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HISTORY OF TIRHUT

From the Earliest Times
to
The End of the Nineteenth Century.

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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PREFACE.

IT is an admitted fact that owing chiefly to the lack of an adequate account of the subject, few possess any connected information about the history of Tirhut* without which the civilization of India as a whole cannot be fully appreciated. For not only does it possess much intrinsic merit in itself but the light it sheds on the life and thought of Indian population has a peculiar interest for every student of Indian history. It is rather strange that up to this time no history of Tirhut as a whole has been written in any language and any attempt, however inadequate, to make up the deficiency may perhaps be welcome. It is in this belief that I have ventured to offer this book to the public. I have not tried to treat the topics in a full and comprehensive manner, but have contented myself with noting down only those facts, the knowledge of which, I hope, may be of some use to the country. As regards chronological data and statements of facts, I lay no claim to original research, and must express full acknowledgment for the use of the works of my predecessors in the field. But the treatment of the subject and interpretation of facts are mostly my own, and sometimes differ materially from those of other writers. I have avoided as far as possible entering into controversies on points of purely literary interest, though it has been sometimes necessary to take a definite stand-point when important historical issues are at stake.

The system of transliteration here followed is that

* Varaana in his *Linganusasana* (cf. page 18, Gaekwad's Oriental Series So. VI, Baroda Edition, 1918) has mentioned **तीरभुक्तिः (वरेन्द्रः तीरभुक्तिः जलदेवः)** and as Vamana lived in the 8th century A.D., it is clear that the name Tirabhukti or Tirhut was known in the 8th century A.D.

which has been adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and adopted also elsewhere owing to the difficulty of reproducing Sanskrit words on account of the inadequacy of the Roman alphabet which necessitates the use of diacritical marks. The letter S in Sanskrit is the equivalent of Sh in 'Shun'; ṣ is somewhat thinner in pronunciation, like the ss in 'session'; m resembles the n in the French word 'bon'; ḥ the German ch in 'ach' and n the French gn in 'montagne.' The palatal c is to be sounded like the initial ch in church-ill; ch has an aspirate sound like that of the ch in the middle of the same word; ph and th are also aspirates as the English 'up-hill' and 'ant-hill' respectively. The vowels when unmarked (except e and o, which are always long) are short and when they have a horizontal strike above them, are long; thus (i) is sounded as in 'pin,' i like ee in 'seen.' The vowel ṛ is to be pronounced like *ri* in risk.

The table below may be helpful in rightly pronouncing Sanskrit letters in the text: —

ā	आ	ñ	अ	ṣ	ध
ī	ई	ṭ	ट	kṣ	क्ष
ū	ऊ	ṭh	ठ	gñ	ज्ञ
ṛ	ऋ	ḍ	ड	m	(अनुस्वार)
ṛī	ॠ	ḍh	ढ	m̄	(अनुनासिक)
ṛi	ॡ	ṇ	ण	ḥ	: (विसर्ग)
c	च	s	स		
ch.	छ	ś	श		

There have however been some deviations in print from this system which, I regret extremely, cannot be set right at this stage. The book, moreover, written hurriedly in the intervals of a busy work, is likely to contain errors of style and statement.

The subject which I have treated is extensive and has

involved a certain amount of exploration in unfamiliar by-paths of ancient literature. As the work is beset with difficulties, it would be sheer presumption on my part to hope that my book presents a complete statement of facts relating to every item of discussion but I shall feel highly rewarded for my labours if it proves of some assistance to others devoted to the same cause. For instance, there has recently been some interesting discussion¹ regarding the origin and caste of the Licchavis of Baisali, a subject which I have dealt with in Chapter I, Part II of this volume; and there are now sufficient materials for a separate essay on the Licchavis. In fact Professor Sylvain Levi, the greatest living orientalist, has been strenuously making researches and has obtained materials which will throw splendid light on this subject. But so far as I am concerned, it would be unfair in every sense to omit to mention some of the materials which have prominently attracted attention since this book was sent to Press. Thus a Licchavi has been taken as an issue of a Vratya father and a Kshatriya mother.² This view is also supported by the Lexicographers Amar Simha, Halayudha and Hem Chandra.³ On the other hand, Bohtlingk and Roth as well as Monier Williams call them a regal race.⁴ It is narrated that Licchavis once asked Maudagalayana out of veneration whether it was possible for them to subdue Ajatasatru, king of Magadh, and were told in reply "men of Vashista's race, you will conquer."⁵ As men of Vashista's race were Kshatriyas, it may be taken that Licchavis were also Kshatriyas. It is also known that Mahabir, the Jain

¹ Cf. J.A.S.B., XVII, 1921, No. 3, pp. 265-271.

² Cf. The Vaijayanti (Oppert), pp. 76, L. 108.

³ Also Cf. Nalopakhyaṇa (Bohtlingk, Christomathie) I. 820, 11. 80: also Lalitavistara, 137-424: also Avidhauadipika, Colombo, 1865.

⁴ Cf. A Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams, 1899.

⁵ Cf. The life of the Buddha, Rockhill, footnote, p. 97.

leader, who has admittedly been taken as a Kshatriya, was related to Licchavis.¹ There is another very amusing story about the origin of the Licchavis. It was said that the chief queen of Benares gave birth to a " lump of flesh." But being dissatisfied with herself, she placed it in a pot and threw it into the Ganges. It is related that a hermit found the pot and kept it with him and from this lump of flesh children were born who were afterwards known as Licchavis.² This cock and bull story gives some colour to the account regarding their mixed origin and it is likely that their descent had something to do with the Scythians.³ It is possible that they were a lean and thin class of people as the word "Licchavi" has been interpreted as made up of Lina (thin) and Chabi⁴ (figure or skin). That they were once a most affluent race is shown by the description of various festivities amongst them in which all classes of their people participated⁵ as well as by their fondness for gaiety.⁶ It is said that king Bimbisara of Magadha, though not on good terms with the Licchavis, went to Baisali to meet an exceedingly beautiful courtesan Arnrपाली from whom was born to him a son named Abhaya who thus became a foster brother of Ajatasatru, king of Magadh. A custom which is still found (in Mithla) in existence to some extent to-day was known among the Licchavis, i.e. a Licchavigana could select a suitable wife for a Licchavi when asked for and this Licchavigana used also to dispose of charges of adultery and confined marriages to Baisali or

¹ Cf. Kalpa Sutra (Jacobi) verse 12S, p. 266, S.R.E., Vol. XXII.

² Cf. Paramattha Jotika on Khuddaka Patha (P.T.S.), pp. 158-165.

³ Cf. Ind Anty. Vol. XXXII. pp. 233-236.

⁴ Cf. Walters' Yuanchuwang Vol. II, page 77 as well as Khuddakapatha (P.T.S.), pp. 158-165.

⁵ Cf. Samyuttanikaya (P.T.S.) Paramattha Jotika Vol. I, p. 201.

⁶ Cf. Dharmapadattakatha (P.T.S.) Vol. III, p. 279-280 and p. 460.

⁷ Cf. The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 64.

rather even to particular parts of it.¹ It also appears that one of the main causes of dissention between the Licchavis of Tirhut and Ajatasatru of Magadha was that the Ivicchavis did not divide equally with him some precious gems washed away by the Gauges from a mine at the foot of a hill not very far away from the Ganges and at last Ajatsatru succeeded in putting them down by sowing dissentions amongst them.² But it is not possible yet to locate any such spot in Tirhut.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge-my indebtedness to those who made it a pleasure for me to undertake the present work. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Hari Chand Shastri for constant advice and encouragement in regard to the Sanskrit portion of this work which owes so much to him. I have also received cordial assistance and suggestions from Dr. Sir George Grierson, retired I.C.S., Sir Ashutosh Mukharji of Calcutta, Revd. Anagarika Dharampal, Mr. I. P. Morshead, I.C.S., Mr. H. T. S. Forrest, I.C.S., Mahamahopādhyāya Pundit Har Prashad Shastri, C.I.E, of Calcutta, Mahamahopādhyāya Pundit; Parmeshwar Jha of Darbhanga, Mr. Kuruvila Zachariah of the Presidency College, Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Khosla of the Greer B. B. College, Muzaffarpur, Mr. Raghunandan Sinha Sharma of Silout, Colonel Bindeshwari Prashad Singh of Benares and Mr. J. M. Wilson of Muzaffarpur to whom I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I am greatly indebted to Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, whose enlightened courtesy made it easy for me to borrow a large number of valuable books from his magnificent library. I have also to thank Mr. E. L. I. Hammond, C.B.E., I.C.S., for revising the manuscript.

¹ Cf. (i) Bhikkhunivibhanga Sanghadidesa Vol. II, page 225.

(ii) The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 62.

² Sumangalavilasini (Burmese Edition, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series, No. I, Revised by Nanissara), p. 99.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK.

A.S.R.	..	..	Archaeological Survey Report.
A.S.A.R.	..	..	Archaeological Survey Annual Report.
A S.B. Review	..	..	" Asiatic Society of Bengal " Review.
Arch. Surv. Ind	..	..	Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.B.	..	..	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
I.O. MSS	..	..	India Office Manuscripts.
As Soc. MS. I.B.	..	..	Asiatic Society Manuscripts. Indian Branch.
Br. Mus. Cat.	..	..	British Museum Catalogue.
Chap.	..	..	Chapter.
Cir. or Circa	..	..	Year or period.
C.A.S.R.	..	..	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report.
Cat.	..	..	Catalogue.
E.I.	..	..	Epigraphia Indica.
Emp. India	..	..	The Empire of India " Series.
Fig.	..	..	Figure.
Ind. Ant.	..	..	Indian Antiquary.
Intr. or Introd.	..	..	Introduction.
Ind. Meus.	..	..	Indian Museum.
I.O. MS.	..	..	" India Govt." Manuscripts.
Ind. Off. Cat.	..	..	" India Office" Catalogue.
Imp. Gaze.	..	..	Imperial Gazetteer (2nd Edition).
J.A.S.	..	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society.
J.A.S.B.	..	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society. Bengal.
J.B.A.S.	..	..	Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society.
MSS.	..	..	Manuscripts.
Nep.	..	..	Nepal.
Nir. Sag. Press			Nirnaya Sagar Press. Bombay.
R. A.S.B.	..	..	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Rep.	..	..	Report.
S.B.E.	..	..	"The Sacred books of the East " Series.

HISTORY OF TIRHUT IN THE VEDIC PERIOD DOWN TO THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOUNDARIES OF MITHILĀ AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM MITHILĀ OR TIRHUT.

Tirhut is one of the most ancient landmarks in Indian history. It has a glorious past of which any civilised nation and country may be justly proud. The ancient Tirhutians and their kings were as renowned for their love of learning as they were feared for their prowess in arms. They were as rich in their material possessions as in their mental and spiritual endowments. Their sense of justice was proverbial among the inhabitants of all the regions to which they extended their sway. Their name to-day stands for culture and wealth just as it did some 3,000 years ago. And an investigation in regard to Tirhut and its people, apart from recalling the ancient greatness of Tirhut, will also, it is hoped, be instructive and illuminating from a general historical point of view.

The boundaries of ancient Mithilā are defined neither in the Valmiki's *Ramayāṇa* nor in the *Purāṇas* (such as *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Vāyu*, *Skanda*). It appears, however, from the Valmiki's *Ramayāṇa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Markaṇḍeya* and other *Purāṇas* that there were two kingdoms to the north of the Ganges, viz. those of *Vaiśālī* and *Mithilā*. But the dividing line between them has not been indicated.¹ For all broad purposes, it appears, however, that both the

¹ The situation of these two kingdoms was not far removed from the conjunction of the river Ganges with the river Sone to the south, as (according to the *Valmiki Ramayāṇa*) Rama finished his journey between the Sone and the Ganges (before reaching *Vaiśālī*) within a day.

Cf.

kingdoms came to be known under the general name of Tira-bhukti which is said to have had more extensive boundaries than modern Tirhut,¹ a name which is used as its equivalent. According to "Mithilā Khaṇḍa" which is reputed to be a part of the Brhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa², it is bounded on the east by Kausīkl (modern Kośī), on the west by Śālagrāmī or Nārāyaṇī (modern Gaṇḍaka), on the south by the river Ganges and on the north by the Himālayan tracts. It is about 180 miles (96 kośa) long (east to west) and about 125 miles (64 kośa) broad (north to south), i.e.

¹ Sircar Tirhut in the Mogal period of Indian history meant the area comprised in the modern districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. At present the term Tirhut means the revenue division comprising the modern districts of Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran. The puranic definition of Tirabhukti would bring under this name the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur and a portion of Purnea (to the west of the river Kosi) and a great tract of land to the north of these districts generally called Nepal Tarai.

² Cf. Brhad-Visnupurṇa, Mithilakhanda, the dialogue between Parasara and Maitreya (the age of Brhad-Viṣṇupurṇa has not yet been ascertained, but it is popularly put after the 5th century A.D.).

महाहिमवतीमध्ये मदीधक्ष्मणानरे ।
 तैरभुक्तिरिति ख्यातो देशः परमपावनः ॥
 कौशिकीन् समारभ्य मण्डकीमधिप्रव्य वै ।
 योजनानि क्षतुर्विंशत् व्यायामः परिकीर्तितः ॥
 महाप्रवाहमारभ्य यावदैश्वर्यं वनम् ।
 विस्तारः षोडशः प्रोक्तो देशस्य कुलमन्थनम् ॥
 मिथिला नाम नगरी नमोऽहो कविभिरुता ।
 पञ्चभिः कारपैः पुष्पा विष्णुनाः अगतीभवैः ॥

मिमिर्मात्रं महाराज इत्याकीर्णमयो लपः । तेन तप्तं तपो धीरं तेन ख्यातं तपोधनम् ॥
 सुवर्षेभ्यश्चतस्रः पूर्वस्मिन् तपोवने । सुवर्षकाननं नाम तेन ख्यातं पथं मतम् ॥ देवराट् तपो
 भूमिः शिवतुष्टिकरो ममा । यत्र प्राग्धनुर्जनं तेन सा शान्धवी वभौ ॥

× × × × × × ×
 रामस्वरूपा सा भूमिर्मिथिला वर्धिता पुरा । शिरोभागं रामस्य हिमवत् खण्डमाश्रितम् ।
 पादयोर्जाङ्गवी देवी मण्डकी दक्षिणे करे । बामे तु कौशिकी ज्ञेया भाभी च जनकाक्षये । हृदये
 कमलादेवी जामकीवल्लभा सखी । एवं सर्वाणि तीर्थानि प्रत्यक्षेण क्षितानि हि । मायापूर्वादिक्ताः-
 प्रोक्ताः सामान्ये नैवमुक्ताः । यथा तु मिथिला राजन् विष्णुपायुष्यकारिणी । वैदेही तु स्वयं
 यक्षात् सक्तुं प्रविविशोचिनी । चाक्षितानामनखेषां भवेत्तो पूज्यमेव हि । सर्वे देवाः सन्मन्वाः
 प्रष्टुमिच्छन्ति शिवायः । वसन्ति मिथिलायां च नामाकपधराः शुभाः ॥

Also cf. the Śaktisāṅgam Tantra :—

मण्डकीतीरमारभ्य खम्पारखान्तां शिवे विदेहभूः समाख्याता तीरभुक्तभिर्भो मनुः ॥

Also cf. Rapson's "Ancient India," 1916, p. 171; also Dowson's "Hindu Classical Dictionary," Trubner's oriental series, p. 355; also Apte's "Sanskrit-English Dictionary," Bombay, 1890, page 1047.

it comprises the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran and parts of the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea.

The famous poet of Tirhut, Paṇḍita Candā Jhā, describes the same boundaries in metrical form :—

गङ्गा वहति अनिक दक्षिणदिशि पूर्व कौशिकीधारा ।

पश्चिम वहति गंडकी, उत्तर हिमवत वल बिलारा ॥

कमला त्रियुगा अमरता घेसुरा वागवती कृतसारा ।

मध्य वहति लक्ष्मणा प्रभृति से मिथिला विद्यागारा ॥

The name found in the ancient books, such as Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, etc., is Mithilā¹ and not Tirhut. The Vālmiki Ramayana (cir. 500 B.C.)¹ says that Mithila was named after Mithi. The Bhāgavatapūraṇa (cir. 500 A.D.)², one of the most important of Indian records of tradition and mythology, explains how the country came to be known as Mithilā. The first mythical or traditional king of this part of the country was Mahārāja Nimi. He was doomed to die by the curse of his preceptor, Vasiṣṭha, who was a great Rṣi (i.e. sage) and who was enraged by Nimi employing another priest, Gotama, to officiate at a sacrifice without Vasiṣṭha's permission. After his death, all the great Rsis of the time assembled and implored his spirit to re-assume human form. As he refused to do so, they bestowed on him a mystical blessing that he should live for ever in the human eye,³ and taking his dead body, they placed it in a churn in the hope they might thus produce a son in his likeness. They were successful and a son emerged from the churn and was named Mithi,⁴ who succeeded his father as a king. His country came to be known after him as Mithilā.

Nimi, whose death was due to a curse, was rightly called

¹ Cf. p. 309 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit literature,' London, 1917; for another view, pp. 141 and 42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

² Cf. Appendix A to V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1916, Oxford.

³ The Sanskrit word Nimesa (निमेष) means a wink. This story shows an attempt to explain its origin by connecting it with Nimi.

⁴ Sanskrit Lit., product of churning.

This obviously belongs to the well-known class of stories created in order to explain existing names. Cf. the Greek legend of Hellen and his sons.

Videha¹ and his successors have been known as Vaideha. As Mithi was self-born, he and his successors came to be known as Janaka.³

There is much difference as to the derivation of Tirhut, the modern name of Mithilā. The most probable theory is that it is a corruption of Tira-bhukti, which in Sanskrit means those who live on river banks. This would truly describe the modern Tirhut with its many intersecting rivers.⁴ This is the derivation given by the Brhad-Visnu-purāṇa, which mentions Tira-bhukti, as one of the 12 names of Mithilā.⁵ The word Tirhut occurs for the first time in

¹ Sanskrit Lit., one whose body is gone. The Bhagawatapurāṇa and the Brhad Visnupurāṇa say that he was doomed to death because he started a Yajna (sacrifice) without consulting his family priest Vāsiṣṭha who was thus enraged into cursing him to die.

Cf. Also Vrhad Visnupurāṇa Mithilā Khanda.

गौतमो याज्ञवल्क्यश्च विश्वामित्रोऽभ्युस्रया । रामदेवोऽशितं करावच्छागच्छो भार्गवस्रया ।
भारद्वाजोऽथ वाल्मीकिश्चैव समवस्थिताः । शरीरमन्यनार्थाय सर्वे तत्र समागताः । दृष्ट्वा देवं
नक्तृञ्च ब्रह्मशपेन संयुतम् । हृष्टदुःखिष्णुपुराणे मिथिलाखण्डे पराशरमैत्रेयसम्भादे । पुत्रहिनेः
शरीरस्य मन्यन् मुनिभिः क्षतम् । मिथिलस्य ससुत्यश्चो मिथिला तेन सा भवेत् । तदा प्रभृति
तद्वैः राजाध्वजी निरूपिता ॥

² Sanskrit name=born of Videha.

³ Sanskrita word = Self-born.

The significance of this legendary story is clear. It shows the hold of the priestly class over the Aryan kings. Gotama's priestly family (as we shall see later) came with MRthava from the Saraswati in the Punjab to Mithilā, but it appears that Vasiṣṭha's family had already established its influence in those parts, and resisted encroachments by other families. The Gotamas had, by the time of Valmiki, become undisputed priests of the Mithilā Raj family (Janaka) as at the marriage of Rama and Sita, Gautama (Sadanand) appeared as priest of Mithilā ruling family (Janaka, father of Sita) and Vasiṣṭha acted as priest of the king of Oudh (Dasaratha, father of Rama).

This tradition shows that the early Aryans in India were acquainted with the Egyptian process of embalming dead bodies,

⁴ The Brhad-Visnupurāṇa, Mithilā Khanda mentions the principal rivers of Tirhut as

कौशिकी कमला चैव तथा विल्ववती सता । यमुना चेति विख्याता भूयसी गौरिका
नद्या । जलाधिका दुग्धवती तथा साध्रमती सता । विरजा मण्डना चैव तथैवेष्टाभतीति च ।
रुक्मणा वाग्मती ध्याता गण्डकीति सतः परा । इति पूर्वजसाम्योक्तं नदीनांभानि दर्शयन् ॥
त्रियुगा कमला चेति मण्डकी अधिवारिणी । भूषाक्षोषवती चैव वनक्षोषा च रुक्मणा ॥
कौशिकीति नव प्रोक्ताः सौतास्रकाः प्रकीर्तिताः । सखीरूपेण श्रीऽदमि जनकस्य गृहे सदा । चक्रुः सौ
वर्षाणी चैव अंशः जीवायिका नद्या । इत्याद्या वक्ष्यः सन्ति नद्यो हिमवतोद्भवाः ॥

⁵ Cf. the Brhad Visnupurāṇa, Mithilā Khanda—

मिथिला, तैरभुक्तिच, वैदेही, मैमिकाणनम् ।

द्यामशीलं क्षपापीठं, सर्वसागरपद्मनिः ।

Trkanda Sesa Kosa (cir. 1200 A.D.)¹ of Purusottama Deva
 “ तौरभुक्तिस्तु निष्कृतिः । ”

The Muhammadan writers of the 12th century have also used the same form.

Paṇḍita Gangānanda Jhaṭṭa, a Maithila Sanskrit writer of the 17th century A.D., explains in his work Bhṛṅgadūta* that Tira-bhukti is so called because it extends up to the Tira (bank) of the river Ganges.

It may be interesting to know that at the excavation at Basarha in the Muzaffarpur district (cir. 1903 A.D.)³ seals were discovered bearing the name Tira-bhukti and dating back to the 4th century A.D. Some of these seals are attached to letters, addressed to officers, described as being then in charge of Tira-bhukti. In some letters, however, the word 'Tira' occurs. This may show that there was probably a locality called 'Tira' from which probably the name Tira-bhukti or province of 'Tira' was derived. This interpretation follows that of Yayakabhukti (modern Bundelkhand).⁴ But it is also possible that 'Tira' was the name of a class of people after whom the country which they inhabited came to be called Tirabhukti, just as China-bhukti was known after its inhabitants the Chinas (Chinese).⁶

आमकीजम्भुभिश्च, निरपेक्षा, विष्णुत्वाया ।
 रामानन्दकटी, विश्वभावनी, नित्यमङ्गला ॥
 इति द्वादश नामानि सिद्धिदायाः ॥
 सदा भूवनसम्पन्नौ नदीतीरेषु संस्थितः ।
 तीरेषु भुक्तियोगेन तैरभुक्तिरिति स्मृतः ॥

¹ As regards the age of Purusottamadeva, Duff assigns Purusottamadeva's 'Trkanda Sesa Kosa' to the first quarter of the 12th century (page 147 of the Chronology of India) by C. M. Duff, London, 1899, but Mr. Macdonell brings it down to 1300 A.D. (page 433 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature, 3rd edition, 1914, London, William Heinemann).

गङ्गा तीरावधिरभिज्ञता यद्भवो भङ्ग भुक्तिः ।
 नाम्ना सैव विभुवन तले विद्युता तीरभुक्तिः ॥
 भूमिं भित्त्वा समज्जनि सङ्गे तीरकेतोत्सपस्या ।
 वल्ली यस्यामख्यफलदा आमकीकैतवेन ॥

³ Cf. 'Report on Archaeological Survey of India,' 1903-04, pp. 8 to 122.

⁴ Cf. Page 263 and 360 of V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' Oxford, 3rd edition.

⁵ Cf. page 263 of V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' Oxford, 3rd edition.

As a matter of fact, a class of fishermen found near riverbanks in Tirhut is called *Tivara.'

Some modern writers have, however, explained Tirhut as a corruption of Tṛhutam, i.e. the country of three sacrifices :— (i) the sacrifice at the birth of Jānaki or Sitā who married Rāma (the hero of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa); (ii) Dhanuṣayaṅna or the sacrifice on the occasion when the great celestial bow was broken by Rāma; and (iii) the sacrifice in honour of the marriage of Rāma and Sitā.¹

CHAPTER II.

MITHILA IN THE VEDIC AND PAURANIC PERIODS.

The *Satfatha Brahmana*, which is certainly much older than the 5th century B.C.,² contains reminiscences of the days when the country of Videha was not yet

¹ Cf. Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa Mithilā Khaṇḍa

माधवे भवने पक्षे मयस्यां यज्ञमारभत् । सुवर्षसाङ्गसमादाय विष्वक्कर्षं मदीतले ॥ तत्र पुत्रीं ससुप्तज्ञा तां तदा मृक्षमाश्रयत् । आनकीं तेन वै माया विष्णुना भुवनत्रये ॥ मार्गशीर्षे शीतेपक्षे पक्ष्म्यां च शुभे दिने ॥ सीतां विवाहितां यत्र रामेण परमात्मना ॥

Janaka was cultivating his land with a golden plough under the advice of the sages, and on the occasion of a dire famine, when his plough struck upon a vessel containing a girl whom he took to his home and adopted as his daughter and who came to be known as Jānaki and Sitā.

² Cf. pp. 213-15 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917.

Also pp. 31 and 32 of the same work.

The main importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas came to be considered to be their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. Around this combination of sacred verse and rite a new body of doctrines grew up in sacerdotal tradition, and finally assumed definite shape in the guise of distinct theological treatises entitled Brāhmaṇas, "books dealing with devotion or prayer." They evidently did not come into being till a time when the hymns were already deemed ancient and sacred revelations, the priestly custodians of which no longer fully understood their meaning owing to the change undergone by the language. They are written in prose throughout, and are in some cases accented, like the Vedas themselves. They are thus notable as representing the oldest prose writing of the Indo-European family.

The chief purpose of the Brāhmaṇas is to explain the mutual relation of the sacred text and the ceremonial, as well as their symbolical meaning with reference to each other. As the oldest treatises on ritual practices extant in any literature, they are of great interest to the student of the history of religions in general, besides furnishing much important material to the student of Indian antiquity in particular.

The Brahmana comes next the Vedas in antiquity and importance. It is the Hindu "Talmud" and was intended mainly for the use of the Brahmana priests and so Brāhmana has been taken to mean "belonging to" or "for" Brahmanas.

Brahmanised.¹ Thus book I relates a legend in which three stages in the eastward migration of the Āryans can be clearly distinguished. Mathava, the king of Videgha (the older form of Videha) whose family priest was Gauttama Rahugana, resided on the bank of Sarasvati (in the Punjab). *Agni Vaiśvānara* (fire-god—here typical of Brahmanical culture) thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadanira (probably the 'modern Gaṇḍaka, which runs into the Ganges near Hajipur), which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not 'burn over'. Mathava,

The Śatapatha Brahmana means the Brahmana of the 100 paths or parts (rituals or sacrifices).

Cf. Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' p. 60, 1914; also pp. 116-138 of Weber's 'History of Indian Literature,' 1904.

¹ i.e. not yet brought under the influence of the ancient religion of which the Brahmanas were the exponents. The Brāhmanas, a priestly class or caste, form the first of the four divisions of the Hindus (i.e. Brahmanas, Kṣatryas, Vaiśyas and Sudras).

Cf. the 'Śathapatha Brahmana,' Bibliotheca Indica series, No 961, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 258-67.

अनपयमाकृणम् ।

प्रथमं काण्डम् (४ अ० १ आ०)

हताग्नेति । धिदेवो (हो) माय (ध) नः आस सरस्वत्याऽऽ सतनरन्ध्रप्रोद्वहन्मयीवायेनाऽग्निर्वैश्वानरो-
मुखाऽनुजन्वात् तन्नक्षत्राक्षधरविज्जं साऽस्य मुखाग्निश्चेदे सङ्घाऽग्निर्वै प्रापाद् ॥ १० ॥

तस्यैवैदितुं दधे । धीति होतं त्वा कवेद्युनक्तमं समिधीमहि अग्ने हवन्मन्त्रधरे
विदेधेति ॥ ११ ॥

सम्यति ह्यथाय । उदग्ने ह्यवयस्ताव ह्यक्ताभजन्मईरते तव अतोऽग्न्यर्थयो विदेधावः
इति ॥ १२ ॥

सङ्घनेव प्रतिगृभाय । तद्वचनसर्वोक्तस्य इत्येवाभि व्याहरदथास्य हतकीर्तावबोधिर्वैश्वानरो-
मुखाऽनुजन्वात् तन्नक्षत्राक्षधरविज्जं साऽस्य मुखाग्निश्चेदे सङ्घाऽग्निर्वै प्रापाद् ॥ १३ ॥

तर्हि विदेवो (हो) माय (ध) नः आस सरस्वत्याऽऽ सतनरन्ध्रप्रोद्वहन्मयीवायेनाऽग्निर्वै त
होतमन्त्राक्षधरो विदेध (ह) यमाय (ध) नः पञ्चाङ्गना मन्वीयतुः सङ्घाऽग्निर्वै प्रापाद् ।
सदानौरेत्युत्तराग्निरेभिर्धावति तां एवेवमातिददाहताऽऽ ह्यक्तां पुरा प्राक्काजानन्ध्रमति दग्धा-
ग्निना वैश्वानरेवेति ॥ १४ ॥

तत एतर्हि । प्राचीनं वचनो माकृणःस्तथा जेवतरमिवासस्तावितर मिवास्तादितमग्निना
वैश्वानरेवेति ॥ १५ ॥

तदुद्वैतर्हि जेवतरमिव प्राक्काण्डादि मूलनिजवचरे सिन्धुदन्तापि जवन्नेमिदावे समिधैव
कंपयति तावन्हीता मतिदग्धा अग्निना वैश्वानरेव ॥ १६ ॥

सङ्घोवाय । विदेवो (हो) माय (ध) नः आस्रभवाजीत्यत एवमे प्राचीनं भुवनमिहिदीया न ।
सैवा तर्हि कौशिकविदेवानां मर्यादा तेषां माय (ध) नाः ॥ १७ ॥

the Videgha,¹ then said to Agni, "Where am I to abide ? " Agni replied, "To the east of this river be thy abode." It is related that the Brāhmaṇas did not cross this river in former times, as the land to the east of Mithila had not been burnt over by Agni. But in course of time Brahmanas caused Agni to taste it by means of Yajñas (i.e. sacrificial rites) and converted a marshy region into a highly cultivated country. It may be noted that this river Sadanira (Gandaka) formed the boundary between the ancient Aryan (Hindu) kingdoms of Kosala (Oudh) and Videha (Mithila or Tirhut) even during the early period of the composition of the Satapatha Brahmana.

