (<i>upa-viś-</i>) ‘sit (down); sink, cave in’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Baesa	n. (<i>vayasa</i>) ‘age, years’: BS 13
Baṃka	adj. (<i>vaṅka</i>) ‘crooked, curved’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 57
Bagha	n. (<i>vyāghra</i>) ‘tiger’: BS 22, 23
Bacana	n. (S.) ‘words, speech’: -e (nom./obj./instr.), BS 11, 25, 49, 60
Bajā-	vt. (> * <i>vādyā-</i>) ‘play musical instrument; invite, call’: -ve (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 1; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 63; -ite (ip.), BS 135

Baṭiā	n. (dim. of <i>vāṭa</i>) ‘small, unpaved road/path’: BS 47
Baḍa	adj. (<i>vṛddha</i>) ‘big, great; to a great degree, extent’: BS 1, 6, 9, 20, 21, 60; -i (fem.), BS 12, 14; -e (nom./obj.), BS 57
Baḍā	n. (<i>vṛddha</i>) ‘elders’: -ka (gen.), BS 57
Baḍha/ā-	vt. (<i>vardh-</i>) ‘increase, develop; proceed; exceed, surpass’: -i (absol.), BS 37; -ba (3 fut.), BS 43, 114; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60
Bathu	n. (<i>vastu</i>) ‘object, thing’: BS 5, 51
Badana	n. (S.) ‘face; mouth’: -e (loc.), BS 4
Bandū	n. (<i>bandhu</i>) ‘associate; companion; kin’: BS 22
Bama-	vt. (<i>vama-</i>) ‘vomit; spew’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37
Bayana	n. (<i>vacana; vadana</i>) ‘words, speech; face, countenance; face, mouth’: BS 7
Bara	adj. (S.) ‘best, most excellent’ -e (nom./obj./instr.), BS 34
Bara-	vi. (?) ‘to be lighted up’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 38
Barāta	n. (<i>vrāta</i>) ‘man; group, party’: -e (obj./instr./loc.), BS 56
Barisa	n. (<i>varṣā</i>) ‘rain; rainy season; torrent, downpour’: BS 9, 25, 46
Barisa-	vi. (> <i>varṣā</i>) ‘to rain, pour, shower’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 29, 39
Barīsa	n. (<i>varṣā</i>) ‘rain; rainy season; torrent, downpour’: BS 55
Baru	adj./adv. (<i>vara</i>) ‘even though; still; whether’: BS 15
Bala	n. (S.) ‘strength, force’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 25
Balī	adj. (<i>balya</i>) ‘strong, mighty’: BS 22
Basa	n. (<i>vaśa</i>) ‘control, influence; grasp, power’: BS 7
Basa-	vi. (<i>vas-</i>) ‘dwell/inhabit; sit down’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 11; -i (absol.), BS 36; -ha (3 imp), BS 141; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50, 66; -ehi (3 Pr.Ind. + emph.), BS 97
Basanta	n. (S.) ‘spring’: -ka (gen.), BS 20
Basama	n. (<i>bhasma</i>) ‘ashes, cinders’: BS 56
Baṁsaha	n. (<i>vṛṣabha</i>) ‘bull (esp. in reference to Shiva’s)’: BS 38
Basā-	vt. (caus. Of <i>vas-</i>) ‘to cause to dwell/inhabit; to perfume, fragrance’: -hi (2 imp.), BS 9
Baha-	vi. (<i>vah-</i>) ‘flow, blow go afloat; time to pass/lapse’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 8; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 8, 11; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 20, 29, 45, 122; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 39;
Bahāra	n. (<i>bāhya</i>) ‘outside, outdoors’: BS 3
Bahu	adj. (S.) ‘much, many’: -ṁ (obj.), BS 34
Bākaśajā	n. (<i>vāsakasajjā</i>) ‘preparations a woman makes to receive her lover’: BS 8
Bāgha	n. (<i>vyāghra</i>) ‘tiger’: BS 37, 49
Bāja-	vi./vt. (<i>vādya-</i>) ‘play, sound, make noise’: -ha (2 imp.), BS 16
Bāṭa	n. (<i>vartma</i>) ‘path, way, track’: -e (loc.), BS 51
Bāḍha-	vi./vt. (<i>varddha[na]</i>) ‘increase, grow, rise’: -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 13; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 50
Bāṇa	n. (<i>bāṇa</i>) ‘arrow’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 56
Bāṁta-	vt. (<i>varta-</i>) ‘distribute; apportion, divide’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 48
Bādha	n. (S.) ‘pain, suffering; prohibition, opposition, hindrance, obstruction’: BS 2; -e (nom./obj.), BS 36
Bādha-	vi. (<i>varddha[na]</i>) ‘to increase, rise up’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 18

Bāṁdha-	vt. (<i>bandh-</i>) ‘obstruct, hurdle, impede; stop, restrict’: -i (absol.), BS 6
Bānā	n. (<i>varṇaka</i>) ‘guise, dress, appearance’: BS 23
Bānī	n. (<i>vāṇī</i>) ‘voice, sound’: BS 63
Bāra-	vt. (> <i>vāraṇa</i>) ‘give up, prohibit, prevent’: -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44
Bāla	n. (<i>bāla</i>) ‘child; [-ā] girl’: -hi (obj.), BS 3
Bālabhu	n. (<i>vallabha</i>) ‘beloved, husband’: -ke (obj.), BS 4; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 15, 60, 66, 97, 117
Bāṁlabhu	see ‘bālabhu’
Bāli	n. (<i>bālya</i>) ‘young/tender age’: -hi (loc.), BS 13
Bāśi/ī	n. (<i>vāsin</i>) ‘inhabitant, dweller; someone who stays’: BS 52
Bāha-	vt. (caus. of <i>baha-</i>) ‘cause to flow; discharge’: -ia (pp.), BS 20; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37
Bāhara	adv. (<i>bāhya/bāhira</i>) ‘outside, external’: BS 11, 51
Bika-	vt. (<i>vikrīyate</i>) ‘to sell’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44
Bikāra	n. (<i>vikāla</i>) ‘twilight; evening’: BS 50
Bikaśa-	vi. (<i>vi+kasana</i>) ‘to develop, appear, grow’: -i (absol.), BS 4
Bikaśita	adj. (<i>vikasīta</i>) ‘bloomed; developed’: -a (nom./obj.), BS 56
Bikaśīta	adj. (<i>vikasīta</i>) ‘bloomed; developed’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 50
Bikha	n. (<i>viṣa</i>) ‘poison’: BS 21
Bikhama	adj. (<i>viśama</i>) ‘rough, difficult, uneven; painful, bad, adverse’: BS 55
Bikhina	adj. (<i>vikhinna</i>) ‘irritated; sad, gloomy’: -i (fem.), BS 39
Biga-	vt. (?) ‘cast off, cause to flow away’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 50
Bighaṭa-	vi./vt. (<i>vi+ghaṭ-</i>) ‘disintegrate, dissolute; sabotage, disrupt, impede’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 11
Bighaṭā-	vt. (<i>vi+ghaṭ-</i>) ‘to separate, disjoin; break up, tear asunder’: -uli (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 35
Bicāra	n. (<i>vi+car-</i>) ‘thought, consideration’: BS 25
Bicāra-	vt. (<i>vi+car-</i>) ‘think over, consider, examine’: -(x) (2 imp.), BS 25; -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 25, 122; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60
Bitā	n. (<i>viṭṭa</i>) ‘wealth; riches’: -e (obj.), BS 40
Bitāra-	vt. (<i>vitaraṇa</i>) ‘to distribute, scatter’: -u (3 Pr.S.), BS 64
Bidāra-	vt. (caus. of <i>bidara-</i>) ‘open wide; tear open’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 5
Bideśa-	vi. (*> <i>vi+deśa</i>) ‘to go/move abroad’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 28
Bina	adv. (<i>vinā</i>) ‘without, bereft of’: BS 10, 40
Binatī	n. (<i>vinatī</i>) ‘request, inquiry; humility, modesty’: BS 9
Bināsini	n. Fem. (<i>vi+nāś-</i>) ‘a lady of destruction’: BS 10, 11
Binu	adv. (<i>vinā</i>) ‘without, bereft of’: BS 10, 15, 24
Bipatī	n. (<i>vipatti-</i>) ‘calamity, misery’: -ṁ (obj.), BS 29
Biparita	adj. (<i>viparīta</i>) ‘turned around, reversed, inverted, converse’: BS 46
Bira	adj. (<i>vīra</i>) ‘fiery; brave, gallant, courageous’: BS 50
Biramāna-	vi. (caus. of <i>vi+ram-</i>) ‘to cause to enjoy; to give pleasure’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 12, 21, 28, 29, 52; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 31
Biraha	n. (<i>viraha</i>) ‘separation from one’s beloved’: -e (instr.), BS 39
Birahini	n. fem. (<i>virahinī</i>) ‘a woman suffering in separation from her lover/husband’: BS 29
Birāḍa	n. (<i>bijavāṭa</i>) ‘seedling rice-paddy’: -i/ī (loc.), BS 63

Bilamba	n. (S.) ‘slowness; delay’: -ṁ (obj./instr.), BS 34
Biśabāsa	n. (<i>viśvāsa</i>) ‘assurance, belief’: BS 9; -e (instr./loc.), BS 20
Biśara-	vi./vt. (<i>vismar-</i>) ‘forget’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 47; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62
Biśaleṣa	n. (<i>viśleṣa</i>) ‘separation, disjunction, absence, loss’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 29
Biśekha-	vt. (> <i>viśeṣa</i>) ‘to make a distinction, specification; notice difference’: -i (absol.), BS 21
Biśeṣa-	vt. (<i>*viśeṣa-</i>) ‘to discern; to make the distinction’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 61
Bisa	n. (<i>viṣa</i>) ‘poison’: BS 9, 12; -ṁ (obj.), BS 11
Bisabāsa	see ‘biśabāsa’
Bisama	adj. (<i>viśama</i>) ‘unequal, difficult; rough, coarse’: BS 45
Bisara-	vi./vt. (<i>vi+smr-</i>) ‘forget’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 13; -ba (3 fut.), BS 18, 36; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 39, 44, 55; -ha (2/3 imp.), BS 40; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 41; -e (inf.), BS 44; -a/ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 52
Bisarāma	n. (<i>viśrāma</i>) ‘rest, refuge; calm’: BS 61
Bihāna	n. (<i>viḥāna</i>) ‘morning; tomorrow’: BS 11
Bihī	n. (<i>vidhi; vidhāta</i>) ‘fate, destiny; god/lord of fate’: BS 13, 17, 32, 44, 58, 62; -ṁ (nom./obj.), BS 48, 62, 74
Biha-	vt. (<i>*> vidhāna</i>) ‘arrange, sort’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 62
Bihuṁsa-	vi. (?) ‘smile, grin’: -ia/ā (pp.), BS 1, 64; -i (absol.), BS 16
Bīta-	vi. (> <i>vyatīta</i>) ‘to pass, be spent’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 14
Buja-	vt. (?) ‘understand, know, comprehend’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 2; -ha (2 imp.), BS 11; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 18, 32, 33, 51, 52; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 21, 27; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 25, 31, 36, 62, 137; -ī (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 36; -ia (2/3 imp.), BS 36; -(x)/-ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 66, 113
Bujao-/bujā-	vt. (caus. of <i>buja-</i>) ‘to inform; cause to know, explain’: -laha (3 P.Ind.), BS 31; -ba (3 fut.), BS 66, 114, 137
Buḍa-	vi. (?) ‘to be lost, ruined, wasted’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 31; -lanhi (1 P.Ind.), BS 44
Buḍhāri	n. (<i>vr̥ddhāvasthā</i>) ‘old age’: BS 141
Būre	n. (<i>būri</i>) ‘vagina; vulva’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 42
Bula-	vt. (<i>*P. bull-</i>) ‘speak, tell’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 27
Bula-	vi. (?) ‘walk, roam, stroll’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37; -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37
Baiśa-	vi. (<i>upa+viś-</i>) ‘sit down, remain idle; sink down’: -lāhuṁ (3 P.Ind. [caus.]), BS 63
Bekata	adj. (<i>vyakta</i>) ‘manifest, exposed, clear’: BS 26, 45, 61
Beḍha-	vt. (<i>veṣṭa-</i>) ‘fence, enclose, surround’: -i (absol.), BS 14; -la/lā (3 P.Ind.), BS 33
Bedana	n. (S.) ‘pain, suffering, distress’: -e (instr.), BS 54
Bera	n. (<i>velā</i>) ‘time, period’: -i (loc.), BS 16, 20, 56; -a (nom./obj./loc.), BS 46
Beyākula	adj. (<i>vyākula</i>) ‘agitated, distressed, anxious, troubled’: BS 37; -i (fem.), BS 54
Beyādhī	adj. (<i>vyādhī</i>) ‘diseased, sick, ill; afflicted, pained’: BS 55
Beyāma	n. (<i>vyāyāma</i>) ‘exercise, exertion; contest, struggle’: BS 62
Bela	n. (<i>velā</i>) ‘time, period’: BS 34
Beli	n. (<i>velli</i>) ‘vine, creeper’: BS 3, 22, 33
Beśana	n. (<i>vyasana</i>) ‘indulgence in vices; addiction to intoxicants’: BS 141

Baiśa-	vi. (<i>upa+viś-</i>) ‘sit; sink down; remain idle’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 29
Bola	n. (> <i>brū-</i>) ‘speech; utterance’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 14; -a/ā (nom./obj.), BS 52, 62
Bola-	vt. (<i>brū-</i>) ‘speak, say’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 3, 15, 19, 29, 31, 48, 135; -ba (3 fut.), BS 1; -i/yi (absol.), BS 13, 17, 26, 28, 34, 43, 47, 131; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 13; -ta (3 fut.), BS 15, 113, 114; -thi (3 hon. Pr.Ind.), BS 63
Byabahāra	n. (<i>vyavahāra</i>) ‘conduct, behavior; use, application, practice’: BS 31