The Satapatha Brahmana affords certain clear evidence that the Brahmanical system had extended over Videha (Tirhut). The court of king Janak of Videha was thronged with Brahmanas from the Kuru-Pancala² country. The tourna-

अथहोवाच जानकीराजः कथमुः आसन्मयाः तस्यत्रोषेरिति । सद्योवाचाग्निर्
वैश्वानरो मुखाभूत् नो मुखाभिष्यदति तस्मान्नेनप्रत्ययौष मिति ॥ १८ ॥

मनुकथमभूदिति । यत्रैव तं वृत्तमत्रवौमहः इत्यभिष्याहर्षीरुदैव मेष्टनकीर्तावग्निर्यैश्वानरो-
मुखाभूद् आलोचनं नाशकं धारयितुं समेमुखाग्निरयादौति ॥ १८ ॥ इति ॥

¹ It is not quite improbable that this Videha Madhava was the same person as Mithi, cf. pp.

Gautam Raghugana is mentioned in the Rig Veda and this would put the colonisation of Mithila by the Aryan races during the period of the Rig Veda, cf. Hymn LXXIV-LXXXII, Vol. I (Hymns of the Rig Veda by Griffith, 1896).

The country of the Kurus, called Kuruksetra, as specifically the holy land of the Yajurvedas and of the Brāhmaṇas attached to them. It lay in the plain between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, beginning with the tract bounded by the two small rivers, Drsadvati and Sarasvati, and extending south-eastwards to the Jamuna. It corresponds to the modern districts of Sirhind and Thanesvara in the Punjab, and is a plain near Delhi, south east of Thanesvara, not far from Panipat, the scene of many battles in later days. Closely connected with, and eastward of this region, was situated the land of the Paicāṇas, which, running south-east from the Meerut district to Allahabad, embraces the territory between the Jamuna and the Ganges called the Doab. Kuruksetra was the country in which the Brahmanic religious and social system was developed, and from which it spread over the rest of India. It claims a further historical interest as being in later times the scene of the conflict, described in the Mahābhārata, between the Pāṇḍavas and Māyās on the one hand and the Kurus, including the ancient Brāhmaṇas, on the other. In the famous law book of Manu the land of the Kurus is still regarded with veneration as the special home of Brāhmanism, and as such is designated Brahmaparvata. Together with the country of Pāṇḍavas, and that of their neighbours to the south of the Jamuna, the Matsyas (with Mathura, now Muttra, as their capital) and the Surasenas, it is spoken of as the land of Brahmana sages, where the bravest warriors and the most pious priests live, and the customs and usages of which are authoritative.

As regards the "Pancala" it would seem from the Mahābhārata to have occupied the lower Doab; Manu places it near Kanauj. It has sometimes been identified with the Panjab, and with "a little territory in the more immediate

ments of argument which were there held form a prominent feature in the later books of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*). The hero of these is *Yājñavalkya*, who, himself a pupil of *Aruṇi*, is regarded as the chief spiritual authority in the *Brahmana*.¹ The innumerable references to *Yājñavalkya* and *Mithila* together render it highly probable that *Yājñavalkya* was a native of *Videha*. The fact that its leading authority, who, thus, appears to have belonged to this eastern country, is represented as conquering the most distinguished teachers of the west in argument, points to the redaction of the *White Yayurveda* having taken place in this eastern region.

King *Janaka* was renowned for his munificence all over *India* and kings of distant countries used to be envious of him.¹

*The Brhadaranyaka Upaniṣad*³ contains many interesting episodes. One of these is that king *Janaka* commenced *Asvamedha Yajna* (i.e. horse sacrifice) which attracted *Brāhmaṇas* from distant countries like the *Panjab*. He sought to know who was the wisest man in the sacred assembly. He tethered a thousand cows with gold-covered horns to be presented to the man who proved himself, to be the wisest, and *Yājñavalkya*, who defeated all other *Panditas* won all the cows⁴ and became *Guru* (preceptor) of the king.

Anecdotes about *Yājñavalkya* in Vedic literature.

neighbourhood of *Hastinapur*." Wilson says, "A country extending north and west from *Delhi*, from the foot of the *Himalayas* to the *Chambal*." It was divided into Northern and Southern *Pancalas*, and the *Ganges* separated them. Cunningham considers North *Pancala* to be *Rohilkhand*, and South *Pancala* the *Gangetic Doab*. The capital of the former was *Ahi-chatra*, identical with the modern *Kampila*, on the old *Ganges* between *Badaun* and *Farrukhabad*.

Cf. pp. 172 and 226 of Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' London, 1914.

Cf. pp. 174-75 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917.

Also p. XLI of 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XII, 1882.

¹ Excepting Books VI-X.

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 57.

² Cf. *Brhadaranyaka Upaniṣad*, ch. 2, *Brahman* 1 sloka 1 (Bombay 1914).

ॐ ॥ दृष्टवासाकिर्त्तनूचानी नार्थं आस स होवाचाजातमयं कायं वक्ष्यते तूवाचोति न होवाचाजातमयः सद्यमेतस्यां वाचि ददौ जनको जनक इति वै जना धावन्तीमि ॥

³ The last book of *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which consists of 14 books forms the *Aranyaki*, the 6 concluding chapters of which form the *Brhadaranyaka Upaniṣad*.

⁴ Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 3rd *Adhyāya*, 1st *Brahmana*.

जनकेन वैदेहो वज्रदक्षिणेन यज्ञमेने, नवाहं कुरु पद्माक्षानीं ब्राह्मणा अभि यमेता

The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣada is full of the sage Yājñavalkya's discourses. The dialogues on highly philosophical subjects between Maitreyi and Yājñavalkya and that between Yājñavalkya and Gārgi¹ at Janaka's court point

Learned women of Mithill in Vedic literature.

बभूवुस्तस्य च जगत्तस्य वैदेवस्य विजिज्ञासा बभूव, कः खिदेवां ब्राह्मणानां नृचामतम इति नव नवां सप्तमवरोध इव इव पादा रक्षैकस्याः इन्द्रयोरारवया बभूवुः ।

Also

तामहीवाच ब्राह्मणा भगवतो यो वी ब्रह्मिष्ठः स यता मा उदञ्जतामिति । ते च ब्राह्मणा न दधुपुरस्य च याज्ञवल्क्यः स्वमेव ब्रह्मचारिबभूवुवाचैतः योऽसौ इह सामयया १ इति तां वीदाचकार ते च ब्राह्मणाचक्षुः कथं नो ब्रह्मिष्ठो ब्रवीतेत्यथ च जगत्तस्य वैदेवस्य वीताऽऽसी बभूव स वैवं पश्यन् त्वं नु बभूव नो याज्ञवल्क्य ब्रह्मिष्ठोऽसौ १ इति स वीदाच भगो एवं ब्रह्मिष्टाय कुर्मौ भोकासा एव वयं स्य इति तच्च तत एव प्रष्टुं दमे वीताऽऽसीः ॥ २ ॥

* * * * *

Cf. pp. 390 to 403, Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, Bombay, 1914.

Also cf. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 4th Adhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇa, p. 699.

तदेतद्वचा ऽभ्युक्तम् । एव जित्यो मक्षिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न वर्धते कर्मणा नो कर्तव्यम् । तस्यैव स्यात्सर्वविदित्वा न क्षिप्यते कर्मणा यापकेनेति । तस्मादेवं विष्णोऽसौ इहान् उपरतक्षितिकु समाक्षितो भूत्वाऽऽन्येनः ऽज्ञानं पश्यति सर्वमाज्ञानं पश्यति ज्ञानं चाज्ञा नरति सर्वं चाज्ञानं नरति ज्ञानं चाज्ञा तपति सर्वं चाज्ञानं तपति विदायी विरजोऽ विविक्षित्यो ब्राह्मणो भवत्येव ब्रह्मलोकः सचाजेन प्राप्तिोऽसीति वीदाच याज्ञवल्क्यः सोऽहं भगवते विदेवस्येदमिति मां चापि सद्य द्वाख्येति ॥ २ ॥

¹ Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣada, 2nd Adhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 341-60.

मेमेयीति वीदाच याज्ञवल्क्य उद्यात्यन्ता चरेऽहमस्मान्स्मान् इति चक्षते जया कात्यायन्याऽऽनं करवाचीति ॥ ७ ॥

सा वीदाच मेमेयी । यन्न स इयं भगोः सर्वा इक्षिवी विनेन पूर्वास्यायं कथं तेनास्मता स्यामिति नेति वीदाच याज्ञवल्क्यो यद्वैवोपकरयतां जीविनं तथैव ते जीविनं स्यादस्यत्वस्य तु माऽऽग्राक्षित वनेनेति ॥ ९ ॥

सा वीदाच मेमेयी जेमां जायता स्यां किमचं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्नेद तदेव मे भूचीति ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रिया वतारि नः सती प्रिय भावस्य यस्यात्स कात्यायनामिति ते याचकावस्य तु मे निदिध्यासयेति ॥ ४ ॥

Yājñavalkya had two wives Maitreyi and Kātyayani.

For the discussion with Gārgi. Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 3rd Adhyāya, 6th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 465-66.

अथ वैवं नार्जी वाचनतो पश्यन् याज्ञवल्क्येति वीदाच यद्विदं सर्वमस्तीतं च प्रीतं च कश्चिद् कल्पाय वीतास्य प्रोताचेति वावो नार्जीति कश्चिद् बभूवु वापुरोतस्य प्रीतचेत्यनारिच-
लोकेषु नार्जीति कश्चिद् कल्पनारिचलोकाः वीतास्य प्रोताचेति नन्वर्चलोकेषु नार्जीति कश्चिद् बभूवु नन्वर्चलोका वीतास्य प्रोताचेत्यनारिचलोकेषु नार्जीति कश्चिद् कल्पाद्विचलोका वीतास्य प्रोताचेति चन्द्रलोकेषु नार्जीति कश्चिद् बभूवु चन्द्रलोका वीतास्य प्रोताचेति नन्वचन्द्रलोकेषु नार्जीति कश्चिद्

to the great erudition of Mithila women of those days and show that even in the Vedic period Mithila was famous for Sanskrit learning and that even the women of the country could discuss philosophy with learned Ṛsis (sages) of those days.

It is well known that this Yajñavalkya, son of Devaratha, is the author of the Smṛti known after him. The Yajñavalkya Smṛti says, “मिथिलास्थः स योगीन्द्रः क्षत्रं ध्यात्वा”.

The author of the Mit akṣara law was a native of Mithila.

अमुं नक्षत्रलोकां श्रोताश्च प्रोताश्चेति देवलोकेषु मार्गीति कश्चिन्मृ चमुं देवलोकां श्रोताश्च प्रोताश्चेत्तौ लोकेषु मार्गीति कश्चिन्मृ चलिन्द्रलोकां श्रोताश्च प्रोताश्चेति प्रजापतिलोकेषु मार्गीति कश्चिन्मृ चमुं प्रजापतिलोकां श्रोताश्च प्रोताश्चेति ब्रह्मलोकेषु मार्गीति कश्चिन्मृ चमुं ब्रह्मलोकां श्रोताश्च प्रोताश्चेति स होवाच मार्गिमासति प्राचीर्ना वै इष्यां व्यपन्नदन्ति प्रक्यां वै देवतामति इच्छन्ति मार्गि मासति प्राचीरिति ततो च मार्गी वाचमस्युपररमि ॥ १ ॥

Also cf. 3rd Adhyāya, 8th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 478-91.

अथ च वाचमस्युवाच ब्रह्मणा भगवन्तो जन्मादमिन् हो प्रक्री प्रख्यामि नौ सन्धे वक्ष्यति न ज्ञातुं युष्माकमिहं कश्चिद्ब्रह्मोयं जेवेति इच्छ मार्गीति ॥ २ ॥

सा होवाचाह वै त्वा याज्ञवल्क्य यथा काष्ठो वा वैदेहो बोधयुजं उज्ज्वलं धनुरधिष्ठं ज्ञत्वा हो वाचावन्तो सपन्नातिशयिभिः । वसो ज्ञत्वोमेतिदेहेमेवाहं त्वा इभ्यां प्रजाभ्यामुपोदत्तां नौ मे ब्रूयतीति इच्छ मार्गीति ॥ २ ॥

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 63.

Yājñavalkya was a disciple of Vaiśampāyana who was a disciple of Vyāsa. But he incurred Vaiśampāyana's displeasure and was asked to give up the “Yayurveda” he had learnt from him. He obeyed his preceptor and the “Veda” given up by him was picked up by other disciples of Vaiśampāyana (who transformed themselves into “Tittiris” i.e. partridges, birds, for the purpose) and came to be known as “Taittiriya Yayurveda Śākhā.” Thereupon Yājñavalkya meditated upon the sun and acquired fresh lore (the Śukta Yayurveda Mādhyāndiniyā Śākhā) and became a Yogi.

2 Cf. Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 3rd Adhyāya, Śloka No. 100.

श्रेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं मत्प्रोक्तं श्रेयं योगमभीक्ष्णम् ॥

पुनर्याज्ञवल्क्यस्य सूर्यादित्याप्राप्तिः विष्णु पुं० अं० २ अ० ५ ।

Cf. also the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

(पराशरउवाच) यज्ञवैदन्तोऽष्टाश्विनविंशत्यहोऽनुजिः । वैशम्पायननामासौ वाच-
शिष्यश्चकार वै ॥ शिष्यः प्रददौ तावज्जलोऽप्यनुजन्तम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यश्च तत्राभूद्वनस्यैव सुतो द्विजः । शिष्यः परमधर्मज्ञो नृबहनिपरः सदा ।
“अधिर्योऽयं महामेरोः समालोमःनामिष्यति । तस्य वै सप्रदावानुं ब्रह्मज्ञत्या भविष्यति” । पूर्वमेव
मुनिवैः समयो यः कृतो द्विज । वैशम्पायन एवमु तं वतिप्रभाकरः ॥ सखीयं वाचकं
सोऽयं वदासुहृत्ताडयत् । शिष्यानां च भोः शिष्याः ब्रह्मज्ञत्यापदं व्रतम् चरध्वं मत्प्रोक्तं सर्वं न
दिवायेमिहं तथा । अथाथ याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु क्षिमेभिर्ममवत् द्विजैः । क्षेमिरेत्येतोभिश्चरिष्येऽमिहं
व्रतम् । वनः क्रुदीमुः प्राह याज्ञवल्क्यं महाभुनिम् तुष्पताय्य अयाचीतं मनो विश्रावमानम् ।
निक्षेपलो वदसेमान्यसं ब्राह्मचर्युत्तमान् वेन शिष्ये च मार्गोऽस्ति जनाज्ञानकारिणा २० वाच-

ब्रह्ममूनीन्" (i.e.* he became a *Muni* (sage) after meditating only for a moment).

This Yājñavalkya Smṛti is the foundation of the

बल्कास्तः प्राञ्च भक्तितेन मयोदितम् । ममाप्यसं तयाधीतं यन्मया तदिदं द्विज । (प० ७०)

इत्युक्तो बभिराज्ञानि सत्प्राप्ति यजुर्वि सः । इदं विना इदौ तस्मै ययौ स लेख्या मुनिः ॥

यजुर्विषय विद्वद्भिराज्ञातवत्त्वेन वै द्विज । अष्टकस्तिमिरा भूत्वा तैत्तिरीयास्तु ते ततः ॥

ब्रह्मव्याप्तं चोचं गुह्यं चोदितैस्तु तैः । सत्प्राप्तिर्यवमेतत् चरन्मनसिततम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि मैत्रेय प्राचायामपरायम् । गृह्य प्रयत्नस्यै यजुर्विषयसंस्तः ॥

(प० ७०) इत्येवमादिभिस्तैः सूत्रैः स वै रविः । वाजिकपधरेः प्राञ्च प्रियतामिति वाञ्छितम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यास्तः प्राञ्च प्रविपत्य दिवाकरम् । यजुर्वि तामि मे देहि यानि सन्ति न मे गुरौ ॥

(प० ७०) एवमुक्तो ददौ तस्मै यजुर्वि भगवावपि । अयाचयामसंज्ञानि यानि वेति जगद्गुरुः ॥

यजुर्वि यैरधीतानि तानि विप्रैर्दिशोत्तम । वाजिनस्तैः समाख्याताः सूर्याः पृथ्वी भवेद्यतः ॥

तथा च वाजिना (वाञ्छितकपधरेः सूर्यस्य) प्रोक्तमधीयात्वा ब्राह्मणा अपि वाजिनः । "प्रीता-
नुक्" इति प्रोक्तार्थप्रत्ययान्दधेनचौ लुक् । प्रोक्तार्थस्यापि लुक्कान्दः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यस्य वाजसनेय
संज्ञापक्षः । तन्मात्रेणैव याज्ञवल्क्यस्य पिता ब्रह्मरानो नाम स च कुत्सपतिरसंख्यामान् ब्राह्मणा-
नन्यां ब्राह्मणेन पुषोवति स वाजसानिः बाजीः संनिर्द्वांसं यस्य सः । तस्य पुत्रो वाजसनेयः । दम् ।
उच्यते । तेन प्रोक्तमधीयात्वा ब्राह्मणादयो वाजसनेयिन उच्यन्ते ॥

But also cf. the Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa, 129th Adhāya where Yājñavalkya is stated to have been a priest at the Court of Supriya, Rājā of "Nāgara" and where he is said to have given up the "Yayurveda" at the instance of his Guru Sakalya and not Vaisampayana. It would appear from this account that he came to Mithilā to Janaka's Court after leaving "Nāgara."

This place or city "Nāgara" has been identified with the ruins of an ancient city extending over about 4 miles in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonki, and 45 miles to the north and north-east of Bundi—Cf. A. C. L. Carleyle, in Cunningham's report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Volume VI, pp. 161-2; also there is another old city some 11 miles north of "Chitore" called "Nāgari" or "Tambavati Nagari"—Cf. Cunningham A.S.R., Vol. XIV, page 146; also cf. Weber's "History of Indian Literature," p. 104, 1904, and also the footnote.

Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa —

याज्ञवल्क्यायन स्नाने नामरक्षणे च १९६ Sambat 1966, Bombay.

वाङ्मेसरवेवमावातमोपकमे-आसीद्वाङ्मेशाईस्तः शाकल्य इति विवृतः । भार्गवान्वयसधूतो
वेदेवेदाङ्गपारमः ५. दृष्टान्तो पुरा विप्रा बर्हमाने पुरीतने । बह्मशिव्यसमायुक्तो वेदाध्ययनतत्परः ।
११ इत्यादि ।

(ख० ७०) तथान्योऽपि च तत्रास्ति याज्ञवल्क्यसमुद्भवः । आचमो लोकविख्यातो सूर्यायामपि-
निविष्टः । यत्र तत्रा तपसीनं याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता । सम्प्राप्ता निजिज्ञा वेदा गुह्यवाप्यताश्च ये ।
अस्य गुरुः भार्गवान्वयसधूतः शाकल्य आसीत् स हि सूर्यवंशीयस्य सुप्रियस्य राज्ञः पुरोहितः
बर्हमानपुरे न्यवसत् (नामरदेवे) स प्रत्यक्षं शान्मुदकं राज्ञे शिष्यवत्सेन प्रयच्छति स्म । एकदा
राजानिजं गन्तुं याज्ञवल्क्यः, शान्मुदकवत्सः प्रक्षितः । (अयं पूर्वजन्मनि ब्रह्मासीत् वैवाहिके
कालेवेधां गतस्य ब्रह्मोर्निन्द्यरे प्रवसन्मुखा तेन ब्रह्मोमानवीभवदित्यपि अनेवाख्यायते) याज्ञवल्क्यो
वेदाङ्गपारमरक्षितो राजनिजकटं गतसेन आवाहयौक्तः "उन्मिष्टोऽथ द्विजनेष्ट शय्याकटीव-
स्मिन् ।" अथ आसीद्वेवमावे तस्यादेवमस्यं क्षिपेत्पुक्तोः यन्मया स्नानः । वाञ्छितं तत्पदे सप्तध्वीः

Mitākṣarā law on civil usage (expounded by Vijñāneswara¹, who flourished at the court of king Vikrama) which is respected and followed so widely in India*.

A later king of this dynasty, called Siradhwaṇa Janaka, had his capital at Mithilā* which is identified with the

भवेत् । मनुष्या तदीय प्रभावमुत्पन्नान्नो राजा शाकल्यशिक्षनात् भामयभिवेकज्ञं प्रयच्छेति । अनुतापिनस्यश्वाकारिचमनं भामभिवेकज्ञात् नारीति प्रत्याख्याय मुर्वभिकमान्नः । द्वितीय-
दिने तमेव शान्त्युदकाद्वस्त्रप्रक्षिप्तं शाकल्यो राजाभिहितो याज्ञवल्क्यनाया कर्तुमात्रं स नारी-
चकार क्रुद्धेन मुखाऽयवचेन मन्त्रेणामिसन्निहतं जलं धामाय दत्त्वा महतां विद्या मयच्छे-
त्यभिहितः याज्ञवल्क्यः स्वायाज्ञत्वा ख्यं सवाय सर्वामुदवाप्त, जला च षाडोत्तरं तपसोषे । तदतवरो
वेदाक्षदुपदिष्टोपायेन लब्धवान् । ततश्च एवं सिद्धिसमापन्नो याज्ञवल्क्यो द्विजोत्तमः । क्षत्रोपनिषद्
चाववेदार्थैः सकलैर्युतम् । जनकाय नरेन्द्राय व्याख्याय च ततः परम् । कात्यायनं सुतं प्राप्य
वेदसूत्रस्य कारकम् । त्यक्त्वा कलेवरं तत्र ब्रह्मद्वारि विनिर्मिते । ततोऽपि ब्रह्मणो मात्रे योजयामास
शक्तिं इति ।

¹ It cannot be said for certain that this Vijñāneswara who lived at Kalyana (in Bombay) was a Maithila. The following last śloka from Mitākṣarā is significant:—

नारीदक्षि भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरम् ।

मो दृष्टः युत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविज्जमाकीपमः ।

विज्ञानेश्वरपथितो न भजते किञ्चान्दम्योपमः ।

शाकल्यं खिरमस्तु कल्पकृतिका कल्पतदेतत् वयम् ॥

² But it may be noted here that it is curious that this Mitākṣarā did not find favour with Bengal where Dayabhāga prevails. Cf. pages 428-36 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1905.

³ Cf. Valmiki's 'Rāmāyaṇa,' Bombay, 1911, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacārya and Vyāsa-cārya.

अथ रामस्याधोधातोः विद्याभिनेष सद्य भविष्यत्यै प्रख्यामम् ।

वाल्मीकीयरासायने वाक्यभाष्ये सर्गे १२ अधोधातः प्रख्यामाम्नायम् “अधोर्ध्वयोजनं जला
सरथा दक्षिणे तटे.. वक्षामतिवृक्षाच्चैव सर्वज्ञानस्य मामतौ.. प्रविजपाद्य ते विदो महर्षेर्भावि-
तात्मनः.. जवस्थां रजनीं तत्र सरथां समुच्चं वयः ॥ (१२ स०) प्रभलायान् शर्वयो.. नमनाया-
भितस्तुः ४ तौ प्रधातो महावीर्यौ दिवां विपद्यमां नदीम् दृष्ट्वाते ततस्तत्र सरथाः सङ्गमे शुभे ।
तत्रावमपदं पुष्कलवीर्या भवितुमिच्छामः ॥.. ततः कस्यायमायमः पुष्कः को ज्वलित्वसते पुमान्
इतिप्रश्ने कर्त्तव्येर्निर्दिष्टमात्रास्त्वाम इत्युच्यते दुषेः । तपस्वन्मभिश्चाहुं निधमेन समाहितम् ॥..
तस्यायमायमः पुष्कलस्येने मुनयः पुरा । शिष्या धर्मपरा वीर तेषां पापत्र विदते । इहाद्य रजनीं
नाम वक्षेन शुभदर्शन । पुष्कयोः सरितोर्मध्ये अक्षरिष्यामहे वयम् । (सर्ग १४) ।

ततः प्रभाते विमले क्लान्तिकमरिन्दमौ । विद्याभिनेष पुरस्कृत्य नद्यासीरमुपामतौ.. ततार
पक्षितलाभ्यां सरितं सामरंगमम् ॥.. ततः सङ्गमशब्दमाकर्ष्य तत्कारणे पृष्ठे विद्याभिनेष दूषतो
वधितौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ताभ्यान् तावुभौ कृत्वा प्रधामभतिधार्मिकौ । तौरन्वदिवसासाद्य अस्मत्-
क्षंनुविजज्ञौ । स वनं धीरसंकाशं दृष्ट्वा नरवराकजः । अविप्रहतमैत्राकः पश्यन्न मुनिपुङ्गवम् । अहो
वनमिदं दुर्मेक्षिकामचसंयुतम् ॥.. सङ्कीर्णं बह्वीभिश्च किञ्चिद् दास्यं वनम् । तमुवाच
महातेजा विद्याभिनी महामुनिः ॥ वृथार्ता वक्ष्य काकुत्स्थ यस्मिन्दास्यं वनम् । एतौ जनपदौ

समीचीं पूर्वभाषां नदीतम १० मङ्गदास्यकवचाद्य देवनिर्वाचनिकेनो । इत्युपक्रम्य च तत्कथाया
निवासमुक्ता तदर्थं चोपदिश्य रामेभ तद्यामुष्ठिते प्रवृत्तेन विज्ञानिषेवात्मनामः ससंघातो
रामेर्षितः । पुनश्च

“ विमेतमेवसंभाष्यं पर्यंतस्थाविदुरतः । इत्युपक्रम्य मतिं परं कौतूहलं हि मे । दर्शनीयं
मन्त्राकीर्णं मनोहरमतोव च ” इति विज्ञानिषो रामेभ इह आद्य

“ एष राम मन्त्रावाको विन्ध्यदेवनमस्कृतः । वर्षावि सुवज्रमीव तस्यायुग्मशतानि च ॥

तपश्चरचयोमार्चमुनाससुमहातपाः । एष पूर्वायमो राम वानमस्य महाक्रमः ॥

सिद्धान्तम इतिज्ञातः सिद्धो ह्यन महातपाः । ” इत्येवं निर्दिष्ट विज्ञानमं प्रापितो ॥

अथ सिद्धान्तम् (विज्ञानिभावना) तो रामस्य निविष्टाप्रज्ञानम् ।

(सर्ग ११) मेघिस्तस्य नरचेष्ट जनकस्य भविष्यति । यज्ञः परमधर्मिष्ठकश्च यास्यामहे वयम्
तच्चैव नरराईल सहासाभिर्मेभिष्यति । अद्भुतश्च धनूरनं तत्र तं द्रुतमर्हति ।

एवमुक्त्वा मुनिवतः प्रज्ञानमकरोत्तदा । सर्पिस्तदुः सकाकुलस्य आनन्दस्य नमदेवताः ॥

सखि बोधु गमिष्यामि सिन्धुः सिन्धुतमादृशम् । उत्तरे जाह्नवीतीरे हिमवतं शिखीधयम् ॥

इत्युक्त्वा मुनिराईलः कौशिकः स तपोमिधिः । उत्तराधिरमुदिश्य प्रजातुमुपपन्नम् ॥

तं व्रजन्तं मुनिवरमन्यागादनुसारिषाम् । शकटीशतमाघन्तु प्रसाधे ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥ १०