Bha

Bha-/bhā-	vi. (perf. form of <i>ho-/hoa-/hoe</i> ; > <i>bhū-</i>) ‘was, became’: -uha (3 P.Ind.), BS 18; -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 20, 48, 60; -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 114
Bhaūha	n. (<i>bhrūva</i>) ‘eyebrow(s)’: -āñ (nom./obj.), BS 47
Bhagati	n. (<i>bhakti</i>) ‘devotion’: BS 13, 54
Bhaja-	vt. (<i>bhaj-</i>) ‘to worship, serve; love, adore’: -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 34; -ie (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55
Bhaṇa-	vt. (<i>bhaṇa-</i>) ‘to say, declare’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 42, 56, 57
Bhana-	vt. (<i>bhaṇa-</i>) ‘to say, declare’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 28, 30, 32, 44, 46, 47, 60, 63, 64, 97, 114, 117, 122, 124, 131, 137, 141; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8, BS 10, 22, 33, 34, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 61; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 41
Bhane	adv. (> <i>bhala</i>) ‘fortunately; for good’: BS 51
Bhama-	vi. (<i>bhram-</i>) ‘be confused; wander, hover, roam’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 12, 122; -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 30; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 66
Bhamara	n. (<i>bhramara</i>) ‘[black] bee’: BS 3, 27, 28, 30, 45, 48, 53, 54
Bhamiā	adj. (<i>bhramita</i>) ‘wandering, strolling; falsely take for, confound with’: BS 51
Bhara	adj. (S.) ‘full, filled’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 14, 58
Bhara-	vi./vt. (> <i>bhr-</i>) ‘be full/filled up; fill, supply, replenish’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 4; -i (absol.), BS 15, 19, 40; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 20; -e (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37, 40, 50
Bharama-	vi./vt. (<i>bhram-</i>) ‘confuse; mistake; wander, roam’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21, 37, 43; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 35, 116
Bhali	adj. fem. (<i>bhāla</i>) ‘good; well’: BS 9
Bhāga-	vi./vt. (<i>bhaṅg-</i>) ‘break, shatter, fracture’: -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 34
Bhām̐ti/bhāti	n. (<i>bheda</i>) ‘type, sort; variation’: BS 14; 42
Bhāturi	n. dim. (<i>bhātu</i>) ‘sun’: BS 50
Bhāda	n. (<i>bādhya</i>) ‘obstruction, hurdle, impediment’: BS 13
*Bhāna	n. (S.) ‘appearance, evidence, perception’: BS 7, 13, 15, 31
Bhāna-	vt. (<i>bhaṇa-</i>) ‘to say, declare’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 21, 39, 45
Bhāra	adj. (S.) ‘weight, load, burden; full, filled’: BS 26; -e (instr.), BS 39

Bhāra	n. (<i>bhāla</i>) ‘forehead, brow; splendor, luster’: BS 58
Bhārī	adj. (S.) ‘heavy, great, strong, acute’: BS 57
Bhāva	n. (S.) ‘emotion’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 35
Bhāva-	vi. (<i>bhū</i> > <i>bhāva</i>) ‘to be approved of/like, to seem good’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 1; -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 23
Bhāṣa	n. (<i>bhāṣā</i>) ‘language; speech’: BS 24
Bhāsa	n. (> <i>bhāsa-</i>) ‘brilliance, luster, radiance’: BS 20
Bhāsa-	vi. (<i>bhāsa-</i>) ‘shine, be radiant, gleam’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 10
Bhāva	n. (S.) ‘emotional state, affect’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 52
Bhīti	n. (<i>bhitti</i>) ‘earthen wall’: BS 19
Bhīṣa-	vt. (> <i>bhikṣā</i>) ‘to demand/ask for alms’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55
Bhuam̐ga(ma)	n. (<i>bhujaṅga</i>) ‘snake, serpent’: -e (nom.), BS 3; -a (nom./obj.), BS 43, 50
Bhuja-	vt. (<i>bhṛjja-</i>) ‘parch; torment; cut into small pieces’: -i (absol.), BS 41
Bhujaphāśa	vt. (<i>bhuja+pāśa</i>) ‘to extend the arms, as to embrace’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6
Bhula-	vi./vt. (<i>*bhull-</i>) ‘Forget, become confused, bewildered’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 27
Bhūpa	n. (<i>bhūpāla</i>) ‘king, lord’: BS 42, 60
Bheṭa-	vi. (?) ‘Be received/got; come across’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 46
Bheḍi	n. fem. (> <i>meṣa</i>) ‘female sheep/goat’: BS 63
Bhela	vi. (<i>bhū-</i>) ‘was, became’: -li (fem.) BS 3, 12, 13, 29, 35, 39, 45, 53, 74, 115, 124; -(x), BS 13, 15, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 40, 43, 45, 51, 53, 58, 60, 63, 69, 97, 113, 115, 122, 131, 135; -le (ger.), BS 35; -lahu/lahuṁ (1/3 P.Ind.), BS 47, 52
Bhora	adj. (<i>*bholā</i>) ‘naïve, simple; crazy, odd’: BS 21
Bhau	n. (<i>bhrū</i>) ‘eyebrow(s)’: BS 49; -ha (nom.), BS 61
Bhaurī	n. (<i>bhramarī</i>) ‘circumambulation; peddling, hawking’: BS 37
Bhauha	n. (<i>bhrūva</i>) ‘eyebrow(s)’: -e (obj./loc.), BS 48

Ma

Maīla	adj. (<i>malina</i>) ‘dirty, filthy’: BS 35
Mae/Maṁem̐	pron. 1 (<i>aham</i>) ‘I, me; we, us’: -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 22, 52; (instr.), BS 44, 65
Magana	adj. (<i>magna</i>) ‘submerged, engrossed’: BS 26
Majara	n. (<i>mañjara</i>) ‘flower blossom’: BS 4
Maju	pron. 1 obj. (<i>mahyam</i>) ‘to me, us’: BS 97
Maṁḍala	n. (<i>maṅḍala</i>) ‘orb, globe’: BS 5
Mata	n. (<i>mantra</i>) ‘Mantra’: BS 3
Maṁda	adj. (<i>manda</i>) ‘slow, degenerate’: BS 21
Madana	pn. (S.) ‘Kāmadeva’: -e (instr.), BS 5, 8, 33
Madhāyī	pn. (<i>Mādhava</i>) ‘Mādhava; Kṛṣṇa’: BS 15

Madhu	n. (S.) ‘honey, nectar’: -ka (gen.), BS 49
Madhuri	n. (<i>mādhurī</i>) ‘jasmine flower’: BS 45, 49
Mana	n. (S.) ‘heart, mind’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 9, 51, 56, 57; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 16, 30; -hi (loc.), BS 30
Manamatha	pn. (S.) ‘lit. mind-churner; epithet of <i>Kāmadeva</i> ’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 18
Mani	n. (<i>maṇi</i>) ‘jewel, gem’: BS 1
Manobhava	pn. (S.), ‘ <i>Kāmadeva</i> ’: BS 50
Mayūra	n. (S.) ‘peacock’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 37
Marama	n. (<i>marma</i>) ‘sensitive/vulnerable point’: BS 16, 24, 39, 55
Masāta	n. (<i>māsānta</i>) ‘the end of the lunar month (considered unlucky)’: -i (loc.), BS 40
Masi	n. (<i>masī</i>) ‘black ink’: BS 32, 39
Maha	post pos. (<i>madhya</i>) ‘in between, inside; amongst’: BS 26
Mahagha	adj. (<i>mahārga</i>) ‘costly, dear, rare’: -i (fem.), BS 8; -(x), BS 11, 62
Mahi	n. (S.) ‘earth, ground’: -ṁ (loc.), BS 3
Mahidhara	n. (<i>mahīdhara</i>) ‘mountain’: BS 45
Māi	n. (<i>mātrī</i>) ‘mother’: (voc.), BS 13, 50
Mākha-	vi./vt. (<i>mrkṣa-</i>) ‘be smeared with; touch’: BS 51; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 137
Māga/māmga-	vt. (<i>mārgaṇa</i>) ‘want, request, demand’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 18, 55; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 69
Māgha	n. (<i>māgha</i>) ‘the month of <i>Māgha</i> (mid-winter); 11 th month’: -e (loc.), BS 29
Māta-/mām̐ta-	vi. (> <i>matta</i>) ‘Be/become intoxicated; frenzied’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 16, 49, 61
Mātha	n. (<i>mastaka</i>) ‘head; forehead’: BS 57
Mādhava	pn. (S.) ‘ <i>Mādhava</i> (epithet of Krishna)’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 49
Mādhabi	pn. (<i>mādhava</i>) ‘the month of <i>Vaiśākha</i> (spring season); <i>ekādaśī</i> (date)’: BS 29
Mādhāyi	pn. (<i>mādhava</i>) ‘epithet of <i>Kṛṣṇa</i> ’: BS 27, 29
Māna	n. (S.) ‘anger (usually from trouble in an affair of love); esteem, respect, pride’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 10; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 16, 60
Māna-	vt. (<i>man-</i>) ‘admit, accept, agree; obey, respect, honor’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 58, 61
Mānasa	n. (S.) ‘haughty anger; the mind’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 50
Mānini	n. fem. (<i>māninī</i>) ‘proud, disdainful, haughty woman’: -(x) (voc.), BS 10, 16, 30
Mānusa	n. (<i>mānuṣa</i>) ‘person; man; human’: BS 41
Māra-	vt. (caus. of <i>mṛ-</i>) ‘kill; strike, beat’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 4, 29, 39; -ila (3 P.Ind.), BS 5; -si (2 Pr.S.), BS 22; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24, 34
Mālati	n. (<i>mālatī</i>) ‘bud, blossom, jasmine; moonlight’: BS 45
Mālika	n. (Ar.) ‘ruler, king’: BS 115
Mijā-	vi./vt. (?) ‘put off, extinguish’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37; -ba (3 fut.), BS 113
Miṭi	adj. (<i>miṣṭaka</i>) ‘sweet’: BS 74

Mila-	vi. (<i>mil-</i>) ‘meet, mix, unite’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 13, 19, 115; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 49; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 74; -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 122
Milā-	vt. (caus. of <i>mil-</i>) ‘to cause to meet, mix, unite’: -ba (3 fut.), BS 11
Mukutā	n. (<i>mauktika</i>) ‘pearl’: -ka (gen.), BS 23
Mukha	n. (S.) ‘face, mouth’: BS 1; -hu (obj.), BS 17; -e/eṃ (loc.), BS 47, 51
Muti	n. (<i>mūrti</i>) ‘shape; image’: BS 35
Muda	adj. (<i>mugdha</i>) ‘overjoyed; ecstatic’: BS 19
Muda-	vt. (?) ‘seal; close’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 117
Murucha-	vi. (> <i>mūrccana</i>) ‘faint; wilt, wither’: -i (absol.), BS 3; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 33
Meṭa-	vi./vt. (<i>mṛṣṭa</i>) ‘efface, erase; destroy; remove’: -ie (pp.), BS 19; -i (absol.), BS 19
Mera-	vt. (<i>mil-</i>) ‘meet, mix, unite’: -a (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 8; -lanhi (3 P.Ind.), BS 25
Mela-	see ‘mera-’
Moe/moṃe	pron. 1 (<i>aham</i>) ‘I, me; we, us’: BS 5, 7, 4, 64, 69
Moṭa	adj. (* <i>mottā</i>) ‘thick, coarse; sturdy, heavy, stout’: BS 4
Moti	n. (* <i>mosta</i> > <i>mauthā</i>) ‘a special kind of grass, <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> ; a tuberous root’: BS 5;
Moti	n. (<i>mauktika</i>) ‘pearl’: BS 26, 39
Motima	n. (<i>mauktika</i>) ‘pearl’: BS 62
Mora	pron. adj. 1 (<i>mama</i>) ‘my, of me’: -a/ā (masc.), BS 5, 10, 12, 13, 19, 21, 34, 41, 42, 44, 46, 52, 54, 56, 63, 122; -āṃ, BS 23, 56; -i (fem.), BS 3, 14, 28, 35, 69
More	pron. adj. 1 (<i>mama</i>) ‘my, of me’: BS 14
Mohi	pron. 3 obj. (<i>mahyam</i>) ‘To me, us’: BS 10, 13, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 29, 35, 41, 45, 124
Maura-	vt. (?) ‘to pick flowers/fruits’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 14

Ya

Yata	rel. pron. (S.) ‘however far, to what extent’: -hi (obj./loc.), BS 25
Yatana	n. (<i>yatna</i>) ‘effort, toil, endeavor’: -e (instr./adv.), BS 11, 19, 36
Yā-	vi. (<i>yā-</i>) ‘to go’: -i/yi (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 37
Yāta	adj. (<i>jāta</i>) ‘born; produced; sprung-up’: BS 56
Yāmini	n. (<i>yāminī</i>) ‘night’: BS 53
Yābe	adj./adv (<i>yāvat</i>) ‘till, while: BS 24, 25
Ye	rel. pron. (<i>yah</i>) ‘who, what, which’: BS 9, 11, 15, 31
Yogi	n. (S.) ‘yogi’: BS 1
Yaubati/yaumbati	n. fem. (<i>yuvati</i>) ‘young lady’: BS 21, 29