ह्रस्वपश्चिमबाधैव सिन्धुतमनिवासिनः । अनुजकुर्महाक्रानो विज्ञानिभं तपोधनम्

निबन्धनास ततः सर्पिस्तदुः सपश्चिधः । ते मत्वा कूरमध्वानं संवमाने दिवाकरे ।

वाससामुर्गुनिमयः शीघ्रकूले समाहितः । तेऽसंमते दिग्गरे जालाङ्गनकृताशनाः ॥

विज्ञानिभं पुरस्कृत्य निवेदुरमितीजसः ततो रामेभ

“ भगवन्कोन्यं देशः समृद्धवनश्रीभितः ।

कौतुमिच्छामि भद्रनो वस्तुमर्हसि तच्छतः ॥ ”

इत्यादिनाः शीघ्रकूलेवैभवं प्रजे मङ्गलानामथदेश इति विज्ञानिकः प्राह (११)

तत्र ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य कुशस्य कुशाम्बादयश्चत्वारः पुत्राः । तत्र कुशाम्बना कौशाम्बीपुत्रीनिर्मिता ।

द्वितीयस्य कुशनामस्य कन्याशतमासीत् ताश्च वायुना धर्षिताः कुक्षीकृतासूक्ष्मीनिष्ठातस्यपेक्षानस-

पुत्रेषु ब्रह्मदेवेन तः उद्भूताः । स एष कुशनामोराज कन्यकुक्षनाम्बास्थानः । यस्य विषयः (देशः)

कान्यकुक्षः । कुशनामस्य गामिनामापुत्रोऽभवत्तस्य पुत्रो विज्ञानिभः । स एष कुशवंशप्रसू-

तत्वात्कौशिकः । अस्य पूर्वजा भूमिनी सत्यवती आचीकस्य पत्नी पत्या सद्यः सशरीरं दिवंगता ।

योमवलेन च (काथ सूक्ष्मकल्पनया) कौशिकी मत्तो च जाता । हिमवतः साग्रहतेति लोकाहितार्थं

भूमिन्याः क्षेत्रेन च विज्ञानिभस्य तत्र नियतो वास आसीत् पश्चात्ततः सिन्धुर्धं सिन्धुतमे संप्राप्तः

तथा च ।

“ अहं हि नियमाद्रासहिता तो ससुपागतः । सिन्धुतममनुप्राप्तः सिन्धुर्धं तव तेजसा ११

(सर्ग १४) ।

एवं कथयन्ततो शोभाकूलेरापिदेवमिन्युः । ततः

“ उपत्य रात्रिघोषन्तु शोभाकूले मर्हसिभिः । निशायां सुप्रभातायां विज्ञानिषोऽभभावन १

.. अथशोभः शुभजलोनाथः पुञ्जिनमथितः । कतरेव यथा त्राक्षन्संनरिस्थानचेवयम् ४

एवमुक्त्वा रामेभ विज्ञानिषोऽब्रवीद्विदम् । एष पन्था मयोदिष्टो येन याति मर्हवयः ५

ते मत्वा कूरमध्वानं गतेऽर्धदिवसे तदा । जाह्नवीं सरितां चेडां ह्रस्वमुर्गुनिसेविताम् ६

तां दृष्ट्वा पुञ्जवशिष्टां चंसवारसवेविताम् । बभ्रुवर्गुनयः सर्वे मुदिताः सद्यः रात्र्याः ७

तस्यासीते तदा सर्वे वस्तुमर्हसि परिपद्यम् । (सर्ग १४)

village of Janakapura (in the Nepal territory to the north-east of Muzaffarpur frontier). Rāma, son of Dasaratha, the king of Ayodhya, married SiradhwaJa Janaka's daughter,

ततः प्रभते विमले विद्यामित्रन्योधनम् । उवाच राघवो वाचं कृताक्रिह्नमरिन्दमः ।
मता भगवतीराशिः शोतयं परमाकृतम् । तरामसरितां चेहा पुष्पां विपचमां गदीम् ॥
गौरेवाधि सुखासीर्षां श्वीर्षां पुष्पकर्मणाम् । भगवन्मित्र प्रातं ज्ञात्वा त्रिरितमागता ॥
तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राघवस्य महात्मनः । सन्तारं कारयामास सर्षिषंस्वस्य कौशिकः ॥
उत्तरन्तीरमासाद्य सन्पुष्पविमलगतः । गङ्गाकूलोमिविहाले विशालान्दहशः पुरीम् ।
ततो मुनिवरसूचं जगाम सद्य राघवः । विशालां भगवतीं रम्यां दिव्यां लभोपमानदा ॥
अथ विशालानामकरचम् ।

“रक्षाकोशु नरबाध पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः । अनांशुसायामुत्पन्नो विशाल इति विवृतः ।
तेन चासीद्विह ज्ञाने विशालेति पुरीकृता ” इति
“ततः परमसन्तारं सुमतेः प्रायराघवो । उवाचकनिशमेकां जम्बुतुर्षिधिविशालतः ।
तां दृष्ट्वा मुनयः सर्वे जमकस्य पुरीं प्रभासु । साधु साधिति मंसनी मिथिलां समपूजयन् ।
अथ गौतमान्नम हतात्मः ।

मिथिलोपवने तत्र आश्रमं दृष्ट्वा राघवः । पुराणं निर्जमं रम्यं यत्र च मुनिपुङ्गवम् ।
दृष्ट्वाऽन्नमसंकाशं किमिदं मुनिवर्जितम् । श्रोतुमिच्छामि भगवन्कस्यायं पूर्वआश्रमः ॥
(विद्यामित्र आद्य)

गौतमस्य मुनिश्रेष्ठ पूर्वमासीन्महात्मनः । आश्रमो दिव्यसंकाशः सुरैरपि सुपूजितः ॥
स आद्य तप आतिष्ठदहस्या संहितः पुरा । वर्षपूमान्येकानि राजपुत्र महायशः ।
अथ मुनिविषधरेन्द्रेणैवाहस्याधर्षणानन्तरं गौतम इत्थं गङ्गाऽवस्थां शशय ।
“तथा गङ्गा च वै श्रमं भार्यामपि च गङ्गवान् । इह वर्षसहस्राणि यज्ञानि निवसिष्यसि ।
वातभक्षा निराहारा नयनी भक्ष्यादिनी । अहस्या सर्वभूतानामात्मनेऽस्मिन्निषिष्यसि ॥
यदा लेतइमं वीरं रामोदहरदाहजः । आगमिष्यति दुर्धर्षकदापुता भविष्यसि ॥
तस्यातिथेयं दुर्हते क्षीभनोदविजिता । मत्संकाशं मुदायुक्ता सं नपुर्धारयिष्यसि ॥
(च० ४९) “तदा मत्संकाशतेज आश्रमं पुष्पकर्षावः ।

तारयैतामहाभामाभक्ष्यां देवकपिषीम् ”

विद्यामित्र वचः श्रुत्वा राघवः सद्य ज्ञात्वाचः । विद्यामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य आश्रमं प्रविशेश्च ॥
.. गौतमोऽपि महातेजा अहस्यासंहितः श्रुत्वा । रामं सम्पूज्य निधिवनपक्षेपे महातपः ।
रामोऽपि परमां पूजां गौतमस्य महामुनेः । सकाशाद्विधिवन्नाय जगाम मिथिलान्ततः ॥
ततः प्रागुत्तरां गता रामः क्षीमिचिवा सद्य । विद्यामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य यज्ञवादमुपागमत् ॥
(ततः गौतमान्नमात्) (प्रागुत्तराय श्रेष्ठाणीम्) (यज्ञवादं शीतानक्षानाम्)

The above slokas from Vālmiki will show that Janaka's capital was situated to the north-east of Gautama's hermitage to which Rāma came from Viśālāpurī. It is now certain that Vṛśālā or Viśālī is represented by modern Basarh and that no place in Mithila claims the honour of Gautama's hermitage except Ahiyan (Ahiyā Stbāna) in Darbhanga district. Thus Janaka's capital has been rightly identified with Janakapura, which lies to the north-east of Ahiyāri. This identity is supported by all ancient, popular and mythological traditions.

Also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' pp. 72 and 174, 1916.

Also cf. Apte's 'Sanskrit English Dictionary,' Bombay, 1890, p. 1047.

Sita, in accordance with the custom of Swayambara. Valmiki, who was a contemporary of Rama,¹ names 22 kings² of Mithila.

It may be of interest to recall that among those who fought for Duryodhana against the five Pāṇḍava brothers and Kṛṣṇa in the war described in the Mahābhārat (Cr. 500 B.C.)³ there was a Raja called Ksemadhurti.⁴ He, it may be taken, was the

Mithilā in the
Mahābhārat.

¹ Cf. pp. 301-09 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917, also cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 72, 1916, also cf. pp. 141-42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarakara, Bombay, 1895.

² Cf. Valmiki's 'Ramayana,' Balakanda, 71st Sarga, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacāryya and Vyāsacāryya, Bombay, 1911 :—

(जनकवंशवर्चनम्)

राजाभूत् त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः स्वेतकर्मा
निमिः परमधर्मात्मा सर्वसत्त्ववर्तावरः ।
तस्य पुत्रोमिच्छिर्नाम मिच्छिन्ना येन निर्मिता ।
प्रथमोजनको नाम जनकादप्युदा वसुः ।
उदावसोसु धर्मात्मा जातो वै नन्दिवर्धनः
नन्दिवर्धन पुत्रस्तु सुकेतुर्नाम नामतः ।
सुकेतोरपि धर्मात्मा देवरातो महावल्गः ।
देवरातस्य राजर्षेर्हृदय इति स्मृतः ।
हृदयस्य सुतोऽभूत् महावीरः प्रतापवान् ।
महावीरस्य धृतिनाम् सुधृतिः सत्यं विज्ञतः ।
सुधरेपि धर्मात्मा दृष्टकेतुः सुधार्मिकः ।
दृष्टकेतोसु राजर्षेर्चर्य्यश्च इति विश्रुतः ।
चर्य्यस्य भवः पुत्रो भरुः पुत्रः प्रतिव्यक्तः ।
प्रतिव्यक्तस्य धर्मात्मा जाराकीर्तिरथः सुतः ।
पुत्रः कीर्तिरथस्यापि देवमौड इति व्रुतः ।
देवमौडस्य विबुधो विबुधस्य महीप्रकः ।
महीप्रक सुतो राजा कीर्तिरातो महावल्गः ।
कीर्तिरातस्य राजर्षेर्महारीमा व्यजायत ।
महारीमूषसु धर्मात्मा खर्षरोमा व्यजायत ।
खर्षरोमूषसु राजर्षेर्हृदरोमा व्यजायत ।
तस्य पुत्रद्वयं अजे धर्मज्ञस्य महात्मनः ।
ज्येष्ठोऽहं मनुजीभाता ममवीरः कुशध्वजः ॥

विष्णु पुराणे ४ चण्डे ५ अध्याये ।

मतो महातेजा तस्य खर्षवेजातमुचो हृदरोमा हृदरोमूषः कीरध्वजोऽभवत् ॥ १७ ॥

³ Cf. page 285 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' London, 1917.

Also cf. pp. 141-2 of the 'Early History of Dekkan' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

⁴ Cf. Mahābhārata, Karṇa Parva, 5th Adhyāya.

Raja of Mithilā¹ described as Ksemari in the Visnupurana

तद्यैव रयिनां नेह क्षेमधूर्तिं विशास्यते ।
मिथिलो मदया राजान् भीमसेनेन संयुगे ॥
तथा राजा महेष्वाची जलसन्धौ महाबलः ।
सुमहत्कृद्धं कृत्वा हतः सान्त्विकमारणे ॥

¹ It requires some explanation why the Rājā of Mithilā espoused the cause of the evil genius Duryodhana. It would seem that he bore grudge to the five Pāṇdavas

(i) Because Pāṇdu, father of the five Pāṇdava brothers, conquered Mithilā. Cf. Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, 113th Adhyāya, 28th Sloka :—

“ पाण्डुना मिथिलाकृत्वा विदेहा समरे जिताः ”

(ii) Bhīma Sena, one of the Pāṇdavas, fought and subdued the Rājās of Mithilā and Nepāl, cf. Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, 29th Adhyāya.

ततः स गण्डकान्ता विदेहाश्चरतर्जमः ।

विजित्यात्मेन कालेन दर्शान् जयन्तुमः ॥

Also cf. Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyāya.

वैदेह कक्षराजान् जगन् जगती पतिम् । विजित्ते पुत्र्य व्याघ्रो मातितीक्ष्ण
कर्मणा ॥ शकांश्चर्वराक्षेव खलय चक्रे पूर्वकम् । वैदेहस्य तु कौन्तेयस्य पर्वत
मणिकात् ॥ किरातानामधिपतीन् जयत्प्रपापवः ।

(iii) Duryodhana, son of Dhritrāṣṭra was well known in Mithilā as he came to learn “Gadāvidyā” while Kṛṣṇa and his brother Rāma (Balarāma) were in Mithilā in quest of Syamantakamaṇi (a jewel).

But it may be stated on the other hand that Balarāma (Krishna's brother) who did not take part in the Mahābhārata war, as he was preceptor of Duryodhana, took refuge during the period in Mithilā. The inference would be that Mithilā kings remained neutral.

त्रैलोक्यावते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्धे ५७ अध्याये Samvat 1963, Bombay.

(बलदेवस्य मिथिला ममनम्)

महद्वज्रभायश्च रथं रामजनाहनी । सम्बयाताश्चरा वैरीरक्षे राजान्मुहुरितम्

मिथिलायासुपवने विश्वस्य पतितं हयम् । पङ्कजमधालंभस्तः कृष्णैःपुष्पैश्च वदुषा ॥ १० ॥

पदातेर्भगवांस्तस्य पदातिलिङ्गनेभिना । चक्रेण धिर उल्लास्य वाससो ज्वलिमोन्मथिम् ॥ ११ ॥

अलम्भमधिराजस्य कृष्णान्महापजाविकम् । दृष्ट्वा हतः शतधनुर्भविष्यजन विद्यते ॥ १२ ॥

ततः स्यादवलोकनं समभिः शतधन्वना । कक्षिस्थित्युपनेत्यलम्भस्तस्यैव पुरातन ॥ १३ ॥

अथ विदेहमिथ्यामिदं प्रियममं मम । इत्युक्त्वा मिथिलां राजन्विशेय यदुमन्धनः ॥ १४ ॥

तं दृष्ट्वा सङ्घोत्थाय मेधिलः प्रीतमाजसः । अर्हयामास विधिवदर्हणीयं समर्हणेः ॥ १५ ॥

अथास तस्यां बर्हिषिन्मिथिलायां समाविभुः । मानितः प्रीतियुक्तेन जगत्केन महात्मना ॥ १६ ॥

ततोऽग्निहोत्रं कालेधार्तराष्ट्रः सुयोधनः ॥

त्रैलोक्यावते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्धे ८६ अध्याये ।

(त्रैलोक्यस्य मिथिला ममनम्)

and as Kṣemadhi in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, a presumption justified by the fact that the Pandava brothers and Sr Kṛṣṇa as well as Duryodhana were familiar with and had visited Mithilā.

According to the Purāṇas, Iksvaku was a kṣatriya and was son of Manu, who was son of the Sun, who sprang from Brahmā (the Creator). One of Iksvaku's sons was Mithi, who founded the royal family of Mithilā, which produced such eminent and scholarly kings as Janaka of Yajñiavalkya's time (Brhadāranyakopaniṣad) and Siradhwaṇa Janaka, father of Sita (the heroine of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana) who married Rama. It is said that there were 54 kiugs of this dynasty, of whom 20 preceded and 33 followed Siradhwaṇa Janaka.¹ It is also related that to

Vaisali and Mithila in the Purāṇas.

कृष्णा स्यामीदृशः खड्गः अतदेव इति श्रुतः । कृष्णैकभक्त्या पूर्णार्घः शान्तः कविरत्नपटः ॥ १३ ॥
 स उवाच विदेहसु मिथिलानां गृहस्थनी । अनीह यागताड्याय निर्वर्तित मित्रक्रियः ॥ १४ ॥
 यात्रासाधं त्वहं रक्षेद्वापुनमन्यत । नाधिकं तावतामुष्टः क्रियाशक्ते यथोचिताः ॥ १५ ॥
 तथातदाह पालोऽहं बल्लवा इति श्रुतः । मेथिलोमिरहं मान उभावप्यश्रुत प्रियौ ॥ १६ ॥
 तयो प्रसङ्गा भगवाद्वाक्येणाकृतं रचम् । आरभ्या साकं मुनिभिर्विदेहान्प्रथयौ प्रभुः ॥ १७ ॥
 .. सानुप्रथाय संप्राप्तं मन्वाभौतं जगद्गुहम् । मेथिलः अतदेव स पादयोः पेतनुः प्रभोः ॥ २४ ॥
 न्यमन्त्रयेत्तं दाशार्हमातिथ्येन मरुद्विजः । मेथिलः अतदेव स युगपत्संज्ञताञ्जली ॥ २५ ॥
 भगवांस्तदभिप्रेत्य द्वयोः प्रिय चिकीर्षथा । उभयोरा विशद्वेदमुभयाभ्यां तदलङ्घितः ॥ २६ ॥

He was so called because Sita his daughter sprang up from a furrow while he was ploughing (cf. Bhagawat Purana, IX, 13, 18).

The names are :— (1) Manu, (2) Iksvaku, (3) Mithi-Janaka-Videha, (4) Nandivardhana, (5) Suketu, (6) Devarata, (7) Vrihaduktha, (8) Mahavirya, (9) Satyadriti, (10) Dhristaketu, (11) Haryyasva, (12) Maru, (13) Prativardhaka, (14) Kritaratha, (15) Kriti, (16) Vridha, (17) Mahadhriti, (18) Kritirata, (19) Maharoma, (20) Suvarnroma, (21) Hrasvaroina, (22) Siradhwaṇa and Kusadhwaṇa (brothers), (23) Siradhwaṇa's son Bhānuraam and daughter Sita (adopted), (24) Satadyumna (Siradhwaṇa's son), (25) Suchi, (26) Urjvaha, (27) Satyadhwaṇa, (28) Kuni, (29) Anjana, (30) Ritujita, (31) Arishtanetni, (52) Srutayu, (33) Suryyaswa, (34) Sanjaya, (35) Kshemari (36) Anena, (37) Minaratha, (38) Satyaratha (39) Satyarathi, (40), Upagu, (41) Sruta, (42) Saswata, (43) Sudhanwa, (44) Subhāsa, (45) Susrita, (46) Jaya, (47) Vijaya, (48) Rita, (49) Sunaya, (50) Vitahavya, (51) Sanjaya II, (52) Kshemaswa, (53) Dhriti, (54) Vahulaswa, (55) Kriti (with whom the dynasty came to an end).

Cf. The Vishnu Purāṇa, 4th Ansa, 5th Adhya (Bombay, 1969 Sambat).

विष्णुपुराणे ४ अधो ५ अध्याये

(अनकवंश वर्णनम्)

इत्याहु तमयो योऽसौ निमिर्नामा सङ्घं वत्सं सवमारभे वसिष्ठं च क्षीतारं वरथामास ।
 तमाह वसिष्ठो ऽभिमन्त्रेय संश्ववर्षत यागार्थं प्रथमं वतः । तद्वत्समं प्रतिपाद्य तामानतस्तथापि

कालिक भविष्यामीत्युक्ते सृष्टिविधीपतिर्न किञ्चिदुक्तवान् । वशिष्ठोऽप्यनेन समन्विष्टत इति चमर पतेयानमकरोत् । सोऽपि तत्काल एवान्यैरीतिमादिभि र्यागमकरोत् ॥

समाप्ते चामरपतेर्याने त्वरथा वशिष्ठोमिमियुक्त् करिष्यामीत्याजगाम । तत्कर्मकर्तृत्वस्य गौतमस्य दृष्ट्वा स्वपते तस्मैराज्ञे “ मां प्रत्याख्यायैव तद्देवेन गौतमाय कर्मान्तरं समर्पितं यस्मान्मन्त्रादयं विदेहो भविष्यति ” इतिशापमन्दौ ।

प्रब्रह्मशास्त्रवर्णनपतिरपिप्राह । “ यस्मान्मानसम्भावा ज्ञानत एव श्रयामस्य शापोऽग्नौमसौ दुष्टमुत्सृज्यकार तस्मात्तस्यापि देवः पतिष्यती ” ति शापं दत्वा देवमत्यजत् । तच्छापंशामिवा वक्ष्यथो लोकापि वशिष्ठस्य चेतः प्रविष्टम् । उर्वशी दर्शनादुद्धृत वीजप्रपातयोस्तयोः सकाशाद्वशिष्ठो देवमपरंलेभे । मिमेरपि तच्छरीरमतिममोद्भूतगन्धैस्त्रादिभिस्त्वसंक्रियमात्रं जैव क्लोदादि-कण्ठोषमवाप । सद्योमृत इव तस्यौ । यज्ञ समाप्तौ भाग्यवहाय देवानाजनाःकलिज जघ्नुः । “ यजमानाय वरोदीयताम ” इति । देवैश्च वन्दितोऽनीमिराह । भगवन्तोऽखिलसंसार दुःख-हन्तारः । नक्षत्राः दृगन्व दुःखमसि यच्छरीरात्मनोर्वियोगे भवन्ति । तद्वदभिन्नामि सकललोक लोचनेषु वस्तु न पुनः शरीरपङ्कगं कर्त्तुमित्येवमुक्तेर्देवैरसावशेष भूतानां नेत्रेववसतारितः । ततो भूतान्युक्तेषु मिमेषंश्रुतः ॥

अपुत्रस्य च तस्य भूभुजः शरीरं मराजकभीरवो मुनयोरणा ममन्युस्तत्र च कुमारी जज्ञे । जननाज्जनक सञ्चाद्य अमृद्दिदेवोऽस्यपितेति विदेहोमघनाग्निधिरिति । तस्योद्भावशुः पुत्रोऽभव-दुद्भावसोर्मन्दि बर्धनकृतः सुकुलेन त्पादेवरान्ततस्य दृष्टदुःखस्तस्यच महावीर्यस्तस्यापि सुदृष्टिः । ततश्चाधृष्टकेतुरजायत । धृष्टकेतोर्द्वयंशस्त्रस्य च भनुर्मनीः प्रतीकस्तस्मात्कृतारण्यस्तस्य देवनीडस्तस्य च विश्वस्य महादृष्टिस्तत्रकृततरान्तसो महारोमाः तस्य स्पर्शरोमाः तस्युचो ब्रह्मरोम्यः शीरध्वजो-ऽभवत् । तस्य पुत्रार्थं यजमभुवं कथमस्त्वौरे भीतादुक्षिता समुत्पन्ना । शीरध्वजस्य भानाकाग्रप-पतिः कुशध्वजनामासीत् ॥

शीरध्वजस्यापत्यं भानुमान् भानुमतश्शतद्युम्नः तस्य तु शुचिः तस्माधोर्जनामा पुत्रो जज्ञे तस्यापि शतध्वजः ततः क्षितिः कृतेरंजनः तस्युत्रः कुशजित् ततोऽरिष्टनेमिः तस्मात्कुशतायुषः सुपाशः तस्मात्स्वर्जयः ततः सेमावी सेमाविनोऽनेनाः तस्माद्धीमरथः तस्य सत्यरथः तस्मादुपगुः उपगौरपगुप्तः तस्युचः स्वागतस्तस्य च स्वामन्द तस्माच्च सुवर्चाः तस्य च सुपाशः तस्यापि सुभावः तस्य सुगुप्तः तस्मात्सुगुप्ताक्षयः तस्य पुत्रो विजयः विजयस्य ऋतः ऋतात्सुगन्धः सुगन्धादीतस्यः तस्मादृतिः धतेर्वज्रलाशः तस्य पुत्रः क्षितिः ॥ क्षतौ संतिष्ठत्ययं जनकवंशः ॥

Also cf. the 9th Skandha, 1st Adhyāya, 8th Sloka of the Śrīmadabhiṅgawata. Sambat 1963, Bombay.

वीमङ्गागवते नवमस्कन्धे १ ख० स्तो० ८ तः ।

(जनकवंशवर्णनं मिमिमांसापपत्तिश्च)

परावरंशं भूतानामाकाशः पुत्रः परः । . तस्य भाभिः समभवत्यद्वयकोशो हिरण्यमनः ॥

तस्मिन्नेव महाराज स्वयंभूश्चतुरात्मनः । मरौचिर्शनसस्तस्य यज्ञे तस्यापि कथ्यतः ॥

दाचायणां ततोदित्यां विवस्वानभवत्पुतः । ततो मनुः वाङ्मदेवः सञ्जायासाध भारत ॥

अद्यायां जनयामास दशपुत्रान्स आश्वधान् । इत्याकुशमश्यानि दिष्टदृष्टकम्पकान् नरिष्यन्तं श्वश्रवं च नभश्चकविं विभुः ॥ १२ ॥

ततः ५ अध्याये ।

कुशतस्तुमनोर्यज्ञ इत्याकुर्भाषतः सुतः । तस्य पुत्र इतः अश्वविकुशजिमि दम्पकाः ॥ ४ ॥

ततः १३ अध्याये ।

the south-west of this kingdom lay the kingdom of Vaisāli. Their boundaries¹ have not been indicated except that they were situate to the north of the Ganges (which formed the boundary line between them and Magadha). Of Vaisāli it is said that Nedistha, another son of Manu, founded a

निमिरिह्याकुतमयो वशिष्ठमहर्षिर्भोजम् । आरभ्य सर्वं सोऽप्याह शत्रोश्च प्राप्तुतोऽस्त्रिभोः ॥ १ ॥
 तं निर्वर्त्तयामि सावन्मां प्रतिपास्य । दूष्योमासीद्भुक्षपतिः सोऽपीन्द्रस्या करोम्यहम् ॥ २ ॥
 निमिरिहमिदं विद्वान्मन्मारभतामवाह । अत्रिगिरपरैरक्षवन्नागमद्यावता दुषः ॥ ३ ॥
 त्रिष्य अतिज्ञानं कीच्य निर्वर्त्तय गुरुरागतः । अत्रपत्यततादेहोनिमिः पश्चिममनिमः ॥ ४ ॥
 निमिः प्रति ददौ गापं गुरवेऽधर्म्मवर्षिणे । नवापि पततादेहो लोभावर्धमज्ञानतः ॥ ५ ॥
 इत्युत्सर्ज्यं तं ददौ निमिरिह्यामकोविदः । मित्रावरुणयोर्जज्ञे उषेर्ज्ञां प्रतिपास्य ॥ ६ ॥
 गन्धर्वसुध तदेष्टं निधाय सुमिसजमाः । समानं तत्र सान्नेष्य देवान्मनुः समामतान् ॥ ७ ॥
 राक्षो जीवतु देशीयं प्रमत्तः प्रमयो यदि । तथेत्युक्ते निमिःप्राञ्च सामून्ने देहवन्मनः ॥ ८ ॥
 यस्य योगव्याप्कन्ति वियोगभयकातराः । भजन्ति चरणाभ्योऽं मुनयोऽहरि मेधसः ॥ ९ ॥
 देहं नावयवस्यैवं दुःखशीलभया बधम् । सर्ववास्य यतो सत्युर्ध्वस्यानामुदके यथा ॥ १० ॥
 (देवा जघुः) विदेह उद्यता कामं क्षात्रमेव शरीरिणाम् । अन्वेषण निमेषाभ्यां लुप्तितो
 ध्यात्वाऽस्मिन्तः ॥ ११ ॥

(इति । तथा च नितरां मिषतिस्पर्द्धते इति निमिः “मिषत्यर्द्धायाम्” (तु० प०) ततो निपूर्वाङ्गिः । इह्यादि लोपेतिमिः । तस्यैवाङ्गि-निमेषः । सोऽपि हि नितरां स्पर्द्धते ज्योऽन्यम् । यद्वा निमिः सोऽति (वपति) अत्रिगिरिति निमेषः । पृषोदरादिः ।)

अराजकभयवर्णां सन्यसाना मक्षयः । देहं समन्युक्त निमिः कुमारः समजायत ॥ ११ ॥
 जनमा जनकः सो भूयैदेहस्य विदेहजः । मिथिलोमयनाज्जातो मिथिल्यायेन निर्मितः ॥ १२ ॥
 तस्माद्ददा वसुसस्य पुनोऽभूद्वन्दिर्वर्जः । ततः सुकेतुसस्यपि देवरातो मक्षीपते ॥ १३ ॥
 तस्माद्द्विप्रयसस्य मक्षवीर्यः सुधत्विता । सुधते ईदकेतुर्वैरथ्योऽयमस्मान् ॥ १४ ॥
 मरोः प्रतोपकस्यज्जातः क्षतिरयोधतः । देवमौदसस्य सुतो विस्तोऽय मक्षधृतिः ॥ १५ ॥
 क्षतिरातसस्यज्जातः क्षातोमायतत्सुतः । स्पर्द्धरोमा सुतसस्य श्रवरोमा व्यजायत ॥ १६ ॥
 ततः सौरध्वजो जज्ञे यज्ञार्थं कर्षतोमहोम् । सौमा सौराप्रतो जाता तस्मात्सौरध्वजः सुतः ॥ १७ ॥
 मक्षाय सौरिहसं “क्षयको क्षात्रलं हसं । मोदारणं च सौरः” इत्यमरः । सध्वजः ध्वजवत्
 (पताकावत्) व्याघ्रकः (कोकेप्रस्थापको) यस्य स सौरध्वज इति तज्जगन्निवर्त्तिः ।

यते वै मिथिला राजन् आकविद्या विशारदाः । योगेश्वरप्रसादेन द्वयैर्मुक्ता गृहेष्वपि ॥ २० ॥

Bhagavata and Visnu Puransare attributed to the 5th cent. A.D. (cf. Appendix (A) Y. A. Smith's 'History of India' Oxford, 1916).