Ra

Raī	n. (<i>rāja</i>) ‘king, lord’: -ka (gen.) BS 2
Raca-	vt. (<i>rac-</i>) ‘create, compose, construct, fashion, make up’: -ha (2 imp.) BS 2; la (3 P.Ind.), BS 8; -iya (2/3 imp.), BS 44
Racana	n. (S.) ‘arrangement, accomplishment, fabrication’: -e (instr.), BS 11
Raṅga	n. (S.) ‘passion, love; color’: BS 1; -e (nom./obj./loc./instr.), BS 28, 35, 49
Rata-	vi. (<i>rat-</i>) ‘be impassioned, charmed, enraptured’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 62
Ratana	n. (<i>ratna</i>) ‘jewel, ornament’: BS 12
Rapaṭā-	vt./caus. (?) ‘irrigate, water; spread, infest
Rabhasa	n. (S.) ‘joy, pleasure, rapture; amorous/sexual merrymaking’: -ṁhiṁ (loc.), BS 12; - (instr./loc.), BS 40
Ramani	n. (<i>ramaṇī</i>) ‘charming woman’: BS 62
Rayani	n. (<i>rajani</i>) ‘night’: BS 20
Raśāla	n. (<i>rasāla</i>) ‘mango tree’: BS 50
Rasa	n. (S.) ‘essence; juice’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 40
Rasa-	vi. (*> <i>rasa</i>) ‘be cheerful; enjoy’: -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 47
Rasamae	adj. (<i>rasamaya</i>) ‘filled with <i>rasa</i> ’: BS 42
Rasabhāsa	pn. (<i>rasābhāsa</i>) ‘a poetic <i>’doṣa’</i> [mistake]; the improper/false presentation of a <i>rasa</i> ’: BS 20
Rasika	n. (S.) ‘a connoisseur of <i>rasa</i> ’: -eṁ (instr.), BS 34
Rasiyā	n. (<i>rasika</i>) ‘knower/connoisseur of <i>rasa</i> ’: BS 1
Raha-	vi. (<i>raha-</i>) ‘be, exist; remain’: -(x)/-ya (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 11, 16, 24, 25, 30, 115, 131, 135, 137; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 18, 30, 56; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 25; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 38, 61; -lihu (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 40, 65; -i (absol.), BS 44; -ba (3 fut.), BS 47, 114; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 51; -ta (3 fut.), BS 114, 135
Rāe	n. (<i>rāja</i>) ‘king, lord’: BS 12, 61
Rākha-	vt. (<i>rakṣ-</i>) ‘put down, place; hold; keep; take, accept, entertain’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 9; -ba (3 fut.), BS 9, 114, 131; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 14; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 19; -ia/iya (pp./3 imp.), BS 34, 55
Rāti	n. (<i>rātri</i>) ‘night’: BS 8, 12, 14, 40
Rānī	n. (<i>rājñī</i>) ‘queen’: BS 52, 61
Rāba-	vi./vt. (P. <i>ruva</i>) ‘cry, weep’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 29
Rāya	n. (<i>rāja</i>) ‘king, lord’: BS 28
Rāhi	pn. (<i>Rādhā</i>) ‘Rādhā’: BS 8, 64
Rāhu	pn. (<i>Rāhu</i>) ‘ <i>Rāhu</i> ; a demon who occasionally devours the moon’: -ka (gen.), BS 5
Rāhiya	adj. (<i>rahita</i>) ‘bereft, void of, free from without’: BS 64
Ri	interj. (<i>re</i>) ‘Feminine interjection/exclamation’: BS 9
Riti	n. (<i>rīti</i>) ‘manner, ways; movement, course of action’: BS 18
Ritu	n. (<i>ṛtu</i>) ‘season’: BS 44
Rīti	n. (S.) ‘manner, ways; movement, course of action’: BS 24
Ruca-	vi. (<i>ruc-</i>) ‘be liking, be pleasing (to taste)’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 62
Ruci	n./adj. (S.) ‘taste, aptitude, interest, liking; beauty, lustre; pleasant’: BS 46
Rusa-	vi. (?) ‘be displeased, offended; to sulk’: -ha (2 imp.), BS 74

Rūpa	n. (S.) ‘form; beauty’: -hu (obj./loc.), BS 40; -e (nom./obj.), BS 56
Reha-	vi. (<i>raha-</i>) ‘be, exist; remain’: -la/lā (3 P.Ind.), BS 8
Reha/ā	n. (<i>rekhā</i>) ‘line, row’: BS 53, 62
Roa-	vi./vt. (<i>rodana</i>) ‘cry, weep; lament’: -e (3 Pr.ind.), Bs 6; -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS
131	
Rodha-	vt. (<i>rudh-</i>) ‘stop; obstruct’: -ī (absol.), BS 16
Ropa-	vt. (<i>ruh-</i>) ‘plant, place, implant; transplant’: -laha (3 P.Ind.), BS 36
Rosa	n. (<i>roṣa</i>) ‘anger, rage’: -e/eṃ (nom./obj.), BS 10, 11, 20; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 25

La

La-	vt. (perf. root of <i>lā-</i>) ‘take, bring’: -e (absol.), BS 46; -lanhi (3 fem. pl. P.Ind.), BS 46
Lae	post. pos. (inf. of <i>le-</i>) ‘with; by, by means of; for, with the view of’: BS 4, 18, 19, 63
Lao-	vt. (<i>le+ā[gam-]</i>) ‘to bring, cause, put on’: -lanhi (3 P.Ind.), BS 35
Laka	nu. (<i>lakṣa</i>) ‘one hundred thousand; lakh’: BS 3
Lakha-	vt. (<i>lakṣ-</i>) ‘see, look, notice’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 26; -hi (2 imp.), BS 32
Lakhimi	pn. (<i>Lakṣmī</i>) ‘Lakṣmī’: BS 52
Laghu	adv. (S.) ‘quickly, swiftly, nimbly; lightly’: BS 7
Laja-	vi. (<i>*>lajja</i>) ‘to be ashamed; aware of modesty’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 34
Lajā	n. (<i>lajjā</i>) ‘shame, modesty’: BS 8
Lajā-	vi. (<i>>lajjā</i>) ‘to feel shyness, be bashful, blush’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 56; -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 114
Laṭa	n. (P. <i>lappa-</i>) ‘flame, fire; glow, light’: BS 37
Latā	n. (S.) ‘creeper, vine’: -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 49
Lanua/ā	adj. (<i>lāvanya</i>) ‘lovely, beautiful’: BS 14
Lāmbita	adj. (<i>lambita</i>) ‘hanging, suspended’: BS 50
Laha-	vi. (<i>labh-</i>) ‘succeed, come out successfully; bend down’: -(x)/-ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 7, 24, 25, 62, 135, 137; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 25
Lahuka	n. (?) ‘light’: -i (fem.), BS 63
Lā-/lāo-/lāu-	vt. (<i>le+ā[gam-]</i>) ‘to bring, cause, put on’: -baya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS1; -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 2; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 13, 60; -bi (3 fem. fut.), BS 13; -i/yi (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 60; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 116
Lākha	nu. (<i>lakṣa</i>) ‘one hundred thousand; lakh; (fig.) multitudes’: BS 4, 7
Lākha-	vt. (<i>lakṣ-</i>) ‘to take account, consider, evaluate’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 26
Lāga-	vt. (?) ‘To be fixed, attached; strike’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 8, 16, 21; -(x) BS 9; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 20, 28, 34; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 38
Lāgi/ī	post. pos. (<i>>lāga-</i>) ‘for the sake/purpose of; for’: BS 25, 38, 44, 74, 117
Lāghava	n. (<i>laghutā</i>) ‘swiftness, brevity’: BS 2
Lāja	n. (<i>lajjā</i>) ‘shame, modesty’: -e (obj.), BS 5, 11, 50, 56; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 17, 31, 42, 57
Lātha	n. (D.) ‘pretext, excuse’: BS 61

Likha-	vt. (<i>likh-</i>) ‘write, inscribe’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 44
Lirā-	vt. (?) ‘drink, ingest, take in’: -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 97
Liha-	vt. (<i>likh-</i>) ‘write, inscribe’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 46
Lubudha-	vi. (<i>lubdha</i>) ‘to covet, desire; be bewildered, confused’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 50; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 74, 116
Lura-	vt. (?) ‘plunder; loot; horde’ -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 13; -ia (pp.), BS 26
Lukā-	vt. (?) ‘hide, conceal’: -ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 97
Le-	vt. (<i>labha-</i>) ‘take, get’: -iti (3 fem. Fut.), BS 4; -bi (3 fem. fut.), BS 14; -ba (3 fut.), BS 44, 114; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 61, 115, 117, 135
Lekha-	vt. (<i>likh-</i>) ‘write, inscribe’: -i (absol.), BS 19
Lepa-	vt. (<i>lipt-</i>) ‘smear, coat, anoint’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 29
Leba	n. (?) ‘layer of mud’: BS 47
Lo	interj. (> <i>lā-</i>) ‘Lo! vocative interjection’: BS 56
Loga	n. (<i>loka</i>) ‘people; world’: BS 41
Locana	n. (S.) ‘eye(s)’: -e (instr.), BS 35, 47
Loṭā-	vi. (<i>luṭana</i>) ‘roll down, wallow, welter; beat down’; (<i>fig.</i>) To throw oneself down at men’: -eli (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 5; -ili (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 33
Lobha	n. (S.) ‘intense greed, covetousness; avarice, temptation’: -e (instr.), BS 1, 8, 29, 33, 50, 51, 63
Lora/lola	n. (<i>*lola</i>) ‘tears’: BS 56, 62

Va

Vasanu	n. (<i>vasana</i>) ‘clothing; garments; attire’: BS 23
Vā-	conj. (S.) ‘or; either’: BS 4
Virodha-	vi. (<i>vi+rudh-</i>) ‘to oppose, be hostile/contrary’: -i (absol), BS 16

Śa

Śamdeśa	n. (<i>samdeśa</i>) ‘message; dictation; command’: BS 61
Śamdhāna	n. (<i>samdhāna</i>) ‘act of placing/joining together; fitting an arrow to a bow; association, alliance’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 56
Śani	adj. fem. (<i>sadrśa</i>) ‘similar to; like’: BS 44
Śapana	n. (<i>svapna</i>) ‘dream, sleep’: -e (loc.), BS 56
Śabada	n. (<i>śabda</i>) ‘sound, noise’: BS 8
Śayānī	n. fem. (<i>sayānī</i>) ‘clever lady’: BS 26
Śara	n. (S.) ‘arrow’: -em, (instr.), BS 35
Śari	n. (S.) ‘grass, reed; <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> ’: BS 5
Śaṁsa-	vi. (<i>śvās-</i>) ‘breath, sigh’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 43
Śāi	n. (<i>svāmī</i>) ‘lord, husband’: BS 49
Śāe	n. (<i>svāmī</i>) ‘lord, husband’: -ka (gen.), BS 55
Śāmara	adj. (<i>śyāmala</i>) ‘dark; dusky’: BS 58

Śāla	n. (<i>śalya</i>) ‘anything causing pain or torment (as in a thorn)’: BS 43
Śāvaka	n. (<i>sāvaka</i>) ‘child, young (of an animal)’: BS 50
Śāmsa	n. (<i>śāsa</i>) ‘praise, eulogy; order, command, rule’: BS 55
Śāhara	n. (<i>sahakāra</i>) ‘mango’: BS 51, 54
Śikha	n. (<i>śikhā</i>) ‘top, crest’: -e (loc.), BS 63
Śikhā-	vt. (caus. of <i>sikh-</i>) ‘teach, instruct; instigate, conspire’: -bihe (3 fem. fut. + emph.), BS 114
Śitala	adj. (<i>śitala</i>) ‘soothing; cooling’: -e (nom./obj./instr.), BS 50
Śiyāra	n. (<i>śṛgāla</i>) ‘jackal’: -o (obj.), BS 4
Śira	n. (S.) ‘head, top’: -m̃ (obj./loc.), BS 22, 37; -i (nom./obj./loc.), BS 27, 61
Śiri	n. (<i>śrī</i>) ‘kingship, crown, glory; title of respect’: BS 8, 35
Śikha-	vt. (<i>sikṣ-</i>) ‘to learn’: -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 55
Śucira	adv. (<i>su+cira</i>) ‘very long; after/for a long time’: BS 62
Śuna	adj. (<i>śunya</i>) ‘empty’: BS 20, 56
Śuna-	vt. (<i>śru-</i>) ‘listen, hear’: -i (absol.), BS 49, 52; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 64
Śaisaba	n. (S.) ‘childhood’: -e (loc.), BS 18
Śobha	adj. (<i>śobhā</i>) ‘be graceful, lovely, beautiful; shining’: -e (nom./obj./instr.) BS 1, 33, 63
Śobhāba	n. (<i>svabhāva</i>) ‘nature, disposition’: BS 114, 124
Śrīphala	n. (S.) ‘wood-apple fruit’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 44

Sa

Sa	pron. 3 fem. (<i>sā</i>) ‘she’: BS 63
Saṃ	post. pos. instr. (<i>*sahita</i>) ‘with; by means of; from, since’: BS 60
Sao/Saṃo	post. pos. instr. (<i>*sahita</i>) ‘with; by means of; from, since’: + <i>saṅga</i> (with), BS 4; +o (emph.), BS 19, 28, 63, 97; -m̃, BS 60
Sakuni	n. (<i>śakuni</i>) ‘a bird [vulture, kite, eagle, etc.]’: BS 17
Saṅkula	n. (<i>saṃkulita</i>) ‘crowded together; thick’: BS 50
Sakhi	n. (<i>sakhī</i>) ‘female companion, confidante’: BS 3, 4, 5, 8, 15, 45, 47, 50, 56; -nhi (obj.?), BS 34; -ni (pl.), BS 50
Saṅga	n. (<i>saṅga</i>) ‘company, association’: -hi (loc.), BS 58
Saṅga	n. (S.) ‘company, association’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 28, 49
Saṅghata	adj. (<i>saṃghata</i>) ‘stuck together, connected’: BS 50
Saṃcara-	vi. (<i>saṃ+car-</i>) ‘move, wander, rove; come near, approach’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 7; -ite (ip.), BS 11
Saja-	vt. (<i>sajja-</i>) ‘to be dressed; decorated’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 55; -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 114, 122
Sajanī	n. fem. (> <i>sajjana</i>) ‘mistress, lady; sweetheart’: BS 14, 54
Saṃjuta	adj. (<i>saṃyukta</i>) ‘joined with; mixed with’: BS 50
Saṃtāpa	n. (<i>santāpa</i>) ‘heat, pain, anguish, affliction’: -e (obj.), BS 62, 69
Sadha-	vi. (<i>*> sādhana</i>) ‘be spent out, exhaust, run short’: -ta (3 fut.), BS 11