A theory has been advanced that this boundary line was the river Vagrnatī, which runs through the northern part of Muzaffarpur district. This theory is supported by the fact that the part of the district to the south of this river is called Bisāra (which was one of the revenue divisions during the Moghul times), and that to the north is popularly known as Mithila or Tirhut. It may also be remembered that, according to the Satpatha Brahman, the river Śadanir (Gandak) formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Kosala and Mithila and it is possible Videgh Mathava who led the Aryans from the Sarasvati to colonise Mithila and his priest Rahugana, wandered through the northern Himalayan regions till they came to the upper reaches of the river Gandaka, and led the foundation of the Mithila kingdom to the north of what formed the kingdom of Vaisali.

line of kings beginning with Nabhāga, who became a Vaisya¹ and one of whose 33 descendants was Marutta noted in the Hindu legends for his great Yajña (sacrifice) at which all the utensils and implements used were made of gold and the Brahmanas were enraptured with the magnificent donations they received. One of Marutta's descen-

¹ Cf. Visnupurāṇa, 4th Ansa, 1st Adhyaya, page 164, slokas 19 to 61, Bombay, Samvat 1967 :—

(1) Nabhāga, (2) Bhalandana, (3) Vatasapri, (4) Pransu, (5) Prajani, (6) Khanitra, (7) Kshapa, (8) Avivinsa, (9) Vivimsa, (10) Khaninetra, (11) Atibibhuti, (12) Karandhwa, (13) Avikshit, (14) Marutta, (15) Narishyanta, (16) Dama, (17) Rajyavardhana, (18) Sudhriti, (19) Nara, (20) Kevala, (21) Vandhurañ, (22) Vegaman, (23) Vridha, (24) Tṃavindu

I I

(25) Ilavita Visala or Vaisala,

(26) Visala's son, Hemachandra, (27) Suchandra, (28) Dhuinraswa, (29) Srinjaya, (30) Sahadeva, (31) Krisaswa, (32) Somadatta, (33) Janamejaya, (34) Sumati.

Also cf. Markaudeya Purana, pp. 261-301, Adhyayas 110-133, (Venkateshwar Press, Sambat 1959).

Also cf. Vayu Purana, p. 144, Adhyay 24, Slokas 1-21 (Venkateshwar Press, Sambat 1952) :—

निसर्गं ननु पुत्राणां विसरेण निबोधत । एवञ्चो विसयित्वा तु गुरोर्नाम भक्षयत् ॥ १ ॥
 ग्रापाच्छ्रुत्वाप्यत्र स्युषस्य महात्मनः । कश्यपस्य तु कश्यपः क्षत्रियो युधमुखा ॥ २ ॥
 सद्यश्चक्षुर्नियमश्च विक्रान्तः संवभूवच । नाभा मरिच पुत्रस्तु विद्वानासौद्वलम्बः ॥ ३ ॥
 भलन्दस्य पुत्रोभूत् प्राग्गुर्नाम महाबलः । प्राज्ञोरेको भवत् पुत्रः प्रजामिरिति विभुतः ॥ ४ ॥
 प्रजानेरभवत् पुत्रः क्षत्रियो नाम वीर्यवान् । तस्य पुत्रोऽभवच्छ्रीमान् क्षुपी नाम महायशः ॥ ५ ॥
 क्षुषस्य विशः पुत्रस्तु प्रतिमा न बभूव च । विशपुत्रस्तु कन्यासौ विवंशी नाम धार्मिकः ॥ ६ ॥
 विवंश पुत्री धर्माका क्षत्रिणेनः प्रतापवान् । करन्धसस्य पुत्रः क्षेमा युगमुखोऽभवत् ॥ ७ ॥
 करन्धसस्तथापि क्षात्रिणस्तान् वीर्यवान् । क्षात्रिणस्तौ क्षत्रिणाम् पितरं मुणवत्तया ॥ ८ ॥
 मवतो नाम धर्माका क्षत्रवर्तिषमो ह्यपः । संवर्तेन दिवसीतः ससुहृत् सच वान्धवैः ॥ ९ ॥
 विवादी च महानामीन् संवर्तेस्य दृष्टस्यते । अजिं दृष्टः तु यशस्य जुहस्य दृष्टस्यति ॥ १० ॥
 संवर्तेन हृते यश्च सुकोप सुधसमदः । लोकानां च हि माशाय देवतेर्हि प्रसादितः ॥ ११ ॥
 मरुतक्षत्रवर्ते स मरिच्यन्मवाप्तवान् । मरिच्यन्स्य दायादो राजा दण्डधरोदमः ॥ १२ ॥
 तस्य पुत्रस्तु विज्ञानो राजासौद्राङ्गवर्जः । सुहृत्तौ तस्य पुत्रस्तु मरः सुहृत्तमः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
 केवलस्य पुत्रस्तु वन्धुमान् केवलस्यतमः । क्षत्रवन्धु मरः पुत्री धर्माका देववान् ह्यपः ॥ १४ ॥
 बुधी वेगवतः पुत्रस्तु बन्धुर्बुधात्मजः । वेता युगमुखे राजा हवीये संवभूवच ॥ १५ ॥
 कन्या तु तस्य द्रविडा भाता वित्रवसो हि सा । पुत्रस्य विशालोभूत् राजा परम धार्मिकः ॥ १६ ॥

विशालस्य समुत्पन्ना विशाला नय निर्मिता । विशालस्य सुतो राजा हेमचन्द्रो महाबलः ॥ १७ ॥
 सुचन्द्र इति विज्ञातो हेमचन्द्रादन्तरम् । सुचन्द्र तनयो राजा भूषाक्ष इति विभुतः ॥ १८ ॥
 भूषाक्ष तनयो विद्वान् कथः समपदात । दक्षस्य सुतः क्षीमान् सचदेवः प्रतापवान् ॥ १९ ॥
 कशस्य सचदेवस्य पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः । कशस्य महा तेजाः सोमदत्तः प्रतापवान् ॥ २० ॥
 सोमदत्तस्य राजर्षेः सुतोभूजानमेवय । जगमेवयात्मनः सैव प्रवर्तिर्नाम विभुतः ॥ २१ ॥

dants was Trṇavindu, whose son born of a nymph was Viśāla, who founded the city of Vaiśālī. Viśāla was followed by 9 descendants, the last of whom was Sumati.¹ It is said that the monarchs of Vaiśālī were long lived, magnanimous, equitable and valiant.

¹ Markandeya Purāṇa explains how the kings of Vaiśālī (though sprung from the same stock as the kings of Mithilā) came to be Vaiśyas, whilst those of Mithilā remained Kṣatriyas. Nabhāga is said to have taken a Vaiśya wife and was ousted from the Kṣatriya fold. His relatives did not give him a share in his father's kingdom, but the valiance of his son, Bhalandana got back the kingdom for him. The story is told in a slightly modified form in the ninth khanda of the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' which gives an account of Nediṣṭha and Nabhāga :—

Cf. Aitareya Brahman, 5th Panchika, 22nd Adhyaya, 9th khand :—

माभानेदिष्ठ वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं आतरो निरभजन्तोऽब्रवीदेत्यं किं सद्यम भाभेत्येतमेव
निष्ठावमव वदितार नित्यं वृषलं स्याद्याप्येतर्हि पितरं पुत्रा निष्ठावोऽव वदितेत्येवाऽऽ सन्तः ।

स पितरमेत्याब्रवीच्छां च वाव सद्यं न (मा) नाभासुरिति तं पिताऽब्रवीच्छा पुत्रक तदा
यथा अत्रिरसी वा इमे स्वर्गाय लोकाय सचमावते ते वष्टं वष्टमेवाहारागत्य सुहृदन्ति तानेते वृक्षे
वष्टेऽहनि शंसय तेषां यत्पुत्रं सच परिवेषणं तमे स्वर्गन्तो दास्यन्तीति नयेति ।

तानुपैत्यतिष्ठकौत मानवं सुमेधस इति तमब्रुवन्कि कामो वदसीतीदमेव वः वष्टमहः
प्रज्ञापयामीत्य ब्रवीद्य यद् एतावद्वष्टं सचपरिवेषणं तमे स्वर्गन्तो इनेति नयेति तानेते वृक्षे वष्टे
ऽह्यश्शंसयन्तो वै ते प्रयश्मजानन्त्य स्वर्गं लोकम् ।

तदादेते वृक्षे वष्टेऽहनि शंसति यश्च प्रज्ञायै स्वर्गस्य लोकस्यानुष्ठायै ।

तं स्वर्गन्तोऽब्रुवन्नेतन्नाश्चण सचसमिति तदेनं समाकुर्वाणं पुत्रः कृष्ण श्वास्त्युत्तरत
उपोत्यायाब्रवीन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति सोऽब्रवीन्मम वा इदमदुरिति तमब्रवीन्ममैवौ तवैव
पितरि प्रश्न इति स पितर्यैषं पिताऽब्रवीद्वनु ते पुत्रकादूरित्यदुहो म इत्यब्रवीन्मनु ते पुत्रः
कृष्णश्वास्त्युत्तरत उपोदितकृष्णम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुह मित्यादितेति तं पिताऽब्रवीत्सख्यपुत्रक
ममनु स युष्मं दास्यतीति स पुनरत्याब्रवीन्मम च वाव किल भगव इदमिति मे पिताऽऽहेति सोऽ
ब्रवीन्मदं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति,

तस्मादेवं विदुषा सत्यमेव वदितव्यम्,

न एष सचसमन्निर्मेन्नो यन्नाभानेदिष्ठः.

उपैतं सचसं नमति प्र वष्टेनाऽऽ स्वर्गं

लोकं जानाति य एव वेद ॥ १४ इति ।

The Aitareya Brahman is assigned to the 6th cent. B.C.

Cf. Macdonell " Sanskrit literature," pp. 202-203.

It is now generally admitted that the 'Aitareya Brahman' is as old as, if not older than, the 'Satapatha Brahman.' This reference to Nabhāgnediṣṭha is also found in the Rig Veda and Yajur Veda, where he is called the son of Mann. Cf. Griffith's Rig Veda, vol. II, p. 467, Hym. 18; p. 469, Hym. 1 & 4, p. 470, Hym. 11. These references make it highly probable that the kingdoms of Mithilā and Vaiśālī were founded, almost, at the same time, though Vaiśālī city may have come into existence at a later age.

It has been suggested that the Nediṣṭha Nabhāga story was created to explain "nābhāga," i.e. one without share.

The story regarding Nabhāga's transformation from a ksatriya into a Vaisya was probably intended to explain the fact that Vaiśālī became a centre of trade and commerce at an early period.

bukadeva,¹ 'son of Vedavyasa' who is traditionally reputed to have composed all the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, is said to have come to Janaka's court in Mithilā to acquire wisdom.

Though it is not easy to say when exactly the civilisation of Tirhut began, all modern scholars admit that the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa including the Brhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad is much older than the epics Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Rāma belongs to a much earlier period of Hindu legend than Kṛṣṇa, and all Hindu traditions state that the Rāmāyaṇa (or at least its original framework) of Vālmikī, who is traditionally recognised as the first Sanskrit poet and who, as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, was a contemporary of Rama, preceded the Mahābhārata which narrates the great war fought in the presence of Kṛṣṇa, by several centuries. Yajñavalkya and Janaka mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana belong admittedly to a much earlier period than that, of Rama, the hero of Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa.

It is certain that 'Vaiśālī' was in a high state of civilisation in the 6th century B.C., when Buddhā (who is admittedly later than Kṛṣṇa) lived and this civilisation extends far into antiquity when we recall that the splen-

¹ Cf.

श्री देवीभागवते १ स्क० १६ अध्याये १७ अ० च ।

(श्री शुकदेवस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

शुकं प्रति आसवचनम्

न खेन्नसि ते शान्तिर्वचनान्मम सुप्रस । गच्छत्वं मिथिलां पुत्र पालितां जनकेन च । ४५
म ते मोक्षं महाभाग नाश्रयिष्यति भूपतिः । जनको नाम धर्मात्मा विद्वज्ज्ञः सत्यसागरः । ४६
तं गच्छा स्वपतिं पुत्र सन्देशं स्तुतिवर्धनम् । वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मास्त्वं प्रच्छ पुत्र यथाशयम् । ४७
जीवन्मुक्तः स राजर्षिं ब्रह्मज्ञानमतिः शुचिः । तस्यैवमुक्तिनिश्चयस्य योगी योगप्रियः सदा । ४८
(स्वत उवाच) सच्छ्रुत्वा वचनमस्य आसस्याभिततेजसः ।

प्रत्युवाच महातेजाः शुकश्चारणि सन्धवः ।.

(शुक वचनम् अ० १७) ।

अष्टश्लोकां महाभाग यावद्वक्तुं वचनं मया । विद्वज्ज्ञान्मुक्तं लिखन्मि पालिताः जनकेन तु ।

इत्यादि (स्वत उवाच) इत्युक्तः सोऽभिवाद्यायं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणाम् ।

चलितस्तरसासीव धनुर्मुक्तः शरीरयथा ॥

पश्यन्मै विविधान्देशांशोकांश्च विजगर्भिनः । वनानि पादपांश्चैव श्लेषाणि फलितानि च ।

.. वर्षद्वयेन मेरुश्च समुद्रश्च महामतिः । हिमाचलं च वर्षेण जगाम मिथिलां प्रति ।

प्रविष्टो मिथिलांमध्ये पश्यन्सर्वं हि मुनिमासु । प्रजाश्च सुखिताः सर्वाः सदाचारः सुसंविताः ।

dour of Valvāl! and the hospitality of the Vaiśālī king Sumati (with whom Rama stopped for a night) are described in the Valmiki's Ramayana. All this will justify the conclusion that the civilisation of Tirhut is much older than the 6th century B.C. and may go so far back as 1000 B.C. to 1500 B.C.¹

1 Mr. Colebrooke infers, from astronomical data, that the arrangement of the Vedas, attributed to Vyāsa, took place in the 14th century B.C. (Miscellaneous Essays, vol. I, pp. 109, no and pp. 200-202 ; vol. II, pp. 332, 335, 356, 357, etc.; also Asiatic Researches, Vol. I X, pp. 116, 358, 359, and 360: also Prof. Whitney's notes quoted by H. H. Wilson, Translation of the Visṇupurāṇa, 1868, vol. II, pp. 273-75 and vol. IV, pp. 230 to 235). Mr. Bentley brings the date of Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief of the Pandawas, to 575 B.C. (Historical view of the Hindu Astronomy, p. 67). According to Colonel Wilford's calculation, the conclusion of the great war took place in 1370 B.C. (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, Chronological Table, p. 116). The weight of authority, however, seems to be in favour of 13th to 14th century B.C. for the Mahābhārata war.

The accounts in the Purāṇas are generally discrepant, but almost all the important Purāṇas indicate that 1000 to 1150 years elapsed between Parikṣita successor of Yudhiṣṭhira (hero of the Mahābhārata) and the coronation of Candragupta Maurya. Thus the Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives 1015 years :-

यावत्परिहितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।

एतद्वर्षं सहस्रं तु श्रेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

Cf. Anuśa 4, Adhyāya 24.

The Vāyu Purāṇa has 1050 years :-

सहस्रपञ्चाभिषेकान् जन्म यावत्परिहितः ।

एतद्वर्षं सहस्रं तु श्रेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

The Bhāgawata Purāṇa finds a distance of 1115 years between the same two events :-

चारभ्य भवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।

एतद्वर्षं सहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

If this affords any approximation to reliability, it may be assumed that the Mahābhārata war took place about 1050 years before Candragupta Maurya, who was coronated about 315 B.C., i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira lived in the 14th century B.C.

If, therefore, it is assumed that Kṣemari of Mithi's line was a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira and 36 kings preceded him in Mithilā, it follows that Mithi founded the kingdom of Mithilā about 36 x 20 or 720 years before the Mahābhārata or about 2000 B.C.

Valmiki's Ramayana assigns to Rāma 19th descent from Manu, whereas the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas would place him about the 60th step from Manu. But according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, S ta of Mithilā) and Sumati (of Vaiśālī) were about 29th and 30th respectively in descent from Manu and so Rama (their contemporary and descended from the same stock of Manu) may also be about 29th in descent from Manu.

A similar test of synchronism would make Yudhiṣṭhira 40th in descent from Manu. And if we take that Kāśya of the Brhadārauyakopaniṣad is identical with Kāśya who is described in the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and who was a contemporary of Agnivesya in both the Upaniṣad and the Purāṇas, it follows that Janaka and Yājñavalkya of the Brhadaranyāka were contemporaries of Kāśya whom the test of synchronism would make 13th in descent from Manu.

Thus we have :-

Yudhiṣṭhira

(Mahābhārata war)—1300 B.C.

CHAPTER III.

NOTE ON SOME IMPORTANT PLACES IN ANCIENT
MITHILYĀ.

In the Viṣṇu Paraṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)¹ and Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)² mention has been made of a Champakāraṇya (a jungle of Champak flowers) as stretching along the Sālagrāmi or Nārāyaṇi (modern Gaṇḍaka), and it has been stated that this Aranya was a place of retreat for Aryan ascetics.³ This corresponds with the modern district of Champaran in Tirhut.

Different parts of Champaran are associated with the names of different Hindu ṛṣis (sages).

It is said that the tappa Duho-suho is so called after

Rāma and Sitā—

1300+15 x 20=1800 B.C.

Janaka and Yājñavalkya—

1800+12 x 20=2050 B.C.

Manu—

(Rg Veda)-2050 + 12 x 20=2300 B.C.

But the reliability of the Puranas has still to be established and these conclusions are at present only of an academic interest.

¹ Cf. Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

² Cf. Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

³ Cf. Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purana, Mithila Khaṇḍa.

श्रीभित्ता तैरभुक्तिश्च धनधान्यसमाकुला ।

उत्तरे काचनारण्यं सद्विर्मयसेवितम् ॥

वञ्ज पुष्पफलोपितं द्वितीयमिव नन्दनम् ।

सरोजवनमाख्यातं समानवमनेव च ॥

सन्दारवनमित्येव सर्वतः पुष्पितद्रुमम् ।

चन्द्यकारणमाख्यातं केचिकौतुककाननम् ॥

कुसुदं सुखदं प्रोक्तं वसेनारण्यमेव च ।

स्मृतिकप्रतिभं चैव तथा नन्दं विवर्धनम् ॥

शृङ्गारकाननं चैव उपमाश्च निरस्तनम् ।

सुगंधिरस-सम्पन्नं सुगंधिकुसुमाकरम् ॥

कदंबकान्तिकलोत्तं लवंगवनमेव च ।

केतकी वनमित्येव काचनारण्यमध्यगम् ॥

Also Śakti Saṅgama Tantra.

गंधर्वकौ तैरमारभ्य चन्द्यारण्यमाकं शिवे ।

विदेहभूः समाख्याता निरभुक्तनिधः मनु ।

the two wives of Raja Uttanapada—Du Rani and Su Rani.

It is also said that the two wives were not on friendly terms and that at the instance of Su Rāni, the Rājā sent Du Rāni into exile in the forest now covered by the part of the district called Duho Suho. Shortly afterwards, while hunting in the forest, he spent a night in the cottage where lived his banished queen. Dhruva, who was subsequently born, spent his time in the *Āranyas* (forests) contemplating the great problems of life. Champaran or Tirhut's claim to this eminence is, however, falsified by the account of Dhruva and his family in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhagwat Purāṇa* and *Skanda Purāṇa*, where it is clearly stated that Dhruva practised austerities in Mathura (in the United Provinces), and the two wives of Raja Uttana Pada were named Suniti and Suruci.¹

¹ Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 1st Aṁśa, 11th Adhyāya, Samvat 1969, Bombay.

विष्णुपुराणे प्र० अ० अ० ११

(ध्रुवस्य तपः सिद्धिस्तानम्)

(पराशर उवाच)

प्रियव्रतोजानपादौ मनोः स्थायभवस्य तु ।
 सौ पुत्रौ तु महावीर्यौ धर्मज्ञौ कथितौ तव ॥
 तयोर्व्रतानपादस्य सुव्यासमुत्तमः सुतः ।
 समीष्टायामभूद्वृक्षान् पितृरत्यन्तवक्त्रभः ॥
 सुनीतिनाम या राज्ञस्तस्याधीनश्चिबौ द्विज ।
 सन्नातिप्रौतिमांस्तस्यामभूदस्या ध्रुवः सुतः ॥
 राजासमस्तिनस्याङ्गं पितृधामरमाश्रितम् ।
 दृष्टोत्तमं भुवश्चक्रे तमारोढुं मनोरथम् ॥
 प्रत्यक्षं भूपतिसस्याः सुव्यासाभ्यनन्दत ।
 प्रणयेनागतम्युवमुत्सहारोक्षणीत्युक्त्वा ॥
 सपत्नीतनयं दृष्ट्वा तमह्वारोक्षणीत्युक्त्वा ॥
 सप्तपञ्च मथारुढं सुरचिर्वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥ ६ ॥

इत्येवं सपत्नीमातुर्वीर्यमुपलब्धौ ध्रुवः पितुर्महामातुरनुमत्या बहिरुपवनं गतो जगत् ॥
 तत्र सुनीन्द्रा प्रणनाम । ततस्तेनिवेदकारणं मुखकान्त्यवलोकनेन दृष्टः सुव्यासिहितम-
 भिदधौ । उच्यते च स्नानमन्यैरनुपभुङ्क्तं तान्प्रवृत्ते च भगवतो विष्णोराराधनमुपदिष्ट तर्ह्ये
 स्नानस्याभिदधुर्लक्ष वि० अ० ११ ।

(पराशर उवाच)

निश्चये तद्वेषेण मेधेयवृत्तेः सुतः ।
 निर्जङ्गम वनात्सत्यान्विषत्य सनात्सौ ॥
 क्षलक्षत्याभिरात्रानं मन्यमानस्ततो द्विज ।
 मधु सञ्जं महापुण्यं जगाम यमुनातटम् ॥

Sangrāmpura, in the district of Champaran, is another important place which is said to have

The local story of the battle between Rāma and his two sons at Sangrāmpur in Champaran not borne out by the Valmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

been so called because the *sangrāma* (great battle) between the two sons of Rāma, Lawa and Kusa and their father, took place here, near the hermitage of the sage Valmiki, where Sita,

the banished spouse of Rāma, had taken shelter. But this myth is unfounded as Valmiki says that the battle took place near the bank of the river 'Tamasa' where Valmiki's hermitage stood.¹

पुनश्च मधुसूतेन दैत्यैः अधिष्ठितं यतः ।
ततो मधुवनं ज्ञात्वा स्थानमत्र महीतले ॥ २ ॥
इत्था च स्रवणं रक्षो मधुपुत्रं महाबलम् ।
शत्रुघ्नो मधुरां नाम पुरीक्षन् चकार वै ॥
यत्र वै देवदेवस्य सन्निध्यं हरिमेधसः ।
सर्वपापघ्ने तस्मिंस्तपस्वीर्ध्वं चकार सः ॥
मरौचिसुखैर्मृनिभिर्यथोद्भट्टमधूतदा ॥

Also cf. Skanda Purāṇa.

स्त्रान्दपि काशीखण्ड पूर्वार्धे अ० २०
श्रीरामपादिर्मिश्रत्य ततः कामनतो द्विज ।
रम्यं मधुवनं प्राप यमुनायास्तरे महत् ॥
आद्यं भगवतः स्थानं तत्पुण्यं हरिमेधसः ।
पापोऽपि जन्तुस्तत्राप्य निष्पापो जायते भुवम् ॥
अपस्त वासुदेवास्त्रौ परं ब्रह्म निरामयम् ।
अपश्यन्मनसं विश्वं ध्यानस्तिमितलोचनः ॥

Cf. Bhāgawat Purāṇa, 4th Skanda, 8th Adhyāya, Samvat 1963, Bombay.

श्रीमद्भगवत्स्कन्ध ४ अध्याय ८
आयं उक्तानपादस्य सुनीतिः सुवचिस्तयोः ।
सुवचिः प्रेयसौ पत्युर्नतराद्यत्सुनो भुवः ॥ ८ ॥
तत्तत्त गच्छ भद्रं त्वयमुनायाः तटे शुचि ।
पुण्यं मधुवनं यत्र सन्निध्यं नित्यदाहरेः ॥
बालानुसवनं तस्मिंस्तस्मिन्वाः सलिले शिरे ।

¹ Cf. Valmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, Vol. III, 1913, Bombay, by T. R. Kriṣṇācāryya.

बाल्मीकीय रामायणे उत्तरकाण्डे ५१ सर्गे
बाल्मीक्याश्रम स्थाननिर्देशः

रामस्य लक्षणं प्रति सीतापरित्याग प्रसङ्गे,—

महायास्य परे पारे बाल्मीकेषु महाकानः ।
आश्रमं दिव्यं सङ्काशस्त्वमसातीरमाश्रितः ॥ १०

It may be interesting in this connection, to state that local tradition in Champaran claims that the capital of Mithilā or Videha under king Janaka was at Janakigarha, Janakapur and Janaki-garha.

तत्रैनां विजने देशे विस्तृत्य रघुमन्दन ।

श्रीप्रमागच्छ सीमिचे कुक्ष्य वधनं मम ॥ १८

न चास्मि प्रतिवक्तव्यः सीतां प्रति कथञ्चन । इति ।

एषा च तमसा ज्योत्षामो विदूरे गङ्गायाः परे पारे ब्रह्मावर्णे (विदूरप्रान्ते) वर्तते बास्कीकोर-
जमाभ्यामि (तमसा) वदति ततः किञ्चिदूरे गङ्गासि, तस्याच बासकाण्डे ९ स०

समुद्रसं गते तस्मिन्देवलीकं मुनिस्तदा ।

जगाम तमसा तीरं जाक्यास्तत्र विदूरतः १

समुत्तीरं समासाद्य तमसाया मुनिस्तदा ।

शिष्यमाह स्मितं पार्श्वे दृष्ट्वा तीर्थमकर्दमम् ४

अकर्दममिदं तीर्थं भरद्वाज निशमय ।

रमणीयं प्रसङ्गान्मु सन्मनुष्यमनो यथा ५

न्यस्तानां कलशस्तत दीयतां वत्सलं मम ।

इदमेवावगाह्ये तमसातीरमुत्तमम् ६

इदमेव श्रुत्वा सप्तम् गङ्गातीर्थम् दूरेती मथाह कालातिक्रमादगच्छेति शेषः ॥

Valmiki places the river Tamśā in the kingdom of Kōśālā and between Ayodhyā (Paizabad) and Prayāga (Allahabad) :—

अथ तमसास्मितिः ।

बास्कीकी रामायण सर्ग ४५

“एवं विक्रोश ताम्नेषां द्विजातीनां निवर्तने ।

इहैव तमसा तत्र वारयन्तीव राघवम् ॥ १ ॥

“श्रुतस्य तमसातीरे रामस्य ब्रुवतीगुणान् ।

गोकुलाकुलतीरायास्तमसाया विदूरतः ।

अवसत्तत्र तां रात्रिं रामः प्रकृतिभिः सह ”

अर्धरात्रे च “तं स्पन्दन मभिष्टाय राघवः सपरिच्छदः

श्रीप्रमासी कुलावर्त्तामतरत्नतमसां मदीम् ॥” ..

“ततो वेदश्रुतिना शिववारिवद्वां नदीम्

उत्तीर्याभिमुखः प्रायाद्गङ्गाधुपितां दिशम् ।

गत्वा तु सुषिरं काष्ठं ततः शीतनदां नदीम् ।

गोमतीं मीयुतामूपामनरत्नागरज्ज्वालाम् ॥

गोमतीं चाप्यतिक्रम्य राघवः शीघ्रगौडये ।

मयूरहंसमभिरता मतरत्नान्दिकां मदीम् ” ..

“ततस्त्रिपथगां दिक्षां शीततोषामशैवलाम् ।

इहैव राघवो गङ्गां रम्याम्निनिवेतिताम् ॥ ..