Sana	adj. (<i>*sadrśa</i>) ‘like, similar’: BS 63
Sanandā	adj. (<i>sanandana</i>) ‘joyful; gleeful’: -(x) (nom.), BS 10
Sanāna	n. (<i>snāna</i>) ‘bath; washing, bathing’: -e (obj.), BS 6
Sani	adj. fem. (<i>sunā</i>) ‘empty; silent’: BS 13, 49
Sapana	n. (<i>svapnā</i>) ‘dream’: -a. (nom./obj.), BS 17, 42; -huṃ (loc.), BS 28; -e (loc.), BS 56
Saba	adj. (<i>sarva</i>) ‘all, whole, entire’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 8, 9, 13, 36, 124; -hi (instr.), BS 19; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 25, 39, 41
Sabataha/hu	adv. (<i>sarvatra khalu</i>) ‘everywhere’: BS 24, 124, 131
Sabitāhu	adv. (<i>sarveśām</i>) ‘everyone; everything’: BS 69
Sabhā	n. (S.) ‘assembly, congregation’: -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 63
Sambhrama	adj. (<i>sambhrama</i>) ‘confused, agitated’: BS 3
Samae	n. (<i>samaya</i>) ‘time, occasion’: BS 46
Samada	adj. (?) ‘to be please with one’s self; to be haughty; excited with passion’: -i (fem.), BS 35
Samada-	vi. (<i>*sammantra-</i>) ‘to communicate while/for taking leave’: -ha (2 imp.), BS 17
Samadhāna-	vt. (<i>sandhāna</i>) ‘aim at a target (especially with an arrow)’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 7
Samadhāna	n. (<i>sāmādhāna</i>) ‘solution, fix, remedy’: -e (obj.), BS 29
Samara	adj. (<i>śyāmala</i>) ‘dark, black, dusky’: -i/ī (fem.), BS 32; -a (masc.), BS 33
Samāja	n. (S.) ‘society; association’: -e (instr./loc.), BS 24
Samāda	n. (<i>samvāda</i>) ‘message’: -e (instr.), BS 9; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 9
Samāna	adj./adv. (S.) ‘equal, similar; like’: -e, BS 24
Samāpa-	vi./vt. (<i>samāp-</i>) ‘finish, conclude’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 97
Samāra	n. (<i>samara</i>) ‘battle; fighting’: BS 3
Samuda	n. (<i>samudra</i>) ‘ocean, sea’: BS 60
Samudra	n. (S.) ‘ocean; sea’: -hi (loc.), BS 56
Sayānī	n. fem. (<i>sa+jñānī</i>) ‘intelligent woman’: BS 30, 61
Sara	n. (<i>śara</i>) ‘arrow’: -e (instr.), BS 33; -(x), (nom./obj.), BS 35
Sarabāsa	n. (<i>sarvasva</i>) ‘all of one’s belongings/property’: -ṃ (nom./obj.), BS 26; -a (nom./obj.), BS 43
Sarāsa	n. (<i>sārasa</i>) ‘lake, pond’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 12
Sarivari	n. (<i>sari+prati</i>) ‘equality; sameness’: BS 63
Sariśa	adj. (<i>sadrśa</i>) ‘similar, like’: BS 62
Sarūpa	n. (<i>svarūpa</i>) ‘form, appearance; beauty’: BS 42, 60; -e (nom./obj.), BS 56
Samśara-	vt. (<i>samśara-</i>) ‘break up; crush’: -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 40
Samśara	n. (<i>samsāra</i>) ‘world; universe; material existence’: -i (obj.), BS 37
Samśāra	n. (<i>samsāra</i>) ‘world; universe; material existence’: -ka (gen.), BS 35; -ṃ (obj.), BS 62
Saha-	vt. (<i>saha-</i>) ‘bear, tolerate, suffer’: -ite (ip.), BS 2; -i (absol.), BS 2; -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 16, 55; -ta (3 fut.), BS 28; -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 49; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 69; -ia (pp.), BS 117

Sahaja	adj. (S.) 'natural, inborn; natural disposition': -ka (gen.), BS 43
Sākha-	vt. (> <i>sākṣi</i>) 'witness; see': -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 41
Sāca	n. (<i>satya</i>) 'truth; true, real': -e (nom./obj.), BS 60
Sāja-	vt. (<i>srj-</i>) 'decorate; adorn': -i (absol.), BS 18; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 49
Sājani	n.f. (<i>sajjanī</i>) 'female companion': BS 2, 21, 56
Sām̐jha-	n. (<i>sandhyā</i>) 'evening': -hi (loc.), BS 97
Sādha	n. (<i>sādhyā</i>) 'aspiration, desire, wise': BS 2, 13, 48
Sāna	n. (?) 'hint, signal': BS 2
Sāna-	vt. (caus. > <i>san-</i>) 'cause to gain, obtain, possess' -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 19; -i (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 24
Sāmara	adj. (<i>śyāmala</i>) 'of dark color; complexion': BS 32, 35
Sām̐mala	adj. (<i>śyāmala</i>) 'of dark color; complexion': BS 64
Sāraśa	n. (<i>sārasa</i>) 'lake, pond; tank': -i (loc.), BS 55
Sāsa-	vt. (<i>śās-</i>) 'control, leash; oppress, torment; chastise, punish': -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 10
Sām̐hara	n. (* <i>śākambhara; sambhala</i>) 'lake of salt; lake-salt': -m̐ (obj.), BS 29
Santara-	vt. (<i>saṁ+tī-</i>) 'to cross over, surpass; fig. leave': -i (absol.), BS 32
Siṁca-	vt. (<i>sic-</i>) 'to sprinkle, pour out, discharge': -(x), (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 19
Siṁdūra	n. (<i>sindūra</i>) 'vermillion, red powder used by women as adornment': -a (nom./obj.), BS 5; -e (nom./instr.), BS 53
Sineha	n. (<i>sneha</i>) 'love; affection': BS 31
Sindūra	n. (<i>sindūra</i>) 'vermillion, red powder used by women as adornment': -ka (gen.), BS 23; -e (nom./obj.), BS 58
Sindhūra	n. (<i>sindūra</i>) 'vermillion, red powder used by women as adornment': -a (nom./obj.), BS 46
Siba	pn. (<i>Śiva</i>) 'Shiva': BS 61
Sira	n. (<i>sīra</i>) 'rot of plant; stem': BS 55
Siriphala	n. (<i>śrīphala</i>) 'wood-apple fruit; sometimes coconut': BS 35
Siṁca-	vt. (caus. of <i>siñca-</i>) 'sprinkle on; pour over': -halu (3 P.Ind.), BS 62
Sīda-	vi. (?) 'suffer, grieve': -ti (3 fem. fut.), BS 50
Sukha	n. (S.) 'happiness; joy': -e (instr. as adv.), BS 53
Sugyānī	n. (<i>su-jñānin</i>) 'intelligent person': BS 52
Suja-	vi./vt. (<i>sudhyā-</i>) 'come to mind/sight; point out, bring to notice': -x (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 66
Suta-	vi. (<i>supta-</i>) 'sleep': -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 4, 97; li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 12, 33, 48; -thu (3 imp. as Pr.Ind.), BS 53
Suna	n./adj. (<i>śūnya</i>) 'void, lonely place; vacant, empty; (lit.) zero': BS 3, 115; -ia/-iya (2 imp.), BS 8, 9, 141
Suna-	vt. (<i>śru-</i>) 'listen, hear': -(x) (2 imp./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 13, 18, 19, 21, 23, 29, 32, 47, 56, 57, 63, 97, 115, 122, 124; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 17, 57, 122; -ia/iya (2 imp.), BS 25; -ha (2 imp.), BS 30, 57; -u (2/3 P.Ind./imp.), BS 47, 61; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 57

Supahu	n. (<i>suprabhu</i>) ‘good lord/husband’: BS 40, 74
Sumara	vt. (<i>sama+r-</i>) ‘battle, fight’: -i (absol.), BS 18
Sura	n. (S.) ‘musical note; tune’: -i (obj.), BS 9
Surasari	n. (<i>surasarit</i>) ‘lit. ‘river of the gods’: the Ganges’: BS 23, 37
Suruga	n. (<i>svarga</i>) ‘heaven, sky’: BS 5
Suragi	n. (<i>svargīya</i>) ‘heavenly maiden’: BS 13
Sulākhani	n. fem. (<i>sulakṣaṇī</i>) ‘a woman of good marks/characteristics’: BS 17
Suhāba	n. (<i>sudhavā</i>) ‘a woman enjoying conjugal/married life’: BS 63
Suḥṛṣī	adj. fem. (<i>su+hṛsva</i>) ‘small, slender’: BS 50
Sūraja	n. (<i>sūrya</i>) ‘sun’: BS 46
Se	pron. 3 nom./Corr. (<i>saḥ</i>) ‘that, he, (sometimes she), it’: BS 4, 9, 15, 17, 18, 36, 49, 54, 57, 62, 74; -he (emph.), BS 13, 35; -o/ho (emph.), BS 69
Seja/ā	n. (<i>śayyā</i>) ‘bed’: BS 8, 20, 55, 56
Sedha-	vt. (?) ‘to chastize’: -li (3 fem. P.Ind.), BS 3
Seni	n. (<i>śrenī</i>) ‘line, row’: BS 2
Seba-	vt. (<i>sev-</i>) ‘serve, propitiate’: -e (inf.), BS 37
Sebā	n. (<i>sevā</i>) ‘service, worship; attendance’: -ṁ (nom./obj.), BS 13
Serā-	vi./vt. (?) ‘become cool; make cool, soothe’: -ela (3 P.Ind.), BS 41
So	pron. 3 (<i>saḥ</i>) ‘he, it, they’: BS 11
Soādhina	adj. (<i>svādhīna</i>) ‘free, independent, autonomous’: BS 31
Sohāona	adj. (<i>*su+bhāvana</i>) ‘pleasant, charming, handsome’: BS 33, 47
Svāmi	n. (S.) ‘lord, husband’: -ka (gen.), BS 54

Ha

Hakā-	vt. (<i>ākāraṇa</i>) ‘call, invite over; urge, drive, goad’: -hu (?), BS 13
Haṭa-	vi./vt. (<i>*ghaṭṭana</i>) ‘to move away/aside; draw back, recede’: -la (P.Ind.), BS 1
Hana	n. (<i>hanana</i>) ‘hitting, striking’: -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 10
Hana-	vt. (<i>han-</i>) ‘strike, hit; beat’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 6; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 60
Hama	pron. 3 (<i>*asme/aham</i>) ‘I, we’: -hi (obj.), BS 9, 14, 66; -(x), BS 13, 17, 27, 31, 35, 63, 135; -e/-eṁ (nom./obj.), BS 15, 21, 23, 25, 27, 34, 35, 43, 52, 57, 60, 63, 114, 122
Hamara/hamāra	pron. adj. (> aham) ‘my; our’: BS 21, 27, 29, 63, 66, 124, 135; -hi (emph.), BS 51; -i (fem.), BS 53, 57; -e (nom.), BS 62
Hara-	vt. (<i>hṛ-</i>) ‘take away, grab, seize; remove, cure’: -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 42
Haraka-	vi. (> <i>harṣa</i>) ‘to be glad; joyful’: -i (absol./3 Pr. Ind.), BS 56
Harakha	n. (<i>harṣa</i>) ‘happiness; joy’: BS 42
Hari	pn. (S.) ‘Hari; Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa’: -ka (gen.), BS 13, 40
Haṁsa-	vi. (<i>hasana</i>) ‘laugh, smile’: -e (3 Pr.S.), BS 1
Haṁsa-	vi./vt. (<i>has-</i>) ‘laugh, smile, joke; ridicule’: -e (3 Pr.S.), BS 1; -ba (3 fut.), BS 57; -i (absol.), BS 61

Hāḍa	n. (<i>asthi</i>) ‘bone’: BS 4
Hātha	n. (S.) ‘hand(s)’ -e (instr.), BS 26
Hāra-	vi./vt. (<i>hār-</i>) ‘to be defeated, to lose; to defeat; overcome; attack, wage war’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 16, 45; -la (3 P.Ind.), BS 41
Hāru	n. (<i>[i]tr+kaḥ</i>) ‘lose, one who is defeated; an unlucky gamester’: -ka (gen.), BS 43
Hāsa/hāṃsa	n. (<i>hāsyā</i>) ‘smile; laugh’: -e (nom./obj.), BS 16; -(x) (nom./obj.), BS 24, 39, 62, 63; -i (nom./obj.), BS 52
Hāsa-	vi./vt. (<i>has-</i>) ‘laugh, ridicule, smile’: -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 116
Hāṃsa	n. (<i>hāṃsa</i>) ‘swan; ruddy goose’: BS 63
Huni	pron. 3 nom. (<i>saḥ</i>) ‘he, that [man]’: BS 5
Hulāsa	n. (<i>ullāsa</i>) ‘joy, happiness’: -e (instr.), BS 56
Hṛḍae	n. (<i>hṛdaya</i>) ‘heart’: BS 6, 55, 56
He	interj. (S.) ‘Hey! Oh!’: BS 1, 8, 10, 32
Hema	n. (S.) ‘gold’: -e (instr.), BS 62
Hera-	vt. (> <i>*ākheṭa</i>) ‘see, notice, look (for); search’: -i (absol./3 P.Ind.), BS 1, 6, 13, 16, 41, 48, 49, 56, 64; -bahu (1 fut.), BS 36; lahi (3 P.Ind.), BS 42; -u (3 P.Ind.), BS 69; -e (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 74
Hela-	vt. (> <i>*ākheṭa</i>) ‘see, notice, look (for); search’: -i (absol.), BS 17
Ho-/Hoa-/hoe-	vi. (> <i>bhū-</i>) ‘be, become’: -ba (3 fut.), BS 2, 60; -(x)/-ya (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 10, 13, 16, 19, 41, 42, 44, 56, 60, 114, 124, 131; -ta/-yata (3 fut.), BS 11, 14, 17, 34, 37, 69, 117, 135; -o (3 imp.), BS 16; -iti/yiti (3 fem. fut.), BS 19, 34, 122, 141; -(x) (subj.); BS 24, 113; -i (absol./3 Pr.Ind.), BS 35
Hohaka-	vt. (> onom.) ‘to instigate/drive someone/something (as in cattle) by yelling ‘ho-ho’’: -(x) (3 Pr.Ind.), BS 44