“आसत्साद मन्दाकाङ्कः प्रह्वयेरपुरप्रति ।

तामूमेकलिङ्गावर्णामन्वयेह्य मन्दापथः ।

सुमन्तमवतीक्षुतमिदं बाह्यवसामहे ”

some 10 miles north of Lauriya Nandanagarha. But it is no longer disputed that Janakapura, in the Nepal territory, was the real seat of king Janaka.¹ It is probable that some branch of the family ruled at Jānakigarha. It is also probable that some Janaka (as all the successors of Mithi, the first mythological king of Mithila, were called Janakas) transferred his seat for some time to Janakigarha.

Local tradition claims that at one time or another Motihari, Kesariya and Lauriya Nandanagarha (all in Champaran²) formed seats of the Vrijjian tribes.

At Nandanagarha great mounds of earth still exist, erected probably to serve as sepulchral barrows for their rulers. In one of them one punch-marked silver coin has been found, which is said to be anterior to the time of Alexander the Great and may be as old as 1000 B.C.³

It may be worth mentioning here that it is claimed that village Baratapura in the Darbhanga district is the site of the capital of the famous Rājā Birat of the Mahābhārata. The same distinction is claimed for one or two villages of similar name in the Champaran district. But the Biratpura of the Mahābhārata lies, according to the *Bivata Parva* of the Mahābhārata itself, in the Matsya-

नतो द्वितीयदिने—“विमले ऽमुदिते सूर्ये तस्माद्देशात्पुनश्चिर ।

यत्र भागीरथी गङ्गा यमुनामभिवर्तते ॥ . .

गत्वा सुवर्णमध्वानं भारद्वाजमुपागमत् ॥”

The famous Hindi poet, Tulasi Dāsa who flourished in the 16th century A.D. also places the river Tamsa between Ayodhyā (Faizabad) and Prayāga (Allahabad) —cf. Tulasi's *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhya Kāṇḍa* :

तमसा तीर निवास किय प्रथम दिवस रघुवीर ।

¹ Cf. the *Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Mithilakhaṇḍa* :—

मिरिजालयमारभ्य यावद्दे भनुष स्थिति ।

इति दुर्लभ भय्यादा निधिष्ठा सु मन्वापुरी ॥

² Cf. Cunningham's * *History of India*, 1871, page 445.

³ Cf. pp. 104-13 of the report on the Archaeological Survey of India, 1880; also p. 70 of the Archaeological Survey Report, India, 1862-65, Vol. I.

The excavations at Lauriya Nandanagarh have led to the discovery of metal coffins containing skeletons of large human figures. Both Kesariya and Lauriya Nandanagarh must be ancient places as tradition relates that they were seats of Rājās Bena Cakravarty and Uttanapāda respectively. According to Purāṇa legends (Hindu mythology) Uttanapāda was son of Manu (the progenitor of mankind) and Bena was seventh in descent from him.

deśa, and therefore the claim made for these places in Tirhut is untenable.¹

In this connection it may also be mentioned that in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata, it is stated that Bhima went beyond the river Kauśikī (Kośi), but it is nowhere said in the Mahābhārata that he came across any place called Biratapura before crossing the river Kosi which is the easternmost boundary of Tirhut in the Purnea district.² Had it been in Mithila, it was sure to be mentioned in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata as it (Biratapura) is one of the most important places described in the Mahābhārata.

The village Jamuā or one or two villages of similar name in the Darbhanga district claim to have been the hermitage of Yamadagni, father of the famous Paraśurāma, of the Hindu mythology. In Mahābhārata, Santi Parva, it is stated that Paraśurāma practised his austerities on the hill called Gandha Madana." The account of Paraśurāma

¹ The Mahābhārata, Birāt Parva, 1st Adhyāya, Bombay :—

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥ नृत्तमेतन्मदादाहो यथा स भगवानग्रभुः ॥ अश्ववीत् सर्वभूतेशस्तथा न तदन्वया । अथस्त्वं त्वेव वासायं रमणीयं शिवं सुखम् ॥ संसृज्य सन्निः सर्वैर्वल्लभ्यमानो भूयः ॥ मत्स्योविराटो वल्लभाज भिरक्रोश पाण्डवान् ॥ धर्मशीलोवदान्यश्च ह्यक्षय्य सप्तमं प्रियः ॥ विराटनगरे ताम संवत्सरमिदं वयम् ॥ कुर्वन्तस्तस्य कर्माणि विश्वरिष्याम भारत ॥

The Matsya Deśa lay to the south of the Kurus and to the west of the Surasenas, i.e. to the south of Thanēsvara and to the west of Mathurā. It is identified with the modern estate of Alwar in Rājaputānā and some adjacent districts (cf. Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 166, 1916); also cf. Mahābhārata, Birāt Parva, 5th Adhyāya :—

“ उत्तरेण दशार्णोक्षे पञ्चासपन्धस्थिते न च ।

अक्षरेण यं कृत्वा मातृभूतसैन्यां पाण्डवाः ।

कुम्भा भुवाणा मत्स्यस्य विषयं प्राविशन्मनात् ।

धन्विनीवदमिक्षिणा विषयाः श्लुभुधरिषः ॥

General Cunningham locates Matsyadeśa in the vicinity of Jayapore and thinks its capital was Virat or Bairata about 105 miles from Delhi (to the south) cf. p. 206, Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' Trubner's Oriental series.

² Mahābhārata (Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyāya) describes the conquest of the Rājā of Videha (Mithilā) by Bhima.

³ Cf. Mahābhārata Santi Parva, 48th and 49th Adhyāyas, Bombay.

महाभा० शा० प० अ० ४८

कुदक्षेत्रे युधिष्ठिरं प्रति कृष्णवाक्यम्

अभीरामश्रद्धाः पञ्च हस्ते पायंदूरतः । येन सत्कर्षयामास पिष्टन् कविशशीपिनीः ।

रत्येवं रामचरित उपपन्नो अ० ४८

even in the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the Skanda Purāṇa and other Purāṇas would place his original home near Mahiṣ-

अङ्गोरजस्तु तनयो बलाकाश्च तत्पुत्रः ।
 कुशिको नाम धर्मशस्तस्य पुत्रोमहीपते ॥
 ... गाधिर्नामा भवत्युग्रः कौशिकः पाकशासनः ।
 तस्य कन्या भवद्राजश्रद्धा सत्यवती प्रभो ॥
 तां गाधिर्भृगुपुत्राय सर्षीकाय ददौ प्रभुः ।
 तस्याः प्रीतः सशौचेन भार्गवः कुबजमन्दन ॥
 पुत्रार्थं प्रयासास चरं गाधेस्तथैव च ।
 ... ततः सत्यवती पुत्रं जनयामास भार्गवम् ॥
 तपस्त्रभिरतं शान्तं यमदग्निं धतवतम् ।
 विश्वामित्रं च दद्यादं गाधिः कुशिकमन्दनः ॥
 यः प्राप ब्रह्मसमितं विश्वैर्ब्रह्मगुणैर्युतम् ।
 अक्षौकी जनयामास यमदग्निं तपोभिधिम् ॥
 सोऽपि पुत्रं ह्यजनयज्जमदग्निं सदाशमम् ।
 सर्वविद्यां गतं त्रेलं धनुर्वेदस्य पारगम् ॥
 रामं क्षत्रियहन्तारं प्रदौप्रभिव पावकम् ।
 लोषयित्वा महादेवं पर्वते मन्मदादने ॥
 अस्त्राणि वरयामास परशुं चासितेजसम् ।
 सतेजाकुंठधारेण अक्षितामलवर्धसा ॥
 कुठारेण प्रमेयेण लोकेव्यप्रतिभोऽभवत् ॥

This Gandha Mādana would appear from the Kālika Purāṇa to be in Assam near the river Brahma Putra :—

कालिकापुराणे लौहित्यनदास्थाने ८५ अध्याय

शम्भोऽमुनेरसौघायां भार्यायां ब्रह्मणो वीर्यस्य शम्भुना आधाने कृते सत्या नायिका तोज-
 नासहस्रसन्मध्ये तनयैकैः समञ्जिन ।

“तज्जातश्च तथाभूतं शम्भुलोकशम्भुः ।
 चतुर्णां स्पर्शतानाच्च मध्ये दिशेभ्यो विभ्रत् ॥
 कैलासस्योत्तरेपार्श्वे दक्षिणे गन्धमादनः ।
 जादधिः पश्चिमेऽक्षः पूर्वे च शम्भुकाकयः ॥
 तेभ्यो मध्ये स्वयं कृष्णं पर्वतानां विधेः सुतः ।
 कृत्वा तिवट्टधे मित्यं शरदौ वनिशकारः ॥
 तन्मोयमध्यं पुत्रमासाद्य द्रुहिणः स्वयम् ।
 क्रमतस्तस्य संस्कारान् करोद्देह शुद्धये ॥
 अथ काले वक्रतियेयतीते ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
 सोऽयरात्रिक्षकपेक्ष बहदो पश्यो जगत् ॥
 तस्मिन् देवाः पपुसस्तुर्द्वितीय इव सागरे ।
 सौतामल जले हृदो दिग्बन्धाश्चरसांग्रिः ॥
 तस्मिन् देवसरे रामो जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान् ।
 यज्ञे साष्टवधं धीरमयुक्तं पितुराज्ञया ॥

mati which is somewhere near the river Narbadā in the Central Provinces.¹

तस्य पापस्य मोक्षाय सधितुक्षीपदेवतः ।
स जगाम महाकुपं ब्रह्माक्षं चातुमिच्छया ॥
तत्र काला च पीत्वा च मातृश्लोकं पानयत् ।
वैशीम्परश्रुता कलानकाक्षाम तारयत् ॥

¹ Cf. page 140 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895, where it is said that "Mahismati" was the capital of Mahārāṣṭra. Also cf. Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Uttara Kāṇḍa, 31st Sarga, which locates Mahiṣ-mati on "Narbadā" bank.

ततो महिषाक्षो नाम पुरीं स्वर्गपुरीप्रभाम् ।
संप्राप्तो यत्र साक्षिभ्यं सदा ऽस्मीदृशुरेत सः ॥ ७ ॥
तुल्य आसीद्वृषस्य प्रभावाद्दशुरेत सः ।
अर्जुनो नाम यवाग्निः शरकुण्डेशयः सदा ॥ ८ ॥
तमेव दिवसं शीघ्रं दैव्याधिपतिं यक्षी ।
अर्जुनो नर्मदांरन्तु गतः क्षीभिः सदैव्यरः ॥ ९ ॥
तमेव दिवसं शीघ्रं रावणस्तत्र आगतः ।
रावणो राक्षसेन्द्रस्तस्यामात्यान् पृच्छत ॥ १० ॥

Cf. also the Brahmandā Purāṇa.

अथ कार्त्तवीर्यार्जुनस्य दैव्येश्वरस्य नर्मदां समीपे महिषाक्ष्यां निवासः । परशुरामस्यापि तत्र नर्मदानटे साक्षिभ्यः सविदूरे आगतः तथा च ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे २१ अध्याये ।

“एवं पित्रीर्महाराजं शूद्राणां भृगुपुंगवः ।
प्रकुर्वन्नादिषेयायाः धातृणां आविशेषतः ॥
एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कदाचिदैव्येश्वरः ।
दिव्यश्रमयां गन्तुं चतुरङ्गं यत्नाम्बितः ॥

सरंक्षमाने गमने बन्धूक कुसुमारणैः .. नर्मदातीरतीर्थस्नानवतीर्याद्यहारिणि । तत्तीरे—

कृतं मैत्रादिको राजा शूद्रयां दैव्येश्वरः ।
निर्ययो नगरात्सन्नात्युरोक्षितं समन्वितः ॥
पुनः मध्ये दिनकरे प्राप्ते ससैन्यः सतदा ह्ययः ।
नर्मदां घर्मसन्नाप्तः पिपासुरममन्त्रितैः ।
.. विसन्ध्यां चतत्तीरे तद्वक्ष्यतीपमण्डिते ।
आताम्भ मानेतिश्यांशी ससैन्यः सानुजो ह्ययः ॥
निष्क्राम पुरं गन्तुं विन्ध्याद्रिं वनगङ्गरात् ।
सगन्धर्वैश्च दहये नर्मदातीरमाश्रितम् ॥
आश्रमं पुण्यशीलस्य जमदग्नेर्महाराजः” इत्यादि ।

अथ तमाश्रमं प्राप्ते भुजिना सन्कृतीं दृष्टं गन्तुमाश्रमार्थितवान् ॥ ततः सराजा सुप्रीतो जमदग्निमभावत् । मधुर्बदेष्टिमेमुष्ठां गमिष्यामि स्वकन्युरम् इति ततो भुजिना ऽतिथिं सत्कारं कामधेनु प्रभावाक्षन्वा प्राप्तदृष्टं गन्धर्वान्वा चन्द्रगुप्तेन तत्प्रभावकथनपूर्वकं हरणाय प्रोवोजितो राजा कथंश्चित्तेवादिदेश । स तथा कुर्वन्भुजिं हतवान् । तेन क्रौञ्चातुरो जामदग्नः (परशुरामः निष्क्रामशीलकरीदिति स्थितिः ॥

This would put Yamadagni Paraśurāma out of Mithila, but we know the admitted fact that Paraśurāma suddenly turned up at the marriage of Rāma and Sita at Janakapura, and it is probable that Yamadagni and his son Paraśurāma founded a settlement somewhere in or near Mithilā. This would make the claim of these villages apparently tenable.

The village Ahiyari *in* the Darbhanga district justly claims the distinction of having been visited by Rāma on his way to Mithilā (Janakapura). It is related that at Ahiyari (or Ahilyapura) stood the hermitage of sage Gautama, whose jealous harshness had turned his wife Ahilya into stone and that Rāma miraculously restored her to human life.¹

The river Kosi or Kausiki which forms the easternmost boundary of Tirhut (as popularly and traditionally known) has its legendary accounts in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahabharata.

Sitamarhi in the Muzaffarpur district claims the distinction of having been the birth-place of Sita visited by Rāma.

Hajipur in the Muzaffarpur district claims distinction of having been the point at which Rāma crossed over from the southern side of river Ganges. According to Valmiki's Ramayana,² Rama first crossed the river Sona and passed a day between the Sona and the Ganges before crossing the latter. The relative position of the Sona and the Ganges even at the present day would lend some colour to this claim for distinction.

¹ Cf. pp. ² Cf. pp.

PART 11.

CHAPTER I.

VAIS'ĀIJ.

We have seen that the Brhadāranyakopaniṣad as well as the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa abound with glorious accounts of the monarchical rulers of Mithilā with their capital at Janakapura. There is no mention of Vaisālī in Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, but the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa gives an account of its monarchical rulers specially of Sumati with whom Rama stayed for a night after crossing the Ganges and before proceeding to Mithilā. The Pauranic accounts make Sumati the last of a line of 34 kings, amongst whom was Visala, the great king, who founded Vaisālī. This would show that Vaisālī existed as a kingdom before Rama's time and was probably as old as the neighbouring kingdom of Mithilā which saw its foundation during the period of the Satapatha Brahman² or the Rg Veda. In the 6th century B.C. when Buddha lived, Vaisālī was certainly (as we shall see) the seat of a most powerful oligarchical republic under the class or race of people among whom the most powerful clans (in the Buddhistic records) were the Vrijjians or the Licchavis. There is no mention of any monarchical rulers of Mithilā in the Buddhistic records about Buddha's time. It may therefore be taken as a historical fact that the Vrijjian oligarchical republic replaced the old monarchical rule of Videha and Vaisālī at an early period and that the seat of the central Government shifted from Janakapura in the Nepal Tarai to Vaisālī (modern Basarha)' in the district

¹ J.R.A.S. 1902, pp. 267, 288 and also Dr. Bloch's excavation at Basarha, Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1903-04, pp. 81 to 102.

Cf. also Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 169, *Vaisālī—modern Basārha—* in the Hajipur Subdivision of Muzaffarpur district.

The ancient site is marked by a large mound of ruins and by a magnificent uninscribed pillar of Asoka, which is surmounted by the figure of a lion."

This pillar is a monolith at village Kolwa locally known as Bhima Simha's Iyāthi (club) supporting a lion carved in stone. It consists of a pillar, 24 feet high,

of Muzaffarpur) which came into prominence in the 6th century B.C.

It is probable that the Licchāvis of Vaiśālī were in occupation of Magadha before Bimbisāra of Magadh (south Bihar) (who is called "Seniya" or "Senapati," i.e. Military Commander) started on his conquering career in the 6th century (B.C.) It is not known whose Senapati he was before he became a king, but it is certain that he expelled the Licchāvis from Magadha and founded or consolidated his dynasty. One of the very ancient Buddhistic texts¹

on the top of which is a pedestal with the lion. The cylinder is in one piece, the height of the whole being about 30 feet. Its depth below ground must be very great, as some persons dug down several feet, but failed to reach the foundation. The stone is covered with names, many of them English and of these some date from 1793.

"The identity of the lion pillar at Basarh with one of Asoka's pillars is sometimes doubted, but its style of structure and its proximity to the ruins identified with ancient Vaiśālī make it certain that it is an Asoka's pillar though it does not contain Asoka's usual inscription-edict.

As regards the location of ancient Vaiśālī itself, both General Cunningham and Mr. V. A. Smith have identified ancient Vaiśālī with the ruins at modern Basarh. But Dr. Hoey proposed Cherand in the Saran district to the west of river Gandak as the site of Vaiśālī. This is however untenable. It appears from an inscription appertaining to miniature paintings of two palm-leave manuscripts (नोरुको वैशाली नारा = *Tārā of Vaiśālī* in Tirhut) published by M. Poucher and assigned to the 12th century A.D. that Vaiśālī lay in Tirhut. It is admitted that the district of Saran never formed part of Tirhut in the ancient times. We also know that Mahabira, the developer of Jainism, has been described in the ancient Jairesse scriptures as Vaisaliya, i.e. an inhabitant of Vaisali and it is also related there that his birth-place, Kundagam, lay in Videha (i.e. Tirhut). Cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 10.

Now we know that the ruins at Basarh are popularly known as Rājā Viśāla's fort and one of the adjacent villages is called Kollua which may correspond to Kundagam or another form of it, Kallaga. The position of Basarh in relation to other places like Patna, etc., fits in exactly with the position of Vaiśālī in regard to Pataliputra and other localities. It is also remarkable that the ruins called *Raja Visal ha garh* which still preserve the name of Vaiśāla, the founder of Vaiśālī, agrees in its circumference of about 500ft. with the distance of 4 to 5 li which Hiuen Tshang gives as a circuit of the Vaiśālī palace. We have got here a lion pillar and Hiuen Tshang says that such a pillar was erected at Vaiśālī by Asoka though he puts down its height at about 50 ft. North of it are the ruins of a brick stupa, and to the south an ancient brick-faced tank, corresponding to Hiuen Tshang's stupa of Asoka and to the Markatahrada, or 'Monkey Tank' respectively. The distance of these from the fort is about 2 miles. It is true that Hiuen Tshang's account omits the distance, but we know at least so much that they lay to the north-west of the palace and that its distance exceeded one mile.

Several seals, etc., discovered at the Basarh ruins clearly mention Vaiśālī. Cf. pp. 82-123 of the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04.

The identity of Basarha with Vaiśālī is also helped by the name Bisarā of the revenue division (Pargana) within which Basarh lies. In the 'Ain-i-Akbari' Bisara or Basarais mentioned as a mahal included in Sarkar Hajipur, cf. 'Ain-i-Akbari' trans. by Jarret, Vol. I, p. 155 (1910).

As regards Janakapur its identity is settled by Vālmiki's Rāmāyana where it is related that it lay to the north-east of Ahilyāsthāna in the Darbhanga district.

Cf. 'Sutta Nipata,' verses 38, 976, 977, 1011-3; also Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures, 1918.

speaks of Vaiśālī as Magadhapurā, i.e. capital of Magadha or South Bihar and describes the passage of the 16 disciples of the Brahmaṇa Bavarin (who lived somewhere on the bank of the river Godāvarī in Southern India) whom he deputed to pay homage to Buddhā and who went through Vaiśālī (Magadhapurā) to Pasanaka Chetiya where Buddhā then happened to be.

Vrijjians of Vaiśālī. An account of the Vrijjians' of Vaiśālī² may not be out of place here.

The Vrijjians were divided into several confederate clans, of whom the Licchāvis³ came into collision with the mighty kingdom of Magadha. King Bimbisāra of Magadha married princess Chellana, daughter of King Cetaka of Vaisali (Cr. 530 B.C.).⁴ His son Ajata Satru conquered Vaiśālī in 490 B.C. after defeating nine confederate Licchāvi and confederate Malla kings and became master of his maternal grandfather's kingdom. Thus king Ajataśatru of Magadha whose capital was at Pataliputra (modern Patna) which lay on the frontier of Magadha and on the bank of the river Ganges which divided the Licchāvi from the Magadha Kingdom, conquered Vaiśālī and occupied

1 The Vrijjians consisted of 8 confederate clans, of whom the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and Videhas of Mithila were most powerful, *cf.* Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 25.

2 Vaiśālī was so called on account of Rājā Viśala, *cf.* his account in the *Valmiki's Rāmāyaṇa* or it may be that the word Vaiśālī is derived from the word "Viśala" (Sanskrit) = big, large.

3 (i) V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 3rd edition, special Chapter II, etc., etc.

(ii) BeFs 'Life of Hiuen-Tsiang' (1914).

(iii) Rhys Davids' 'Ywan-chwang's Travels in India' (Royal Asiatic Society, 1914).

(iv) Legg's 'Travels of Fa-Hian in India' (Clarendon Press, 1866).

Todd in his 'Rājsthāna' (Part VII) gives an account of the Licchāvi family. He calls them of the solar race and on the ground of several inscriptions and ancient written literature found in Nepal about them, he thinks that they first established themselves in Nepal. He mentions certain Licchāvi Rājas who reigned in Nepal and Puspapura (Patna), as is borne out by an inscription in the temple of Pasupati at Kathmandu in Nepal, Cir. Srihara's Sambat 153 = Bikrama Samvat 1816=1756 A.D. or so; also *cf.* I. A. IX, 168; XIII, 411; XIV, 97 and 342; also J.R.A.S., LVIII, chart, p. 100.

It may be interesting to remember that Dandi in his *Dasakumāra Caritam* (Uttara, 3rd part) which is said to have been composed in the year 600 A.D. describes the intimate friendship between the then ruling princes and their queens of Mithila and Pataliputra (Magadha). As regards the date of *Dasakumāra Caritam*, *cf.* Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' (1905), p. 332; also Duff's 'Chronology of India' (1899), p. 44.

⁴ 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XXII, Introduction by Jacobi, p. 266.

Her name was Vasavi, niece of Gopal, according to a Tibetan account (Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 63).

Tirhut. It appears that when Buddha visited Pataliputra shortly before his death, Sunidha and Bassakara, Chief Ministers of Magadha, were busy in building a strong fortress there to repel the Licchavis.¹

It is not known what happened to Vaiśālī after Ajātasatru (nicknamed Kunika). It is most probable that it continued to be ruled from Patna during the reigns of kings Candragupta and Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty during the fourth and the third centuries B.C.

The Licchāvis and Vrijiāns are supposed to be of Tibetan origin.² They may be regarded as a ruling clan

¹ Cf. 'Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras, I, 26; and 'Mahabhaṅga' VI, 28, 7.

² Cf. 'The Indian Antiquary,' p. 233, 1903.

This supposition rests on no sure grounds. Beal in his 'Buddhist records of Western World, Volume II,' 'Trubner's Oriental Series' has dealt with the subject at XIII (intro.) where he writes :—

"After a month and five days they, i.e. Pahian's party, reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers. There is some reason for connecting this 'land of Li' with the Licchavis of Vaisali. It is said by Csoma Korosi 'that the Tibetan writers derive their first king (about 250 B.C.) from the Lissabysis or Lichavyis'. The chief prince or ruler of the Licchavis was called the 'great lion' or 'the noble lion'. This is probably the explanation of Maha-li used by Spence Hardy as 'the name of the king of the Lichawis'. Khotan would thus be the land of the lion-people (Simhas). Whether this be so or not, the polished condition of the people and their religious zeal indicate close connection with India, more probably with Baktria. The name of the great temple, a mile or two to the west of the city, called the Nava sargharama, or royal 'new temple', is the same as that on the south-west of Balkh described by Hiuen Tsiang; and the introduction of Vaisravaua as the protector of this convent, and his connection with Khotan, the kings of that country being descended from him, indicate a relationship, if not race, at least of intercourse between the two kingdoms."

And again on page 70 he writes :—

"We may conclude that the people of Vaiśālī were a Northern people allied to the Yuechi, which illustrates the observation of Csoma Korosi, 'that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or lyicchavis' ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 236, note). The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. (Memoirs by V. de St. Martin, p. 367, note.) The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yuechi and for the Vrijiāns are the same. Unless we are to suppose a much earlier incursion of these people into India than is generally allowed, the date of the Southern books of Buddhism (the book of the Great Decease and others), which contain accounts respecting the character, habits, and dress of the Licchavis (which correspond with the Northern accounts), must be brought down considerably later than the assumed date of the reduction of the Pali canon. But, on the other hand, if it be true that the incursion of these people took place when Pataliputra was strengthened as a fortified outpost to repel their advance, i.e. about the time of Buddha, then we must allow an early advance on their part into India. We know they were regarded as intruders, for Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, was desirous to attack and root out 'these Vrijiāns,' and it was he also who strengthened the city of Pataliputra. The question deserves consideration."

It is hardly necessary to say more than that this argument is not convincing. It is admitted that the Buddhist priests from Magadha and Tirhuta (Licchāvis) went in large numbers to preach in Tibet during Asoka's time, and it may be supposed with equal force that they obtained not only spiritual ascendancy but some one of them assumed kingly authority in Tibet. The word "Li" (Chinese=

akin to the Kṣatriyas but their descendants are now all mixed up with the Tirhutians.

Vaiśālī was a big city made up of the three component parts of Vaiśālī (modern Basārha) inhabited chiefly by Brāhmaṇas, Kunda-grama (modern Basukunḍa) inhabited chiefly by Kṣatriyas and Banikagrama where Mahāvira Vardhamāna was born (modern Bania) inhabited by Vaiśyas.¹ These villages are now mostly inhabited by Bhumi-hara Brāhmaṇas. Vaiśālī enjoyed marvellous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next and there were three gates with watch towers.²

Vaiśālī was an oligarchical republic governed by a senate, the membership of which was made up of the heads of the ruling clans the chief executive officer of each

Vaiśālī an oligarchical republic.

lian) found in common with some Northern people and the Licchavis does not carry matters far—for there is no explanation forthcoming of the remainder—Chav or it may be within the range of possibility that a section of the Licchāvis who occupied Nepal, moved on to Khotan.

Ajatsatru's onslaught of the licchāvis does not help the theory for he attacked not only the Licchāvis but also the people of other parts of India, who were surely not intruders.

If the Licchāvis were of foreign Tibetan or Chinese origin there was sure to be some mention of this origin in the great Sanskrit Epics (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas especially as it is certain that they had established themselves at Vaiśālī long before Buddha's time, i.e. long before 500 B.C. Though the Licchāvis have been mentioned as Licchavis in the Manusmṛiti (X—22) which is a Brahmanical text, and which is not assigned to an earlier period than the 1st century A.D., there is no mention of their foreign origin.

भक्तो मन्त्रश्च राजन्याद् व्रात्या निष्प्रविरहश्च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव लसो द्रविणश्च एव च ॥

They are described as quasi-Kṣatriyas (probably because they were Buddhists). V. A. Smith has contributed an interesting note—Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233—on Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis, but one may venture to think that his argument is as much in favour of the Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis as of the Licchāvi or Indian origin of some of the Tibetan tribes. He finds similarity between the Licchāvi and the Tibetan modes of disposal of dead bodies as well as between their systems of law. But if the Licchāvi Buddhists (who surely shared this custom with other people of India) could transplant their Buddhism in Tibet, is it too much to think that they could transplant some of their customs as well. It may be interesting to note that Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣana gives the Licchāvis a Persian origin (Cf. Ind. Antiquary, p. 78, 1908) and thinks that they migrated to Tirhut from Nisibis, a port in Persia, and that in course of time, their name "Nisibis" turned into "Licchāvi." But this is highly improbable as there is absolutely no record, Indian or foreign, of any Persian settlement especially as admittedly the Licchāvis were a highly civilised and long-settled and most powerful class in Tirhut in the 6th century B.C. when Nisibis came into existence.

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith on Vaiśālī, J.R.A.S., 1902. p. 267.

² Cf. Bka Panna Jataka, Buddha's Jatakas, Chambers, Vol. I, p. 316, 1895.

clan being called the Rājā or king. It is said that there were 7,707 such Rājās in the kingdom. Each Rājā was assisted by a viceroy, a general and a treasurer.¹

The Licchavis and Vrijjians, who were Kṣatriyās, were राजशब्दोपजीविनः गणराजानः i.e. they lived by the title of kings and were communal or republican heads unlike the Kambhojas and Saurastras (Ksatriyas),² who lived by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons (i.e. mercenary, tribal bands).

It is clear that all these 7,707 families were equals of one another in position, and it is stated that if quarrel broke out amongst the families, the heads of the families should not remain indifferent as the Gaṇa might otherwise be dissolved. But whether there were actually as many as 7,707 Licchāvi kings is by no means certain though their number must have been large enough. It seems as if each Licchāvi king (whom Kautilya calls "Rājā Subdopajivinah" called by the name or title of kings) had his own separate principality where he exercised independent powers in certain respects. Otherwise it is not clear why each Licchāvi king should have his own Uparājā (Viceroy), Senāpati (general) and Bhaṇḍagarikā (treasurer). But there is nothing on record to show in what respects they enjoyed individual powers and in what respects they exercised corporate powers.

The Licchāvis of Vaisālī and the Mallas of Kuśīna-

¹ Cf. Eka Panna Jatakas, Buddhas Jataka, Chambers, Vol. I, p. 315, 1896.

² Kautilya's 'Arthasastra' translated by R. Sama Siistri, Bangalore, 1915, P. 455.

The idea is that every one of these was called or passed for a Rājā (king) (in relation to his own class or community) though he was not really a king (in relation to the whole or general community). Considerable controversy centres round the expression गणराजानः (Gaṇarājauah), but the plain meaning of the word 'Gana' in Sanskrit is a body of followers, a group, a tribe or class, or an association of persons formed for the same object. Following the analogy of गणदेवताः (Ganadevataḥ), lit, groups of deities who generally appear in classes or troops (c., Amara Kosa).

आदित्य विश्वस वसुधिता भास्वरभिन्नाः ।

गणराजिकसाध्याश्च गणदेवताः ॥

गणराजानः (ganarajanah) would mean a group of rajas (kings) who worked together in a body. It follows that each individual Rājā (king) was a king (absolute) only in relation to his own class, but was only a limb of the whole body of kings in relation to the affairs of the numerous classes or communities jointly.

garam were ruled by the corporate heads of their families called Samghas or Gaṇas (=groups or clans). In the course of a discussion,¹ Buddha asked a Jaina monk named Sacchaka whether Pasonādi, king of Kośala or Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, had power to banish, burn, or destroy a man in his dominions. At the time of this discussion, some Licchāvis were present, and Sacchaka pointing to them said that if the Samghas and Gaṇas like the Licchāvis or Mallas exercised this power in their own kingdoms, certainly Ajātasatru and Pasonādi possessed this power. All the members of this Samgha or Gana were called kings and their sons were designated as Licchavi-Kumaras.

There was a special tank with the water of which the heads of the "Gaṇarājānaḥ" (the heads of the ruling families) were sprinkled while being crowned. This tank was covered* with an iron net so that not even a bird could get through and a strong guard was set to prevent any one taking water from it. This tank was called "Vaisālī nagara Gana Raja Kulanam abhiseka-mangala-pokkharanl."² This shows that the political Samgha or group was called Gaṇa which consisted of various Raja Kulas or royal families of the principal members or heads of which constituted the ruling class or Gaṇa. Thus it is clear that the real executive power was vested in the group of the heads of the ruling families and that no single member of the Gaṇa or group was by himself a Raja or ruler in the proper sense of the word.

The Licchāvis had an excellent legal procedure and their law did not admit of the punishment of guilty persons unless the guilt was conclusively brought home to the accused,³ and they had their own codes called Paveni Potthaka (Pramāṇa Pustak ?) (based probably on precedents) to guide them

Pramāṇo Pustaka.

¹ Cf. the Majjhima Nikaya, I, 231.; also Bhandarkar's "Carmichael Lectures," 1918.

² Cf. Buddha Sala Jataka, IV, 148-9 and 11, 21-2.

³ Cf. Buddha Ghosh's Commentary on the Parinibbanasuttam (Athakatha and Sutnangala Vilasini). V. A. Smith (Cf. Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233) observes similarity between the judicial system of Vaisālī and that of Tibet. He has not, however, given full details, but if the account of the Criminal Procedure of Tibet as given by Sarat Chandra Daśa (in the J.A.S., Bengal, 1895, p. 5) is correct, the similarity cannot hold good, inasmuch as in Tibet accused persons are subjected to all sorts of tortures as soon as they are arrested throughout the various stages before their formal conviction, whereas in Vaisālī, which was a republic, the accused was never maltreated before his conviction and was never convicted

in matters of civil usage. They disposed of their dead bodies either by cremation or by burial or by exposure.¹

It may be mentioned that Mithila and in particular Vaisālī are closely associated with the names of Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) and of Mahabīra Vardhamān (the developer of Jainism) who were contemporaries. Mahabīra, or Vardhamān as he is generally called, was a native of Vaisālī and is therefore called the Vaiśālīya or Nataputta (i.e. the son of the Nata, a clan of Kṣatriyas, who were settled at Kollage, a suburb of the town of Vaisālī). His father Siddhartha was married to a daughter of Cetaka, the then governing king of Vaisālī and was thus closely related to King Bimbisara of Magadha. Their son Mahabīra was born in or about 599 B.C. He entered upon his spiritual career at the age of 30 and in his long, wandering life of 42 years, he gathered a considerable following of monks, known as the Nigranthas,²

unless he had passed through several officers, such as Vinischay Mahamatra Vyavaharika, Sutradhāra (re-hearer of law-maxims). Asthā Kulika (officer over 8 Kulas or families), Senapati (General) Uparaja (Viceroy) and last of all the Raja (King) who after consulting the "Paveni Potthaka" inflicted a suitable punishment.

V. A. Smith (Ind. Antiquary, 1903. pp. 233-4) thinks that this practice of exposure was borrowed from Tibet where it is prevalent. But it may be remarked that though the present day Hindus dispose of their dead bodies only by cremation or by burial (as in cases of Sanyasis and children) still it appears that this custom prevailed not only among the Licchavis but also at least among the people of Magadha.

Fahieu, who visited Magadha in the 4th century A.D., writes:—

"North of the Vihara was the Smaśanāma which name means in Chinese the field of graves into which the dead bodies are thrown" (Legg's Translation of Fahien's Travels, Clarendon Press edition, 1886, p. 84).

Also it appears that in ancient days exposure of dead bodies was resorted to in several places in India (Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 80).

Thus it may be taken that it was an indigenous Indian custom which has now mostly disappeared.

² In Sanskrit, Nigrantha=without ties.

For the date of Mahabīra's death, cf. Burgess, Ind. Ant., II, 139, Weber Sacred Literature of the Jains, p. 133; also Barodia, History and Literature of the Jains, Bombay, 1909; Mrs. Sinclair-Stevenson, Notes on Modern Jainism, Blackwell, Oxford, 1910; Hoernle (Proceedings, A.S.B., 1898, pp. 39-53; also Hoernle, Ind. Ant. XX, 360; also *ibid.* ii, 363; ix, 158; xi, 245-246; xiii, 279; xxi, 57; and xxiii, 169; Jacobi, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, XLV, Introduction; also I.A., VIII, 30, and XV, 143; also J.R.A.S., Jan., 197, pp. 122-130.

Although the Digambara and Svetambara sects agree in placing the death of Mahavira 470 years before Vikrama, whose era begins in 58 B.C., the Digambaras reckon back from the birth and the Svetambaras from the accession of Vikrama. The records indicate that 551 or 543 or 527 B.C. may be regarded as the traditional date. Stulabhadra, ninth successor of Mahavira, who was mantrin of the ninth Nanda, is said to have died either 215 or 219 years after the death of Mahavira, the same year in which Nanda was slain by Chandragupta. Pusyatintra, who came to the throne, cir. 185 B.C., is placed in the period 323-53 after

or men who discarded all social bonds. They came to be known as Jains after Mahābīra's death about 527 B.C. The followers of Mahābīra from different parts of the country visited Vaiśālī where the Licchāvis used regularly to carry on discourses and disputations on high problems of life. The Jains are said to have been valiant disputants. Both men and women took part in the discourses, at the end of which some of them were united in wedlock on account of their agreement of views or as the outcome of mutual regard for their attainments.¹

It may, however, be remembered that such a religious toleration was sometimes absent at Vaiśālī where the followers of the one religion often decried the tenets of the other religion.²

The "Kalpa Sūtra" tells us that when Mahābīra died there was a splendid illumination³ at Vaiśālī which signified the enlightenment of human souls under Mahābīra's teachings.

Buddha was invited to Vaiśālī to deliver the people from a desolating pestilence. The miraculous coincidence of his arrival at Vaiśālī with the disappearance of the pestilence appears to have created a great impression and drawn a great number of disciples to Buddha. He left Vaiśālī after some time, but he visited it twice again and passed through it on his way to Kuśinagara (Cir. 487 B.C.)⁴ where he died.

Buddha delivered
Vaiśālī from a pestilence.

Mñhiv ra. Some Jaina traditions assign this event to 467 B.C., but this is at variance with the Buddhist tradition that Buddha died after Mahābīra.

¹ Cf. the Kulla Kalinga Jataka, Chambers' translation.

² Cf. the Mahābhagga, Chap. 6, Section 31.

³ It is a question if this had anything to do with the Hindu festival Dipāvalī which is observed by the Hindus as well as by the Jains.

⁴ That the death of Buddha occurred about 487 B.C. is based on the following arguments :—

(i) Dr. Fleet at one time held 482 B.C. to be 'the most probable and satisfactory date that we are likely to obtain' (J.R.A.S., 1906; p. 667).

(ii) A tradition places Dharma Asoka 250 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddhā, and makes him contemporary with the Chinese Emperor, She-hwang-ti, the builder of the Great Wall, who came to the throne in 246 B.C., became 'universal emperor' in 221, and reigned until 210 (Sarat Candra Dasa, J.A.S.B., Part I, 1886, pp. 193-203; and Rockhill, Life of the Buddhā, pp. 233, 237).

(iii) The 'dotted record' kept up at Canton until A.D. 489 showed 975 dots up to that year; 975—489=486 (Takakusu, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 51).

(iv) Paramārtha, author of the Me of Vasubandhu, places the teachers Vriṣa-gaṇa and Vindhya-vaśa, who flourished in the fifth century after Christ, as living in the tenth century after the Nirvāṇa (487 + 413=900).

Cf. also I.A. vi, 154; J.B.A.S., xxiii, 704; and C.A.S.R., iii, 126.

It may be interesting to mention that it was at Vaisālī that Buddha established the Order of Buddhistic nuns.¹ at the request of his cousin and disciple Ananda and his widowed mother.

Buddha had great regard for the Iyicchavis; when Ajātasatru, king of Pataliputra, sent his Minister to Buddha to take his advice as to his subduing the Licchavis, Buddha² said :—

" So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long as they live in unity and concord, so long as they act according to their ancient institutions, without enacting anything new or abrogating anything already established, so long as they honour their elders, so long as no women or girls belonging to their class are detained among them by force or abduction, so long as they honour the Vajjian shrines and observe their ancient religious rites, so long as they support and" protect the Arhats—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

¹ Cf. Vasali by V. A. Smith, J.B.A.S., iv, 1902, pp. 267-288.

² Cf. Maha Pari Nibbana Sutra, Chaps. 4 and 5.

Ajatasatru had no other alternative but to adopt the " divide and rule " policy to subjugate the Licchavis of Vaisālī. The extract below from the translation of the Attha Kathā will be instructive.

" In order to dissolve the alliance of the Vajjians, the king and his minister hit upon apian." The minister, in the Council of Ajatasatru, shall say: " Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial work," and quit the council. Thereupon the king shall say: "What does the Brahmin mean by interdicting our discussions regarding the Vajjians?" The minister will send some tribute to the Vajjians and the king will bring a charge against the minister and cut off all his hair. Then as he is the person by whom the ramparts and ditches of the king's capital were constructed and as he knows the strong and the weak, the high and the low parts of the king's fortifications, he will tell the Vajjians that he will be able to remove any obstacles the king can lay. When this will be accepted by the Vajjians the king will say, " let them come."

" The minister departed for Vaisālī, some did not want to receive him, others received him on the ground that he was so treated because he had advocated their cause and he, having been the Judicial Minister there, became so, also, at Vaisālī. Then he disunited them in the following manner. He once asked a Licchavi prince mysteriously, "Do people plough land?" another prince who was there asked him what he said and did not believe the answer given and so they quarrelled with each other. Another time the minister asked a Licchavi prince privately, in the presence of another, " With what curry did you eat your rice ? " This also, in a similar manner brought about a dissension between the two. On another occasion, he said to a Licchavi, "Are you a coward ? " to another "Are you a beggar " for he said, that others had been calling them so. Thus in course of years the Licchavis were entirely disunited. Then he requested the king to attack Vaisālī and he accordingly advanced with a large army. The tocsin of Vaisālī was sounded, but the people disregarded the call, saying, " Let the rich and the valiant assemble, we are beggars and cowards." The Vajjians again and again beat the tocsin but every time without effect. Thus they were easily conquered by Ajatasatru."

On another occasion, Buddha was invited and worshipped by a courtesan of Vaisālī named Ambapālī. The Licchāvis who disliked his taking meals there, wanted to take him to their own place, and Buddha¹ beholding them from some distance, said :—

"O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchāvis, behold the company of the Licchāvis even as a company of the Tavatimsa gods."

The Licchāvis on their part built a large number of monasteries and tanks for Buddha² and his followers. People from all parts of the country used to visit Vaisālī as a sacred place.³ Buddha used to engage in deep spiritual discussions with the Licchāvis who were a cultured people (as is borne out by several "Jātakas" and the "Dhammapada") in the Kutāgāra hall (gabled hall) which the Licchāvis had among other buildings erected especially for the purpose of Buddha's discourses.

The Licchāvis were thoroughly devoted to Buddha. When he passed Vaisālī on his way to Kuśīnagaram for his Parinirvāṇa (i.e. to breathe his last), the Licchāvis of Vaisālī followed him and to send them back to their homes, Buddha is said to have presented his alms bowl to them, to have drawn upon his miraculous powers and to have made a mighty river appear between himself and the Licchāvis who were thus compelled to retrace their steps.

Keśariya in Champaran district is supposed to be the spot where Buddha took leave of the Licchāvis and where he presented his alms bowl to them. It is believed that they erected a stupa over the spot where the alms bowl was presented by Buddha.⁴

¹ Maha Parinibbana Sattam, Chap. 2.

There appears to have been an office conferred by the Vrijjian rulers on a female designated the "Nagara-sobhini-Thanatavan" which may signify "the chief beauty of the place." Cf. J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. Q92.

² Cf. S.B.F., Vol. XI, p. 24.

³ The wife of Bandhula, the Commander-in-Chief of Kośalā, when pregnant, said to her husband, «' My lord, I desire to go to the tank in the city of Vaisālī to bathe in it and drink its sacred water, which is used by kings for ceremonial sprinkling at their coronation (Buddhasāla Jātaka, Vol. 4, p. 148).

* Cf. Beal's Buddhistic Records of the Western World, p. L U.

Keśariya contains what is popularly called Rājā Bena Cakravartī's deora (stupa) surrounded by a sheet of water known as Rājā Bena's digha. Rājā Bena is said to have been a Buddhist Rājā (Cf. Troyer, in Rājā Taringinī, I, 405). The ruins known locally as Rājā Bena's ranivāsa was apparently a Buddhist monastery.

We are told that Buddha rode from his father's house on his favourite white steed Kāṇṭhaka accompanied by his charioteer Caṇḍaka and after crossing the river Anoma, bade him return with the horse and assumed the garb of an ascetic. It is believed that the village Bihar in the district of Champaran marks the traditional site of Candaka's return and in any case, the name shows that there existed a Buddhist monastery at this place.¹ Buddha is said to have again passed through Champaran on his way from Vaisālī to Kuśinagara. Lauriya-Nandanagarha (in Champaran in Tirhut) is believed by some to be the site where the "Ashes Stupa" was erected over the ashes taken from Buddha's funeral pyre.²

At Buddha's death, the Licchavis are said to have destroyed all the heretical books to show their firm devotion to Buddha's creed.³ They obtained from the Mallas (a *quasi-Ksatriya* class of Kusinagaram) an eighth part of Buddha's relics on the ground that they were Ksatriyas like Buddha and erected a monument over the relics at Vaisālī.⁴

It may be mentioned that long after Buddha's death Vaisālī continued to enjoy its influence in Tirhut. There were stupas containing relics of Buddha and Ananda's bodies. It was full of sacred spots and was at one time considered so sacred that the 2nd great Council of the Buddhist church was held here (Cir. 377 B.C.)⁵ to settle a

Fahiau visited this spot and regarded it as the place where the parting between Buddha and the Licchavis took place. Hiuen-t-sang found the place deserted and identified it with the place where Buddha had reigned as a Cakravartī (i.e. an all India King) in a previous birth (Cf. Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVI, North and South Bihar). It is probable that the stupa at Kesariya is the same as was erected by the Licchavis on the spot where they were presented by Buddha with the alms bowl.

Is it probable that the rivulet Mekhawa (N.E. of Kesaria) or Baya (S.W. of Kesaria) represents the stream which Buddha is said to have made to appear before the Licchavis.

¹ Bihar or Vihara in Pali=Monastery.

² Cf. V. A. Smith's Article on Kusinara or Kusinagaram in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1902.

³ Cf. Ashwa Ghosh's life of Buddha, Eng. Translations, p. 276.

⁴ Cf. Ashwa Ghosh's life of Buddha, Fo-sho-ning tsam-king, pp. 328-9; also Beal's Buddhist records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 41.

⁵ According to Ceylonese tradition, it was held 118 years before Asoka's Coronation.—Cf. p. 7, Chronology of India, by C. M. Duff, 1899; also pp. 103-109 of Kerr's Manual of Indian Buddhism, and also p. LIV of Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II.

dispute between the strict and the lax sections of the Buddhist church. It is said that the council was attended by more than 700 monks and resulted eventually in the establishment of a strict order of discipline.

Vaisālī lay on the road between Pātaliputra and Nepāl and was visited by ASoka (Cir. 250 B.C.)¹ who erected a lion pillar there, though he is said to have removed off the sacred relics of Buddha. Nepal was at this time an integral part of the empire and was probably administered directly from the capital Pataliputra (Patna) as one of the home provinces. The royal road to it from Pataliputra appears to have led first to VaiSali and then passed Kesariya, Lauriya-Araraja, Bettiah, Lauriya-Nandanagarha, Jānki-garha and Rāmapurvā (where also there is a pillar near Pipariya not far from Sikarapura in the Champaran district) entering the hills by the Bhikhna Thori pass.

The Emperor's line of march probably followed the route taken by Buddha on his way to the place of his death and is marked by a lion pillar at Vaiśālī (Basarhin, Muzaffarpur district), by a stupa at Kesariya and by the pillars² of Lauriya-Araraja near Govindaganj, Iyauriya-Nandanagarha (15 miles north of Bettiah), and Rāmpurva (near Pipariah) in the Champaran district.

It is not known what happened to Vaisālī after Asoka, but it is said that it was from Vaisālī that Kaniska, the Kusāna king, carried off to Gandhara, the famous alms bowl of Buddha about or in the first century A.D.* Thereupon

1 Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal II, pp. 198 and 246-52; also Indian Antiquary, XIII, 412; also Levi, Le Nepal, Vol. I, pp. 263-331 and Vol. II, pp. 1-3, 344.

Cf. pp. 64-74 of Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1862-65. Also Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, for 1880, pp. 104-113.

The Lauriya-Nandanagarha and Araraja pillars bear the usual edicts of Asoka. The lion pillar at Lauriya is, however, damaged in the mouth and bears the inscription " Muhiuddin-Mahammad Aurangzib Badshah Alamgir Ghazisanih, 1071 (= 1661 A.D.). The Rampurva pillar is much damaged.

² Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pages 8-11; also Vaissilief's translations from Tārānāth. Pahien found this alms bowl in the 4th century A.D. in Gandhar; Cf. pp. 19-20, Giles' records of Buddhistic kingdoms.

Also Cf. J.R.A.S., July, 1913, pp. 627-650;

"	Jan.	1914	"	79-88
"	April	"	"	369-382.
"	"	"	"	403-410.
"	July	"	"	748-751
"	Jan.,	1915,	"	95-108.

we find that a local Rājā at or near Pātaliputra, bearing the famous name of Candragupta wedded, in or about the year 308 A.D., a princess named Kumārā Devī, who belonged to the ancient Licchāvi clan. During the long period of about eight centuries which intervened between the reign of Ajatasatru and the marriage of Kumārā Devī, the history of the Licchavis has been

The Licchavis help Chandragupta II to be a king, 308 A.D.

lost for the most part, although they are known to have established a dynasty in Nepal, which used an era believed to run from A.D. 111.¹ They now come suddenly into notice again in connexion with this marriage, which proved to be an event of the highest political importance, as being the foundation of the fortunes of a dynasty destined to rival the glories of the Mauryas. Kumara Devi evidently brought to her husband as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union, the Licchavis² were masters of the ancient imperial city, and that Candra Gupta, by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives. In the older days the Iyicchavis of Vaisali had been the rivals of the kings of Patliputra, and apparently during the disturbed times which followed the reign of Pusyamitra, they paid off old scores by taking possession of the city, which had been built and fortified many centuries earlier for the express purpose of curbing their restless spirit.

Candra Gupta was raised by his Licchāvi connexion from the rank of a local chief, as enjoyed by his father and grandfather,³ to such dignity, that he felt justified in

¹ The names of the Candraguptas of the Gupta dynasty are spelt with a hyphen, to distinguish them from the Maurya. (Levi, *Le Nepal*, i, 14; ii, 153.)

² It is related in the "Mahāvansa" and the "Malankara Vatthis" that there was a Licchāvi Rājā "Sisunaga" who removed his capital from Rajagṛha (in Magadha) to Vaisali (in Tirhut).

³ Cf. A.S.A.R., 1903-04; V. A. Smith's 'Revised Chronology of the early or imperial Gupta dynasty,' *Ind. Ant.* 1902, p. 257; V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 95; Fleet's notes in *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 342; Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions 'in *Corpus inscriptions, Ind.*' vol. I 11; also V. A. Smith's 'the Conquest of Samudragupta' in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 859; and *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 176.

Also the analogical account of king Udayana of Kausambi (in 'Katha Sarita Sāgara') who was son of Satanik, grandson of Sahasranika, belonged to the Bhārata family and was called vaidehiputra, i.e. son of the princess of Videha or Mithila.

assuming the lofty title of "Sovereign of Mahārājas" usually associated with a claim to the rank of lord paramount. He struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Licchāvis and his son and successor habitually described himself with pride as the son of the daughter of the Licchāvis.

Cāndragupta selected (about A.D. 330) as his *successor* the Crown Prince, Samudragupta, his son by the Licchāvi princess.

The excavations at Basārha have unearthed materials which disclose important information relating to Basārha in the 5th century A.D. Official seals, found at the excavations, were probably impressed on letters addressed by the Central Government at Pāṭliputra to the officers at Vaisālī. Some of these officers are described as being in charge of Trbhukti (ब्रह्मकृति). Other seals attached to letters sent by merchants and bankers point to the large commercial transactions conducted in those days. There have been found seals of mercantile and banking guilds and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that there existed a chamber of commerce even in those days. Various officers were named as Governor, Military Commander, Police Commander, Chief of the War Office Treasury, the Commander of the City, the Chief of the State Ministers. All this shows a highly developed form of government. It is remarkable that no symbol of Buddhism is to be found among the emblems on seals unearthed at Basārha. The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship, together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather lead one to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged, were followers of the Brahminical creed or Jainas, or both.¹

Important light on
Baisali by excavations

¹ Cf. Report on the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 8-11.

CHAPTER II.

CHINESE TRAVELLERS IN TIRHUT.

500 A.D. to 650 A.D.

The Chinese traveller Fa-Hien, who came to India at the beginning of the 5th century A.D., came to see the site of Candaka's return and returned to Vaisālī (modern Basarha in the district of Muzaffarpur) after doing homage to the "Ashes Stupa" at Kusnagara.

Fa-Hien writes :—

"It was by the side of the 'Weapons laid down' tope at Baisālī that Buddha, having given up the idea of living longer said to Ananda, 'In three months from this I will attain to pari-nirvana,' and Mara¹ had so fascinated and stupefied Ananda, that he was not able to ask Buddha to remain longer in this world."

* * * *

"When Ananda was going from Magadha² to Vaisali, wishing his pari-nirvana³ to take place (there), the devas informed king Ajatasatru³ of it, and the king immediately pursued him in his own grand carriage, with a body of soldiers, and had reached the river. (On the other hand), the Iyicchavis of Baisālī had heard that Ananda was coming (to their city), and they on their part came to meet him.

1 The king of demons. The name Mara is explained by 'the murderer,' 'the destroyer of virtue,' and similar appellations. 'He is,' says Eitel, 'the personification of lust, the god of love, sin and death, the arch-enemy of goodness, residing in the heaven Paranirmita vasavartin on the top of the Kāmadhātu. He assumes different forms especially monstrous ones, to tempt or frighten the saints, or sends his daughters, or inspires wicked men like Devadatta or the Nigranthas to do his work. He is often represented with 100 arms, and riding on an elephant.' The oldest form of the legend in this paragraph is in * Buddhist Suttas, 'Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xi, pp. 41-55, where Buddha says that, if Ananda had asked him thrice he would have postponed his death.

2 Magadha was for some time the headquarters of Buddhism; the holy land covered with Vijāras, a fact perpetuated, as has been observed in the name of the present Behar, the southern portion of which corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Magadha.

3 In Singhalese Ajāsāt. Cf. the account of his conversion in Mahavamsam of Ceylon (translated by Greiger, J. Pali Text Society, 1912), pp. 321-326. He was the son of the King Bimbisāra, who was one of the first royal converts to Buddhism. Ajāsāt murdered his father or at least wrought his death; and was at first opposed to Sakyamuni (Buddha). When converted, he became famous for his liberality and almsgiving.

(In this way), they all arrived together at the river, and Ananda considered that if he went forward, King Ajātsatru would be very angry, while if he went back, Licchavis would resent his conduct. He thereupon in the very middle of the river burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of Samādhi,¹ and his pari-nirvana was attained. He divided his body (also) into two, (leaving) the half of it on each bank ; so that each of the two kings got one-half as (sacred) relic, and took it back (to his own capital), and there raised a tope over it."²

Wang-Hiuen-Tse, a Chinese traveller, visited Baisall twice in the 6th century A.D. and in his second visit offered robes to Buddhist monks.³

Sung-Yun, another Chinese traveller, who came to India in the 6th century, mentions the place of Candaka's return and speaks of 40 countries, extending from the frontier of Persia on the west to Khotan on the borders of China on the east, the last one of which was Tieh-lo in the south, as being in possession of a people of Huns. It is sometimes thought that Tieh-lo represented modern Tirhut.

Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, came to Tirhut in the 7th century A.D. about the year 635. He visited the site of Candaka's return, which, he writes,

¹ Eitel has a long article on the meaning of Samadhi, which is one of the seven sections of wisdom (bodhyanga); Hardy defines it as meaning * perfect tranquillity.' Tumour, as meditative abstraction ; Burnouf, as self-control and Edkins, as 'ecstatic reverse.' 'Samadhi,' says Eitel, 'signifies the highest pitch of abstract, ecstatic meditation ; a state of absolute indifference to all influences from within or without ; a state of torpor of both the material and spiritual forces of vitality ; a sort of terrestrial nirvana, consistently culminating in the total destruction of life.' He then quotes apparently the language of the text. ' He consumed his body by Agni (the fire) of Samadhi,' and says it is 'a common expression for the effects of such ecstatic, ultra-mystic self-annihilation.' All this is simply 'a darkening of counsel by words without knowledge.' Some facts concerning the death of Ananda are hidden beneath the darkness of the phraseology, which it is impossible now to ascertain. By or in Samādhi he burns his body in the very middle of the river, and then he divides the relic of the burnt body into two parts (for so evidently Fa-Hien intended his narration to be taken), and leaves one-half on each bank. The account of Ananda's death in Nien-chang's 'History of Buddha and the Patriarchs' is much more extravagant. Crowds of men and devas are brought together to witness it. The body is divided into four parts. One is conveyed to the Tusita heaven, second to the place of a certain Nāga king, a third is given to Ajātsatru, and the fourth to the Licchavis. What it all really means is difficult to say.

² Pages 74 to 77 of "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Pa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (399-414 A.D.) by James Legge, M.A., LL.D., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886 edition.

³ Cf. Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 111; also Beal's Si-yuki, i, Introduction XV.

formed part of the kingdom of Rama, a kingdom which was desolate and uninhabited. A great stupa built by Asoka in a dense forest marked the site of Candaka's return.

Hiuen Tsiang's account of Tirhut, 7th century A.D.

From this place the traveller went to the stupa built over Buddha's ashes; which he passed on his way to Kuśinagar, through a great and dangerous forest, full of robbers, elephants, etc. It is now taken as a settled fact that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Tirhut formed a part of the empire of Harsa vardhan Siṅaditya of Kanauj.¹ He died in 648 and his minister, Arjuna, usurped the throne and attacked a mission which was on its way from the Chinese emperor.²

¹ Rhys David's *Travel of Ywan Chwang*, Vol. II, pages 63-80.

² During his lifetime, King Harsa maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese empire. A Brāhmaṇa envoy, whom he had sent to the emperor of China in 641, returned in 643 A.D. accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing a reply to Harsa's despatch. The mission remained for a considerable time in India, and did not go back to China until 645 A.D. The next year Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second-in-command of the earlier embassy, was sent by his sovereign as head of a new Indian Mission, with an escort of thirty horsemen. Before the envoys reached Magadha in 648 A.D. King Harsa had died, and the withdrawal of his strong arm had plunged the country into disorder, which was aggravated by famine.

Aryuna, or Arunāsava, a minister of the late king usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to the Chinese mission. The members of the escort were massacred, and the property of the Mission plundered but the envoys, Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleague, were fortunate enough to escape into Nepal by night.

The reigning king of Tibet, the famous Srong-tsan Gampo, who was married to a Chinese princess, succoured the fugitives, and supplied them with a force of a thousand horsemen, which co-operated with a Nepalese contingent of seven thousand men. With this small army Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains, and, after a three days' siege, succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhut. Three thousand of the garrison were beheaded, and ten thousand persons were drowned in the neighbouring river (?) Aryuna fled and having collected a fresh force, offered battle. He was again disastrously defeated and taken prisoner. The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners, and in a later action captured the entire royal family, took twelve thousand prisoners, and obtained thirty thousand head of cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns made their submission; and Kumara, the king of Eastern India, who had attended Harsa's assemblies a few years earlier, sent in abundant supplies of cattle, horses and accoutrements for the victorious army. Wang-hiuen-tse brought the usurper as a prisoner to China, and was promoted for his services. Cf. Lt. Col. Waddell's *Tibetan Invasions of India* in 647 A.D. and its results (*A.S.B. Review*, Jan., 1911, as well as his *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 1895, pp. 20-41); Sarat Chandra Dasa (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, Part I, 1881, pp. 217-22); Sir. M. A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907; Watters' *Work on Ywan Chwang*, i, ii.

It will thus appear that both Nepal and Tirhut came under the Tibetan sway after this event. Mr. P. Silvain Levi conjectured that in the year A.D. 879 the epoch of the Nepalese era might possibly mark the time when Nepal threw off its allegiance to Tirhut (*Le-Nepal*, Vol. II, 1905, page 182). But it appears from Chinese sources that Tibetan rule in Tirhut lasted only for about half a century from A.D. 648—703, the date when Nepal also recovered its independence, as determined by Mr. B. H. Parker from the histories of T'ang dynasty of China. "In the year 703 it is recorded that both Nepal and India threw off Tibetan suzerainty, and that the then king of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he had

Hiuen Tsiang¹ writes that the kingdom of Vaisālī was about 1,000 miles (5,000 Li) in circuit and that it abounded in fruits, flowers, mangoes and plantains and all sorts of riches. The land was fertile and was blessed with a temperate climate. The people were fond of learning and religious pursuits.

It is said that the Vrijjian kingdom (to the north-east of Vaisālī) of which the capital was Chansuna (Janakapura) which was in ruins, was about 300 miles (4,000 Li) in circuit and that the inhabitants had mostly discarded Buddhism.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Vaisali was about 12 miles in circuit and was inhabited by Jains, Hindus and Buddhists, the last of whom were practically the least important from a numerical point of view. The city was in an advanced state of ruin and all traces of the Buddhist gardens and monasteries except three or four containing a few monks had disappeared. The Jains were numerous and the Brahmanical Hindus worshipped at a score of shrines.²

It seems probable that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Vaisālī or Tirhut formed part of the empire of King Harṣa who ruled over Northern India between 606 and 648 A.D.³ Vaisali is said to have been the only great city in the territories of the free clans who formed so impor-

organized against them." (The Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 129-52. Also an article by Mr. V. A. Smith, pp. 555-56, Vol. III, part IV, of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December 1917.)

¹ Cf. Rhys David's "Travel of Yuan Chwang (Vol. II), pp. 63-80, and also S. Beal's "Life of Hiuen Tsiang (1914).

Hiuen Tsiang states that Buddha told Anathapindikā that there were hidden treasures at Pandukā (in Mithilā), Pingalā (in Kalinga), Sankhā (in Kāśī) and El Patra (in Gandhār). These treasures will be revealed when Maitreya attains Buddhahood and would never experience diminution when drawn upon. But what it means is not easy to understand.

² Cf. Dr. Bloch's Report Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-4.

Dr. Bloch writes, "Turning to the emblems on the seals, the first thing that strikes one is the total absence of any symbol of Buddhism. * * * The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather led me to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged were followers of the Brahmanical creed of the Jainas, or both. There is, however, proof that Buddhists remained there probably until the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, in the Buddhist images recently found among its ruins which belong to the end of Buddhist history in India."

³ Cf. pp. 173-180 of Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, by S. Beal. Also cf. pp. 210-224 of Buddhist Records of the Western World, Beal.

tant a factor in the social and political life of the 6th century¹ A.D.

Another Chinese traveller who visited Mithilā and Vaisāli was It-sing whose record is valuable as showing the actual practice of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D.²

Nothing can be said as to what happened to Vaisālī or to the Vrijjian kingdom after the destruction of king Harṣa's empire.

¹ Cf. Buddhist India, p. 40 by Rys David.

² Cf. It Sing's record of Buddhist religion in India translated by Dr. J. Takakusu, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896.

PART I I I .

CHAPTER I.

TIRHUT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 13th CENTURY A.D.

Nothing definite is known of Tirhut after king Harṣa's death for about 200 years, except as we have already said, that soon after king Harsa's death (648 A.D.) his minister Aryuna usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to a Chinese mission which was on its way to King Harṣa's Court. The then *King of Tibet*—Strong-tsan-Gampo, who was related to the Chinese Emperor; succoured the surviving members of the mission who had fled into Nepal and *Tibet* defeated Aryuna, occupied Nepal and Tirhut, and held them under his sway up to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.¹

Towards the middle of the 9th century A.D., it is probable that Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, exercised some influence over Tirhut.² It is not known how long and how far his influence extended. But it appears that at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Yasovarman³ Chandella is represented as warning against the Maithilas Gaudas (Bengalis) and Chedis and at the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Palas were superseded by the Chedis of central India, who, owing to an upheaval or commotion in the country, made dash northwards and occupied Tirhut among other tracts. The Carnatics (Nanyupa's family)⁴ seem to have come to

¹ Cf. an account of this episode.

² Cf. E. I, i, 122 ff.; and C.A.S.R. ii, 451.

³ Cf. J.B.A. iv, 123, IA. vii, 91; ix, 188; xiii, 414.

* The occupation of Mithila by the Chedis may appear strange at the first sight, but Puranic records place Magadha under them during the time of the Mahabharata.

Thus the Ādi Parva of the Mahabharata (cir. 500 B.C.) ch. 63, verses 29-38, state that Vasū, the rājāh of Chedi, had five sons, each of whom founded a separate line of kings, one of whom was Brabadratha who became ruler of Magadha (and father of Jārasandha) and that near his (Vasu's) capital was a river called Saktimati and a mountain called Kolahāl and that a daughter of the river Saktimati (produced by

Tirhut in alliance with the Chedis¹ and it is probable that they took advantage of their decline at the end of the ninth century A.D. to carve out a principality for themselves.²

Gaigeyadeva ruled in Tirhut in Samvat (Vikrama) 1076³ (=1019 A.D.) and may be identified with Gaigeyadeva Kalacuri⁴ of Chedi whom Alberuni mentions as a ruler of Dahala in 1030 A.D.⁵ Gaigeya is also known from some coins found in Gorkhapore.⁶ He is said to have died under the Banyan-tree at Allahabad in 1040 A.D. Both he and his son, Karna, who is said have reigned for 60 years, held Gauda (the then capital of Bengal under the Hindu kings) under their sway. Karna's son⁷ seems to have invaded and subdued Champaran. Thus there were at least three rulers of this Chedi dynasty who can account for about a century (Cir. 1000 to 1100 A.D.) in Tirhut.

It has been assumed that Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty

intercourse with mountain Kolahal) was Giriki whom Vasu married. As a matter of fact, the Kauakol mountains, the river Sakri and Giriak [the name of a hill near Rajgriha in the Patna district, which may have been so called after an old branch of the river Sakri (traces of which still exist) which might have been called daughter of Saktimati] exist close together in south Bihar (Patna, Gaya and Monghyr districts) and it is probable that these names are corruptions of Kolahala, Saktimati and Girikā. It is equally probable that the southern part of the Kauakol range was called Saktimati from which (according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*) issued the Rishikulya (probably the river Kiul), Kumari (probably the river Kaurhari), and others including the Saktimati which was so called after the hill of its issue (following the analogy of Mekhalanaudini, etc.) It is not improbable that the Chedi kingdom extended from south Bihar to Jubbulpur, near which exists Tewar which possesses inscriptions showing (according to the identification by General Cunningham) to have been Tripura, a capital of the Chedi kingdom. If this hypothesis has any foundation in fact, it is remarkable that the Chedis again extended their sway to Magadha and Tirhut in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

¹ Cf. Simrān dynasty, Chapter II.

² Cf. pp. 18-19 of "Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms which is a part of Catalogue of palmleaf manuscripts in the Nepal Durbar Library by H. P. Sastri; also Manuscript No. 1079 (p. 34 of the Catalogue) of the *Ramayana* and particularly the Colophon at the end of the Kiskidhya Kanda:—

सम्वत् १०७६ आषाढ वदि ४ महाराजाधिराज पुष्पावलीक सीमवंशीक गौडवंश श्रीमद्
महोदयदेव भूख्यमान तीरभुञ्जी कल्याण विजयराजो नेपालदेशीय श्रीमंशुभाक्षिक श्रीमान्दास
पादकावस्थित (कायस्थ) पण्डित श्री श्री श्रीकुरस्यामज श्रीगोपतिना जेदिदम् ।

³ Cf. *Emp. India*, II, 9, 11; *ibid.*, IX, 129. Also Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol^s IX, X, XX; *Fact J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 566.

⁴ Cf. p. 202, Alberuni's *India*, by E. C. Sachaw, Vol. I, 1910.

⁵ Cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Grandrass, I I. 3B), p. 31.

⁶ Cf. *Ind. Ant.* XVII, p. 215, and XVIII, p. 217, C.A.S.R., IX, 82; E. J. ii, 297; *ibid.*, ii, 1093; also *Vikramankacharitam*, 18, 95, etc; also Bendall's *History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms*, p. 15; also p. 19 of the Introduction, *Memoirs R.A.S.B.*, Vol. III.

⁷ V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 400 and 401.

conquered Mithilā from Rājā Bhima at the beginning of the 12th century A.D., but this assumption rests on no authority. Bhima was a Raja of the Kaibartas who acquired supremacy in Bengal including Varendra (Rāma Pāla's fatherland) and was defeated by Rāma Pāla. He is never known to have come to or to have acquired Mithilā.' In fact, it is not exactly known what influence the Palas exercised over Tirhut in nth century A.D.

At or about the time of the death of Madanapāla, the last king of the Pala dynasty, a Rājā named Bijaya Sena, whose capital was at Gauda in Bengal, founded a rival dynasty in Bengal commonly called that of the "Sena Kings," which wrested the Eastern Provinces from the hands of the Pala Dynasty, the power of which was then much circumscribed.

There is no doubt that the Sena kings exercised considerable influence or ruled over Mithilā. The Sena rule in Mithilā is still commemorated by the use of the Laṣkmana

Influence of the Sena
kings, 1119-20 A.D.

¹ Cf. "Rāmacaritam" by Samdhyaṅkara Nandi, edited by H. P. Sāstri. Calc, 1910 (Memoirs of the R.A.S.B., Vol. 111, pp. 1 to 56). This work can be interpreted in two ways either for "Rama" (the hero of Ramayana) or for "Ramapaia" of the Pala Dynasty. The conquest of "Janakabhu" will therefore mean conquest of the land of Rāmpal's father (i.e. Varendra) and not that of Mithilā or Tirhut.

Cf. also the 'Pala Kings' (Memoirs of the A.S.B., 1913).

A careful perusal of the two ślokas on which the assumption (that Rama Pāla conquered Mithilā) seems to be based will show that he conquered his father's country, i.e. Varendra.

१ । माम् सभुजोर्बिर्दशकेन जगज्भूर्दक्षुनीपधिप्रतिजा ।

दिव्याकृतेन सीता वासासंज्ञितर (रा) चारि कामास्य ॥

२ । इति श्लाघामागत्य चिताम् (ताना)भूमिं स जानकीं निज भवे ।

चक्रात्मकरः प्रयिताभिज्ञो ह च कथन्निघ्नयथाभूतां दशम् ॥

The word 'Janakabhu' has been used in the same sense in the following śloka:—

यस्योर्जसस्त-पौरवस्य रूपतेः श्रीरामपादोऽभवत्

पुत्रः पादकुसुमाधिप्रीतिकरितः साध्याच्च विष्णुतिभाक् ।

तेने येन जगज्भवे जगज्भू-ज्ञाभाद् यथावदसः

ज्ञौनी-मायक-भौस-रावत-वभासुर्गोर्बोक्षमात् ॥

Cf. Vaidyadeva's Kamauli Tamrasasan (copperplate) 4th śloka—Gauramāṭā, pp. 129, 138.

As regards Bhima's supremacy in Varendra (and Bengal) cf.—

अन्यथा सा भूमिः अभिष्यायामाका वरेन्द्रीनका चस्य दिव्योक्तस्य यो सभुजो बर्दोकः स
नदीय तमयस्य भौसनाजः रग्ध प्रहारिनः क्रियात्मस्य चक्रकर्मीस्य यथोक्त क्रमेण रक्षणीयाम्भूत् ।
स तत्र भूपतिः वर्त्तमानः ॥

Sena's Era,¹ the first current year of which corresponded with 1119-20 A.D. (513 H.) which was either the date of the coronation of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the great king of the Sena Dynasty or the date of his birth in which case it was started by his father Ballala Sena.

But this Sena supremacy over Tirhut did not last after the close of the 12th century A.D. and both the "Palas" and the "Senas" were swept away by the torrent of Muhammadan invasion at the end of the twelfth century, when Kutb-ud-din's general Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar, stormed Bihar in (A.H. 589) 1193 A.D. and surprised Nudiah in the following year. The Musalman general who had already made his name a terror by repeated plundering expeditions in Bihar, seized the capital (Bihar) by a daring stroke. The almost contemporary historian met one of the survivors of the attacking party in 1243 A.D., and learnt from him that the fort of Bihar was seized by a party of only two hundred horsemen, who boldly rushed to the postern gate and gained possession of the place. Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the shaven-headed Brahmanas, that is to say, the Buddhist monks, was so complete, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of the monasteries, not a living man could be found who was able to read them. "It was discovered," we are told, "that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they called a college Bihar,"

It may be mentioned here that of the early Muhammadan writers, Alberuni who wrote his work on India at Peshawar at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. has mentioned a place called Tilawat near the country of Nepal. It has, therefore, been said sometimes that Alberuni's Tilawat was meant for Tirhut which was known to him. But as it is certain that Alberuni never went

¹ Several theories have, from time to time, been advanced regarding the titiation of the Sena Era—for detailed account, cf. pp. 299-300 of Vol. I, History of Bengal (Bangala Itihasa), by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition.

² Cf. Raverty's translation, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 552.

³ Cf. Preface to Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition of 1910. Alberuni writes, "Marching from Kanoj towards the east, you come to *Bari*, 10

beyond Peshawar, and as his description of the people of Tilawat does not apply to the people of Tirhut, it is doubtful whether his Tilawat was meant for Tirhut.

The Muhammadan rulers or conquerors of Bengal began to exercise some influence over Tirhut at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In those days Iyakhanaṭavi was the stronghold of Muhammadan influence in Bengal, and the 4th Mullick of Iyakhanaṭavi, Sultan Hasmuddin, is said to have received tribute from Tirhut. But there is no detailed description of Tirhut. It is however said that the 9th Mullick Izuddin-Togril (1233 to 1244 A.D.) invaded Tirhut and carried away a large booty.¹

Gayasuddin, who was originally appointed the Muhammadan Governor of Bengal, overran Tirhut about the year 1225 A.D.

Al Badaoni writes :—

" Another was Mullick Husainu-d-Din,² one of the nobles of Khilji and Garmsir and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtiyar, who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengala and Jainagar and Kamrud and gained the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and seventy thousand *tanqahs*³ in the cash as present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) so will it.⁴

" And in the year 622 H. Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behar and Lakhnauti and brought Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din Khilji, who has been before mentioned into obedience, and having accepted the presents above men-

farsakh; Dugum, 45 farsakh; the empire of Shilahat, 10 farsakh; the town of Bihar, 12 farsakh. Further on the country to the right is called Tilawat, the inhabitants Taru, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Kamru, which stretch away as far as the sea. Opposite Tilawat the country to the left is the realm of Nepal " (cf. p. 201 of Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition, 1910).

¹ Cf. Raverty's translation *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 587 and 737, etc.

² Cf. pp. 86 and 91 of Al-Badaoni's 'Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh' translated by Rankin, Vol. I, 1898 edition.

³ Tanqah. For the value of this cf. J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. i, p. 343, also Raverty 584, note 2, Thomas Chr. Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 161 and p. 49 note.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure " (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*).

tioned established the *Khutba* and *Sikka* in his own name¹ and having given his elder son the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud having fought with Ghiyasu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death, great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent as reward to each of the nobles of Delhi."

But it is not certain that he established any lasting supremacy in the country. About the middle or before the middle of the 13th century, it appears that a Hindu dynasty was founded at Simraon in the Champaran district, and it held its sway over Mithila and Tirhut for about a century.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMRĀON DYNASTY.

A short description of the Simrāon dynasty may not be out of place here.²

The capital of the Simrāon dynasty was Sivarāmpura (modern Simrāon), a village situated jtlst beyond the north-eastern boundary of Champaran in the Nepalese territory. It contains an extensive mud fortress now in ruins.⁴ This dynasty is said to have lasted from about 1100 A.D. to 1324 A.D.

The founder of the Simraon dynasty was one Nānya or Nānyupa Deva who is said to have come from Karnāta in Southern India, to have established himself at Simrāon, to have subdued the whole Mithila, and to have overcome the king of Nepal.

**Nānyadeva, the founder
of the Simrāon dyuasty.**

¹ Cf. Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage. Thomas puts the year 626 A.H. as the first of the silver coinage.

² Cf. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, Part 1, 1903. Also Vol. XI, Nos. X and XI, November, December, 1915.

³ Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11. Also the introductory verses of Candewara's Kṛty ratnakara.

It is not exactly known how these Karnatics from Southern India found their way into Mithilā and Nepal. But it appears from Ksemesvara's *Chandra Kausika*¹ that Rājā Mahipālā of the Karnāta dynasty defeated Karnatic Rājā who had invaded Bengal. But it is not certain who these Karnatics were and whether they had any connection with the family of Nanya Deva who established his principality in Mithilā² and Nepal,³ It is probable, however, that this Nanya Deva was a contemporary of Bijaya Sena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal.

According to Vidyapati's *Bhu-parikrama*⁴ (*Purusa-parikṣā*) his (i.e. Nanyupa Deva's) son Malladeva took service under Jayacandra, king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj). As Jayacandra is known to have flourished in the 2nd half of the 12th century, Nanyadeva⁵ may be assigned to the

¹ Also p. 253, Hunter's statistical account, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, 1877.

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृति गङ्गनामाख्यां चाणक्यनीति

चलानन्दान् कुलुमनगरं चन्द्रमुनी जिगाय ।

कर्णाटलं भुवमुपगतानल तानिव चक्रुः

दार्दपीयः स पुनरभवत् श्रीमहोपाख्यदेवः ॥

Cf. p. 223, vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa) by R. D. Banerji.

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 188; Vol. XIII, p. 418.

³ Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, p. XV. The different genealogical trees of the family given by Pische Wright and Jayapratap's inscriptions differ considerably.

⁴ Cf. p. 290, Vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa) by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition; also cf. Pische, *Katalogue der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. II, p. 8.

Cf. P.N. 5.

Vidyapati's *Bhuparikrama* which was later expanded into the *Purusa-parikṣā*, its extant eight tales forming the first chapter thereof.

साक्षीनिधिलायां कर्णाटकुलसंभवस्य नान्यदेवमाज्ञो राज्ञः पुत्रो मङ्गदेव नामधेयः कुमारः ।

कुमारः कान्यकुलं नाम जनपदं जगाम तत्र च जयचन्द्र माज्ञो राज्ञः Fol. 18b of the Sans. Coll.

Tradition asserts that Nanyupa had two sons, Gangeyadeva and Malladeva, after whom the Gangāpur and Malladihā Talukās, about 36 miles respectively to the east and south of Madhepura in Bhagalpur district, are known.

⁵ Certain ślokas prevalent about Nanyadeva show that he ascended the throne in Śaka 1019 (= 1097 A.D.).

रासोवेति मङ्गोवेति वेतिराजापुद्गरा । अक्षकक्ष्य धवं प्राप्य नान्योराजा भविष्यति ।
नन्देन्दु विन्दु विधु सन्निभ शक्र वर्षे २०१८ तच्छयावसेधिनदके सुनिधिक्षितिव्याम् । स्नातो
मनैस्वर दिने करिवैरिहो यो नान्यदेव लपनिविद्धोत नास्म ॥

Cf. pp. 10 and 11, *Ain-i-Tirhut*, by Babu Bihari Lal Sahib (1883 edition), printed at the Bahar Kasmiri Press (Lucknow).

There is an inscription of Pratāp Mall of Nepal dated Nepal Sambat 769 or 1648 A.D. In this inscription Nanya Deva family has been described.

beginning of the 12th century A.D.¹ As stated in the Ghashtnar Kathā of the Purusapariksā, Jayacandra, king of Kanauj, was defeated and killed in the War wjth Shah-buddin by the treachery of his queen. We know from history that king Jaycandra of Kanauj was defeated by Shah-buddin, alias Muiz-zu-ddin Muhammad in 1194 A.D.²

Cf. Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 188. Bhugwanlal Indraji's Inscriptions from Nepal No. 18.

भूयः त्रैलोक्यमणो नरपतिरतुलो रत्नमणो ऽप्यनुष्मात् तस्मात् त्री लोख्यमणो । खनिपतिर-
भूतनमू-जोऽमराक्षमणोऽ भूतस्य पुनोरिपुमयविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राक्षमणः ।

There is yet another śloka also :—

त्री व्योतिमन्न च्चदयमन्मथयमन्नः सर्वाङ्ग सुन्दरवपुरतिमन्न वारति । भग्नापुरी नगरवासिन्
सौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्ष दुःखमय चारचदेव कूर्तिः ॥

There is yet another śloka :—

आसीत् त्रीलोक्यवर्गं रघु नृपकुलजो रामचन्द्रोऽप्येषः तद्गङ्गे मान्यदेवीऽनिपतिरभवत्तत्पुनः
गङ्गदेवः । तत्पुनोऽभूत्सिंहो नरपतिरतुल्यस्तुतो रामसिंहः तज्जः श्रीशक्तिपञ्चो धरणिपतिरभूत्
भूप भूपालसिंहः तस्मात्कर्पाट चूडामणिश्च हरयुग्मिह देवोऽस्य वंशे ।

त्रीलोक्यवर्गं प्रभवः प्रतापः त्रौपङ्गवन्तः स्त्रियमन्नदेवः राज्ञदेव्याः पतिरिन्दुर्भुक्तिस्तस्याम्भोजो
श्रीजयधर्ममन्नः तस्मान्भुजो गुहमिधिः सुल्लैकसिन्धुर्भातातुमध्यजवरो जयञ्चोति मन्नः । तस्मान्भुजो
मदमरन्ध्रमभान देवभातः कनिष्ठ हविरोजय कीर्तिमन्नः ।

Cf. also pp. 31 and 32 of " Saraswati " for January, 1918.

¹ The Purusapariksā Durbhanga edition, pp. 223—233.

(The 12th tale of the fourth chapter.)

² Cf. Empire India, Vol. IV. page 121 ; and also C. M. Duff's Chronology of India, page 169, 1899 edition.

It appears that Jaycanda of Kanauj came to Benares in 1193 A.D. and established himself there. About the year 1195 A.D. it appears that Muhammad Ghori commanded Kutubuddin to advance with a vast force to fight with the Raja of Benares (Jay a Canda) who was slain in the action (Taju-L-Ma-Asir of Hasan Nizam, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 222-23).

" Shahab-ud-din Ghori, king of Ghazni, sent his slave, Kutbuddin, to make war against the provinces of Hind and this General made an incursion in which he killed many, and returned home with prisoners and booty. The king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa (Malwa), and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey of Lahore. When he was informed of this inroad, he collected his forces, and in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), he entered the territories of the Muhammadans. Shahab-ud-din Ghori marched forth to oppose him, and the two armies met on the river Yamina, which is a river about as large as the Tigris at Musal. The Hindu prince had seven hundred elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million. There were many nobles in his army. There were Mussulmans in that country since the days of Mahmud-din-Subuktgin, who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works. When the two armies met there was great carnage ; the infidels were sustained by their numbers, the Musulmans by their courage, but in the end the infidels fled, and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense ; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Ninety elephants were captured, and of the rest, some were killed and some escaped. The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognized his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being

But the tradition relates that one of *his* sons reigned in Nepal and the other, Gamgā Deva (or Gaṅgā Deva), in Mithilā. The latter is traditionally credited with having introduced the system of fiscal divisions or *pargannas* for the purposes of revenue administration ; while a *Chaudhuri* or headman was appointed in each *parganna* to collect the revenue, and a *pancayata* was chosen to settle all disputes. Gaṅgā Deva was succeeded by his son Narasimha Deva, who is said to have had a quarrel with his kinsman, the king of Nepal, the upshot of which was that Mithilā and Nepal were separated never to be united again. Rama Simha Deva, who succeeded his father on the throne, was a pious devotee and a firm patron of sacred literature. Under his auspices several well-known commentaries on the Vedas were compiled, rules were framed for the guidance of Hindus in their religious and social observances; and an officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of these new canons of conduct. Various reforms in the system of internal administration are also attributed to this king. In every village, a police officer was appointed whose duty it was to make a daily report of all occurrences worthy of note to the *chaudhuri* or head revenue collector of the *parganna* ; the latter being assigned, in return for his services, a certain quantity of land, the produce of which was appropriated by him and his heirs in office. To the same period too is assigned the rise of the system of *patwaris* or village accountants, who were, it is said, paid at fixed rates from the village funds.

fastened in with golden wire. After the flight of the Hindus Shahab-ud-din entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon fourteen hundred camels. He then returned to Ghazni. Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shahab-ud-din, and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. No one should be surprised at what I have said about the elephants, for they understand what is said to them. I myself saw one at Musal with his keeper, which did whatever his keeper told him" (Kamilu-T-Tawarikh of Ibn Asir, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 250 and 251).

It may also be that this Shahabuddin Mohd. Ghorī was the same person as Ghazī Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Sam. Minhaj, the author of *Tabakat-i-nasiri*, writes that under the orders of Sultan Sam, Kutubuddin Aibak defeated Rai *Jaya Cauda* of *Bsnares*, A.H. 594 (1194 A.D.) and he also conquered the Eastern Provinces of Bengal and Behar (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajū-S-Siraj, page 300, Elliot, Vol. I).

Rāmasimha Deva is mentioned in the book *Suddhikalp-taru* which was completed on the 14th of the bright half of the month *Pauṣa* in *Samvat* 1446 (1st January, 1390 A.D. which was a Saturday)—India Office MS. 4741, of the *Suddhikalp-taru*, fol. 62 b:—

संवत् १४४६ समय पौषशुद्धि १४ शनैः श्रीमन्नारायणपुर नृपनारायणदेवादि + + +
हरनाराजी विभाज नाम महाद्वयनि श्रीमन्नारायण सिंहदेव भुञ्जमानथा etc.

Rāma Simha Deva seems to have been a liberal patron of learning. His officer (Sadasya) Srikara Acarya wrote the Vyākhyā amṛta, a commentary on the lexicon Amara-koṣa. Under his patronage Ratneśvara Miśra wrote a commentary on the rhetorical Sarasyati-kaṇṭhabharaṇa (the Ratnadarpaṇa) and Prthivīdhara Acarya wrote a commentary on the drama Mrchakatikā.¹

On the death of Rama Simha Deva, his son Sakti Simha ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king.

Hari Simha Deva, the son of Sakti Simha, was the last but, in popular esteem, the greatest of the line. It was this king, it is believed, who grouped the Maithil Brāhmaṇas into the three main divisions of Srotiṛya, Yoga and Jaiwaras, made a classification of the sub-castes according to *mels* and *dihś*,² introduced the other matrimonial arrangements prevailing to this day, and established the order of Pañjiars or genealogists, who keep intact the purity of the Brāhmaṇa blood ; the latter measure is said to have been taken by him in consequence of one of his ministers having married, in ignorance, a lady within the prohibited degrees of relationship. With this king at least we enter upon historical ground. In 1323, the Emperor Cyasuddin Tughlak led his victori-

Harishhha Dēva, the greatest king of Simrāon dynasty.

¹ For Śrīkara, Nepal Durbar Cat. p. 23 :—

इति मिथिलामहोमहेन्द्र समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमानश्रीम + + + वरसम्प्रसादपुष्पाव-
लोक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्भामसिंहदेवाजी सदाय महामहोपाध्याय श्रीश्रीकरविरचितायाम-
मरकोविवरण टीकायां व्याख्यास्तुताभिधानायां भूकण्ठे + + + दिवरत्न समान् This com-
mentary of Śrīkara is quoted in Jagaddhara's commentary on the Venīsamhāra
nāṭakam, इति मरकोटीकायां श्रीकरः (Nir. Sag. Press ed., p. 39). For Ratneśvar R.
Mitra, Notes IX, p. 230, and Peterson's 3rd report, p. 350 (attributed to
Ramasimha Deva in text, and to Ratneśvar in colophon):—

श्रीरामसिंहदेवम होईयइहिलहिवा ।

क्रियदेवजमिभूपाल कल्यामरदर्पणः ॥ [१ ॥]

For Prithivīdhara Ācārya, cf. Weber's Berlin Catalogue, p. 161, मिथिलामिपति
श्रीमद्भामसिंहदेव ।

² This is based upon tradition backed up by the Maithila Pañjis.

ous forces into Tirhut on his march back from the defeat of Bahadur Shah, the rebellious Governor of Bengal, and proceeded to reduce this outlying portion of the empire and appointed Ahmad Khan as Governor. Hari Simha fell back on the capital, Simraon, but this was soon taken and reduced to ruins. Ferista gives the following account of its capture¹:—

"As the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Rājā appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort surrounded by seven ditches, full of water, and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Rājā and his family were taken and great booty obtained."

The account generally received is that Hari Simha escaped to Nepal, conquered it, and established himself at or near Bhatgaon; and that his descendants continued to rule that country till they were displaced by Prthwi Narayana on the Gurkha conquest of Nepal in 1769.² Recent researches, however, seem to show that neither Hari Simha nor his ancestors succeeded in maintaining any effectual authority over Nepal, and Professor Bendall sums up the position of this dynasty as follows:—"Until more evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer to regard Hari Simha and his ancestors, who reigned in Tirhut, Simraon, and also possibly other parts of the 'Nepal Tarui, as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all."³

¹ Cf. pp. 406-407 of the History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D. translated from Ferista by Briggs, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908 edition; also Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 8, 188, 194 and 199; J.R.A.S. iv, 124; IA, XIII, 414; ETH, 403.

² Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, 1880.

³ Prof. C. Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms, J.A.S.B. Vol. L X XII, Part I, 1903.

The śloka below gives the date of Harisirhadeva's flight to Nepal as śakā 1245 (1324 A.D.).

बाबाबिबाऊ हरिसिंहान्न शाकवर्षे,
पौषख मङ्गलदशमी दिनिसुबारे ।

It is not certain what became of Harisimha's, family- after his defeat by Gyasuddin Tughlak. - The Nepala Vamsāvali¹ (genealogy) and some Nepal manuscripts mention that Harisimha invaded Nepal in Newar Samvat 444 (=1324 A.D.), but they do not say what happened after this invasion to the family of Harisimha. It is generally admitted that Jayasthiti, a descendant of Harisimha, defeated Jayarjuna, Raja of Nepal, and married princess Rajalladevi of the Nepal Raja family in the Newar year 474 (= 1353 A.D.), established a reign of peace in Nepal, and encouraged learning.² It is possible that some of Harisimha's successors ruled off and on in Nepal, though it is not unlikely that they had a disturbed crown as it appears that Jayarajana or Jayadeva of the Nepal Raja family was ruling there soon after Harisimha's invasion.

As regards Mithila, it is said that three of his succes-

त्यक्ता स पट्टमपुरी हरिसिंहदेवो
दुर्दैव दर्शितपथे गिरिमाविशे ॥

Cf. pages 17, Ain-i-Tirhut by Behari Lal, 1883, the Bahar Kasmiri Press, Lucknow. The date of Harishhha's birth is mentioned as Sakā 1216 and the date of the preparation of the Tirhut Punjis (genealogical tables of the Brahmins) as Sakā 1232. Cf. the following sloka on the same page :—

शके श्रीहरिसिंहदेव नृपतिभूयार्कतुल्योजनिः तस्याःइतमितेभ्यो द्विजगणः पक्षी प्रबंधकतः ।

D. W. Right in his history of Nepal has mentioned one Harideva of Nepal as separate from one Harisimhadeva, a Rājā of Oudh, who was expelled by the Muhammadan power from Oudh, came and settled down at Simraon and then conquered the Nepal Valley, but did not maintain any effectual authority over it. But it may be conclusively mentioned that no Muhammadan historian has mentioned any Rājā named Harisiriha Deva of Oudh and that the story regarding the Oudh origin of Harisiriha Deva is a myth.

But cf. the reference to Harisiriha Deva's sovereignty in Nepal in Indian Antiquary, 1880, p. 189, inscription No. 19, verse 10 :—

आतः श्रीहरिसिंहदेववपतिः प्रौढ प्रमापोदयः
तद्वंशे विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः ॥
कर्ता यः सरसामुपेत्य मिथिलां संलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो
नेपाले पुनराद्य वैभवयुते स्त्रीर्य विभजे चिरम् ॥ १० ॥

Also cf. Pandit Bhagwāna Lāṭa's note on Nepal ruling family. Ind. Anti- quary, 1884, p. 414, which assigns definite periods of reigns as :—

Nanyadeva—50 years.
Gangadva—41 „
Nṛsimhadeva—39 „
Rāmasimha—58 „
Harisimha—2 8 „

¹ Cf. Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscripts, No. 6 of the Dentsdomorges (Dr Pischels, Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV of Historical Introduction, Bendall's Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883.

² Cf. pp. 11-13 of Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms.

sors, viz. Mati Simha, Sakti Simha and Syama Simha ruled in successive order¹ for 15 and 22, and 15 years respectively. This would carry on his line in Mithilā to the year 1375 A.D. But it is most probable that Gyasuddin Tughlak installed some body in power on the defeat and expulsion of Harisimhadeva in 1324 A.D. and so Harisimha or his successors simply continued struggling in Tirhut after installation of a ruler by the Muslim Emperor. It is probable that Kāmeśwara and his descendants who were given the place of Harisimha, ruled for some time side by side with Harisimha and his descendants and that they could consolidate their power only after a struggle of some 50 years after the installation of Kāmeśwara.

The internal and the external evidence makes it certain that there were branches of the same original stock both in Mithilā and Nepal, though the Mithilā (vSimraon) dynasty was crushed out of existence by the Muslim onslaught and that the living members of the Mithilā dynasty settled down after this event in some parts of Nepal.

Though Nānya Deva, Gaiigadeva, Narasimhadeva, Rama Simha, Sakti Simha and Hari Simha have been recorded as kings of this dynasty in successive order, yet the two most important personages were Nānyadeva and Hari Simha Deva.

Harisimha Deva has been mentioned as king of Mithilā by Candewara in the introduction to his Kṛtya-ratnākara. In the same introduction Candewara, his father Vireśwara, and grandfather Devaditya, are called ministers of this king.² Ganeswara, son of Devaditya,

¹ Cf. Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscript, No. 6 of the Deutsdomorges (Dr. Pischels' Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV, Historical introduction, Bendall's Sanskrit Manuscript, Cambridge, 1883.

² The Kṛtya-ratnākara, As. Soc. Bengal MS., fol. 1a, Ind. Govt. MS. 3604 fol. and I.O.MS. No. 1387:—

अस्मिन्नौदरसिंह देव वपतिर्निगोप विदेभिषा ।

निर्माणी मिथिला प्रसादद्विला कर्वाड वंशोद्भवः ॥

आत्माः सिद्धिं यो यशोभिरसकैः पौयषधाराद्भवै-

र्देवः शारदशर्ष्वरी पतिरिषायेय प्रियभाजुकः ॥ ४ ॥

Cf. also the *Puruṣa-parikṣā*, 2nd chapter, the story of Subuddhi:—

and author of the sugatī¹ sopana, also calls himself a minister. Candéswara is said to have conquered Nepal for him after, which the minister performed the great religious gift of *tulā-purna* (gift of gold of the donor's weight) on the bank of the Vāgmati river in the month of Mārga, Saka 1286, or November, 1314 A.D.⁴ As Candéswara's father and grandfather had already served the king, the latter must have begun to rule several years before 1314. It would not thus be far from truth to infer that Harisimha Deva was ruling from the last decade of the thirteenth century.

In the *Dāna-ratnākara* Candeswara is described as having rescued the earth flooded by Mlecchas, 'Kavisekharācārya Jyotirīśvara in his two act comedy, the *Dhūrtasamāgama*,' is a little more definite. The comedy was played in the court of Karnāta-curaṃani, king Harisithhadeva, who is said to have conquered Suratana (Sultan). The Sultan referred to is most probably the Delhi Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, who in 724 H. (1324 A.D.) marched towards Bengal through Tirhut.⁵

आसीन्निधिलायां कर्षाटकुलसम्भवे हरिसिंहदेवो नाम राजा । तस्य मातुलसिद्धास्य
पारगामी दण्डनीतिकुलस्यो गणेशरत्नमधेयो मन्त्री बभूव ॥

Also Bhandarkar's reports, 1883-4, p. 48: Hal's *Sāṅkhyaspravachana*, p. 36.

For the ministership of Viresvara and Devāditya cf. the introductory verses of the *Kṛtya-ratna* and the *Kṛtya-cintāmani* (I.O. 1621), and also the final colophons of the various sections of the *Ratnākara*.

¹ Cf. Ind. Gov. MS. 6126, Intr. verse :—

वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि हृद्वा लोकहितैषिणा ॥

छनं सुमनिसौपानं श्रीगणेशरत्नमन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

² Cf. the *Kṛtya*, *Dāna* and *Vivāda-ratnākara*.

³ The *Dāna-ratnākara*, final verse 2. R. Mitra, Notices, VI, 135, No. 2069 :—

मग्नः श्लेषमहार्चये येनोद्भूतालीकृत्या

⁴ The *Dhūrtasamāgama* nātaka the comedy of meeting of the cheats, printed (Calcutta and Bombay), Nep. Durbar Notices, p. 66.

नामाद्योषकिरुद्धनिर्जितसुरचाचच सहासिनी-

दत्यक्षीमकबन्धमेलकदलदं भूमि धमदु सुधरः ।

अलि श्रीहरसिंहदेव स्वपतिः कर्षाट कुलामणि-

द्वयत् पार्थिवसारथीमोहि मुकुन्दन्यलाङ्गिपद्मेरुः

The Calcutta printed edition has नरसिंह for हरसिंह

⁵ The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 234, says, "When the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of kakhnauti, Sultan, Nasir-ud-din, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan, and without the sword being called into requisition, all the Rāfs, and Ranās of the country made their submission."

It may therefore be taken that the comedy was played before the king, Hari Simha Deva, not earlier than about 1325 A.D.

With the flight of Hari Sithha, Tirhut became practically a dependency of the empire of Delhi, and Emperor Gyasuddin Tughlak placed it under Kamešwar Thakur, the founder of the Sugaona or Thakkura dynasty which continued to rule over Tirhut till early in the 16th century.

It has already been said that the Rajas of Mithilā as of the rest of India were subject to the Delhi Emperor so far as they had to pay revenue, otherwise they were independent. Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's son, Muhammad, issued coins with the mint name Tughlakpur'Urf Tirhut. Two of them still exist. They belong to the forced currency system (brass for silver), and one in the Indian Museum is dated Cr. 731 H. (1330-1 A.D.).¹ Furthermore Vidyapati in his tale of the Satyvira (the truthful hero) narrates that Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastinapura, had a fight with the king Kafar (Kafar-rāja) during which Muhammad's men began to retire, on which he called for some warriors to stem this retreat; that prince Narasirihā Deva of Karnata kula and prince Carcikadeva of Cauhana kula stepped forward, and that Narasimha² ultimately killed the Kafar raja,' whose head was cut off and taken to Muhammad by Carcikadeva.

¹ These two unique coins, specimens of Muhammad's mad attempts to force people to use brass coins in the place of silver for the same value, are of 140 and 133 grains respectively. For the coins of 140 grains cf. Rogers' Indian Museum Coins, Part I, p. 63, No. 12911; and Bourdillion's Catalogue of Ind. Mus. Coins, Vol. I I, p. 60, No. 384. For the coin of 133 grains, cf. J.A.S.B., 1883, p. 62V, fig. 32 and Rogers' Cat., Part I, p. 63, No. 12912.

² The name Nṛsimha, too, appears in the traditional account of Nepal inscription. He is named also in the Danapaddhati where the author Rainadatta declares himself to be his mantri or minister. Ramdatta was uncle's son of Candesvara Thakkura and was therefore near in time to that author. Hence Ramadatta's master Nṛsimha must have been near in time to Candesvara's master, the king Harisinhadeva, and very likely succeeded him.

The Dana Paddhati, I.O. MS. 1714 (p. 550) :—

आनन्तलिनिपाहसौलिवलभी प्रत्यक्ष राजाकुलः
 ज्योतिः आनन्तपाहपुत्रयुक्तः श्रीमन्नुचिन्दी श्वयः ।
 सौर्य श्रीनिकषः प्रभासि मिथिलाभूमण्डलं रंजयन्
 कर्षाढान्वयभूषणः कृतधियां निर्याजकल्पद्रुमः ॥ १ ॥
 मन्त्री तस्य सवलतो गुरुरिव श्रीरामदत्तः सनात्
 आधारः सुकृती सनत्तनुषन प्रख्यातदानीकषः ॥ २ ॥

³ Vidyapati's Bhuparikramaṇa, Sans. Coll. Cat. VI, 79, fol. 27A-B :—

The rule of this dynasty left its mark on Sanskrit learning of Mithilā. Smṛtic studies were renewed and considerably developed by Candeśwara and his family, and by such notable scholars as Sridattopādhyāya, Harināthopādhyāya, Bhavesarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakṣmipati. Padmanābha Datta started an important school of grammar with his Supadma and its supplements, works which are still studied in the districts of Jessore and Khulna in Bengal. On rhetoric and erotics, Bhanudatta Misra and some other authors wrote some of the most popular works.¹ Among literary compositions the commentary of Bhavadatta on epic poem Naisadhacaritam is still studied with interest; while the commentary of Prthvidhara Acāryya on the drama Mṛcchakatika written under the patronage of Rāmasimhadevā has been already noticed. Lexicon was represented by Srikara Acāryya (commentary on the Amara-koṣa). Jyotirīśvara also deserves mention for composing the earliest extant work in Maithili vernacular, the Varṇaratnakara.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUGAON DYNASTY (OF KĀMESWARA).

An account of the Sugaon dynasty may be interesting. Kameśwara² was the founder of this dynasty and he was set in his place as a ruler of Mithilā by the Delhi Emperor Gyasuddin Toghlaq. Vard-

Kāmeśwara, the founder of the dynasty, under the protection of Firoz Shah Toghlaq.

पुरा वल्लिनपुरनाम्नि मगरे महामदमासा यदनेश्वरो बभूव [॥] अस्मिन्नासमुद्रं धरणीवल्लयं
शासति मनुकैर्वाचस्पतिः काश्वराजसमभियोगुं सकलवल्गुसहितसत्ताजगाम fol. 208.
तत्र यवनराजवचनं तुला कथादिकुलसंभवी नरसिंहदेवमासा चौहानकुलसंभवशार्चिकनासा च
राजकुमारौ प्रोचतु..... ॥

¹ In rhetorics the Saraswati Kanth-abharana was commented upon by Ratueśvara and in erotics Jyotirīśvara wrote the Pāncāśayaka and Rāṅgasekhara, both quoted in mediaeval literature.

² Cf. Dr. Grierson's notes on mediaeval poets and kings of Mithilā, Indian Antiquary, p. 192, Vol. XIV, 1885, and p. 57; Vol. XXVIII, 1899; also Journal,

dhamāṇa has mentioned him in his Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka. It appears that he was a Brāhmaṇa and Rāja-Paṇḍita, as mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Dāna Vākyaṭali.² Kāmeśwara was succeeded by his son Bhogiśwara, who has been mentioned as a ruler in some of Vidyāpati's songs.³ It is said that Kāmeśwara was deposed in favour of his son Bhogiswara by Firoz Shah Toghlak.⁴ Both were thus contemporaries of Firoz Shah Toghlak. Bhogiśwara is traditionally said to have been succeeded by his son Gaṇeśwara.⁵

Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. L X V I I I (1899), Part I, p. 96; also C. Bendall's Notes, Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1903, pp. 18-19; also Eggling, India Office Catalogue, pp. 875-6. Sugaon was the name of a village where the members of this family are said to have originally settled down. Its identity is not yet settled. Some place it at the modern village of Sugaon near Bettiah, others identify it with Sugawnā near Madhubani.

¹ Cf. the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. p. 75 No. 198), Introd. verse 2 ;—

कामेशो मिथिलासमस्त, etc.

The date of Kāmeśwara's instalment as ruler of Mithilā is uncertain. It is certain that Gyasuddin Tughlak expelled Harisirhadeva from Mithilā about 1324 A.D. and it is most probable that he set another man in his place in the same year. But as there is some reason to think that Harisimha's successors lingered on in Mithilā some time after his expulsion, it may be safe to assume that both the families ruled in different parts of Mithilā for some time before Kāmeśwara or his successors finally drove them out. Also as it is certain that Deva Sirīha who lived about 1410 A.D. was preceded by 5 Rajas of this dynasty, it is most probable that the first Raja of this dynasty was installed in his place about 1325 A.D. even if only 15 years' reign is assigned to each of them. There are some songs (in the Maithili dialect) which would show that Sivasimha, who succeeded Devsimha, was the real or most powerful ruler. This would indicate that his predecessors were not fully established in authority perhaps as Harisimha's successors were struggling for their existence as rulers.

² Cf. The Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-lata, 2nd pallava, p. 3 :—

प्रति कामेश्वरसम्राट्— and the Dāna-vākyaṭali (R. Mitra, Notices, V, p. 137, No. 1830, and R. Bhaṇḍārīkara's Report for 1883-4, p. 352) introd. verse 3 :—

श्रीकामेश्वरराज पण्डित कुलासङ्कार सारः त्रिया, ।

मा रामो नरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूमण्डलाब्जंलः ॥

³ The Pad avalī (edited by Babu Nagendranatha Gupta in Bengali Sana 1316), song No. 801, the end verse :—

राजभूमिसर मुचमानरारे ।

पद्मादेवि रमान ॥ १ ॥

⁴ Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-lata, 2nd pallava, p. 4 :—

मति कामेश्वरसम्राट् । अथ अपद । तसुनन्दन भोगीश राख वर भोज पुरंदर

पिण्डसखा मणि पिण्डरोजसाख सुरतान समामल

⁵ Cf. p. 416 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. X I, Nos. 10 and 11, 1916 edition.

Birasimhadeva followed GaneSvara. He was followed by his brother Kirtisimhadeva. Birasimha and Kirtisimha were sons of GaneSvara. Kirtisimha has been praised by Vidyāpati in his Kīrtilatā.¹

Bhaveśa or Bhavasimhadeva succeeded Kirtisimha. He was the younger son of Kameśvara. According to Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣā Bhava Simha Deva gave up his body before Lord Siva on the bank of the river Bagmati.²

Bhava Simha Deva was succeeded by his son Deva Siiiiha whose viruda³ was Garuṣa Nārayana. He patronised the Paṇḍitas. By his order Vidyāpati wrote the

Parikramaṇa describing the travel of Baladeva from the Naimisya forest to Janakadesa (Mithila)⁴ in the course of which he was told eight moral tales, with this king's consent, Śrīdatta compiled the smṛtic Ek-agni-dana-paddhati.⁵ Harihara, grandfather of Murari, was his Chief Judge.

It is certain that Deva Simha lived before the L.S. year 291 (=1410 A.D.) when the copying of a manuscript of Śrīdhara's commentary on the Kāvya Pradīpa by order

¹ Cf. Ind. Govt. MS., 2nd pallava, p. 4 :—

चन्द्रचूड चरणसेव समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहीरसिंहदेव तत्कालिष्ठ गरिष्ठ गुण कीर्ति सिंह भूपास ॥

Also Ind. Govt. MS., 1st pallava, introd. verse 5, p. 1 :—

श्रीतुर्ज्ञातुर्बहान्यस्य कीर्तिसिंह महीपतेः ।

करोतु कवितुः काव्यं विद्यापतिः कविः ॥

² Cf. Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣa, the end verse No. 1 :—

वासव्यां भवसिंहदेव नृपतिस्त्वक्का शिवासेवयुः ।

पूतो यस्य पितामहस्वरगमहारदयःसंज्ञतः ॥ १ ॥

³ Viruda-Poetic or honorific name according to qualification.

⁴ Cf. The Bhu-parikramaṇa, Sanskrit College MS., VI, 79 (fol. 1a) introd. verses 23 :—

देवसिंह निदेशाच्च मेनिवारणवासिनः ॥

शिवसिंहस्य पितुः स्वतपोऽपि निवासिनः ॥ १ ॥

पंचषष्टि देशयुतां पंचषष्टि कथाश्रितां ॥

सतुः खण्डसमायुक्तामात्रं विद्यापतिः कविः ॥ २ ॥

From several ślokas in the Bhu-Parikramaṇa, it would seem as if Deva Simha had some intimate connection with Naimiṣāranya (now Nimkharin dist. Sitapur).

⁵ The Ekāgni-dāna-paddhati (Nepal Notices, p. 129) introd. verse 1 :—

दातुः पंचसि सप्तती नरपतेः श्रीदेवसिंहस्य सः ।

श्रीदत्तो विनमोसि पदमिनिमानमेकाग्रिदाभोक्षिताम् ॥ १ ॥

of Vidyapati was completed and when Siva Simha was ruling Tirhut,' and also before the L.S. year 299 (= 1418 A.D.) when a manuscript of Sridatta's Ek-agni-dana-paddhati (compiled under this king's order) was completed.²

He is said to have removed his capital to a place called Devakuli which he named after himself.⁵

Deva Simha was succeeded by his son Śiva Simha who has been highly praised by Vidyapati in his Puruṣa-parikṣa.⁴ Siva Simha bore the "Viruda", Rupa-Narayaṇa. Vidyapati has praised him and his queen Lakhimadevī in a very large number of his songs. Vidyapati's songs mention Trpura Simha, Aryuna Rai, Amara Simha, Rudra Simha, Rai Damodara and others as contemporaries of Siva Simha. But no authentic proof regarding these princes is available. He is said to have built his capital at Siva Simhapura or Gajarathapura. Siva Simha was ruling in the La Samvat 291 when a manuscript of Śrīdhara's Kavya-prakāśaviveka was copied

Vidyapati's praise of
Siva Simha and his queen
Lakhimadevī.

¹ Cf. the Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka, Ind. Govt. MSS. fol. 117a.

इति महासाध्यायकुर औश्वरविरचिते काव्यप्रकाशविवेक(के) दशम उच्चारः ॥ शुभमस्तु
समस्तविद्यदायकौ महाराजाधिराज औमशिवसिंहदेव संभुञ्जमान तौरभुक्तौ श्रीगजरथ-
पुरनगरे सप्रक्रिये सद्गुणधायकुर औविद्यापति नामाकृषा स्त्रीपालस औप्रभाकराभ्यां
लिखितेन हस्ताभ्यां [] लसं २८१ कार्तिक वदि १० []

According to a song attributed to Vidyapati, Devasimha died on a Thursday, month Caitra, 1418 Sam. 293.

अनलरं भकर लजन नरवरं सक समुदकर (पुर?) अगिनि मयी चतकारि वदि जेठा
मिखितौ बार वेदपरं जाउलसी ॥

परिषद् पञ्चावलि, २४, पृष्ठ ४३१ ।

² Nepal MSS. Notices, page 129, the final colophon :—

इति महामहोपाध्याय मिश्र औनगेश्वराख्यलिखित + + + + ध्यायश्री औदय पञ्चा-
वेकाग्रि विधि महाधन विधानं पूर्णम् । समाप्तोयं ग्रन्थः । शुभमस्तु । लसं २८८ पौष शुद्ध ८ चन्द्रे
... औधनेश्वरेण लिखितेयं पुलीति ।

³ Cf. p. 57 of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, 1899.

⁴ The Puruṣa-parikṣa (Mitra, Notices V. 245, No. 1022) the introd. verse 3 :—

निखेसाग्निसङ्घं सहसि शिवसिंहसिद्धिपतेः ।

कथानां प्रसादं विरचयति विद्यापति कविः ॥

And the final colophon of the 4th pariccheda :—

इति समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमानरूपनारायण महाराज औशिवसिंहदेव पादानामाकृषा
औविद्यापति विरचितानां पुस्तकं पठित्योनाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः समाप्तोयं ग्रन्थः ।

Cf. also I. A., XIV, 182, lxix. 1 (Grierson). Bhandarkar's reports, 1883-4, 48, 50, & 52.

by order of Vidyapati.¹ Padma Simha, younger brother of Śiva Simha, succeeded him and has been mentioned by Vidyapati in *Saiva-sarvaśva-sāra*.²

According to *Puruṣa-parikṣa* and *Saiva-Sayvvaswasa*, Vidyapati is said to have defeated the rulers of Gauda (Bengal) and Gajjan.³ It is not known who was this ruler of Gajjan, but perhaps he was some Muhammadan ruler near Tirhut. Śivasimha appears also to have struck gold coins * in his name and it is probable that he succeeded in making Mithila absolutely independent.

Harisimhadeva, who was younger son of Bhava Simha and a younger brother of Deva Simha, succeeded Padma Simha. He has been mentioned by Vidyapati in his *Bibhagasara*. He has also been mentioned by Vacāṣpati Miśra in *Kṛtya-mahārṇava*⁴ and *Mahā-dāna-nir-ṇaya*, by Miśaru Miśra in his *Vivāda-candra* and *Varddhamāna* in his *Gaṅga-kṛtya-viveka*.⁵ He must be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnat dynasty.

Harisimhadeva was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva, whose "Viruda" was *Darpanā-rāyaṇa*. By his name or by his viruda

he is mentioned in several works, e.g. in Vidyapati's *Dana-vakyavali* and *Durga-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, in Vacāṣpati Miśra's *Kṛtya-mahārṇava*, *Vyavahara-cintamāṇī* and *Mahādāna-nirṇaya*, in Miśaru Miśra's *Vivādacandra*, in Rucipati's *Anaṛgha-Raghava-tika*, in *Varddhaman Gaṅga-*

¹ Cf. India Govt. MS, fol. 117 a.

² Cf. The *Saiva-saravvasva-sāra*, introd. verse 6 and 8 :—

सङ्ग्रामाङ्गणसीम भौम सदृशस्तस्मानुजस्मंलस-

दानं स्वल्पिन कल्पयन् महिमासौ पद्मसिंहो नृपः ॥ ५६ ॥

पत्न्युः सिंहासनस्था प्रयुमिच्छिलमङ्गी सपदलं पालयन्ती

श्रीमद्विद्यास देवी जगति विजयते चर्ययाऋन्मतीव ॥ ८ ॥

³ Cf. *Puruṣa-parikṣa* and *Saiva sarvasvasva-sāra*.

⁴ Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14.

⁵ The *Vibhāga-sāra* (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 68, No. 2037) introd. verse 2 :—

राज्ञो भवेशाङ्गरि (र) सिंह आसीत्, the *Kṛtya-Mahārṇava* (R. Mitra, Notices V. 202, No. 1886), and the *Mahādāna-nirṇaya* (Nepal MSS., p. 122), introd. verse 3—

सग्राम सीमनि भग्नित्तरी करिष्यत् आनिर्वृद्ध सनयो हरसिंह देवः ॥ ३ ॥

⁶ The *Vivāda-candra* (Sansk. Coll. Cat. II, 116), introd. verse 3 :—

तस्मादमनोजनि स्तुमुसारोधीमानुमास्तुसमान सारः ।

राजोपजीव्यो हरसिंह माला ततो नृपो दर्पनारायणोभूत ॥ ३ ॥

krtya-viveka, and in Gaḍadhara's Tanṭra-pradīpa.¹ He should be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnāta dynasty.

Two of his queens are known, Dhīramatī by whose order Vidyāpati wrote the Dāna-vākya-āvalī, and Hīrā, mother of Candrasīmha mentioned in Miśra's Vivāda-candra.*

Narasīmha's eldest son, Dhīra Sīmha, succeeded him.

Dhīra Sīrha. He bore the "viruda" of Hridaya-narayana. He is mentioned in Vidyāpati's last work, the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, in Vacaspati-Miśra's Vyavahara-cintāmaṇi, in Madhu-sudana Miśra's Jyotiṣa-pradīp-aṅkura, and in Gaḍadhara's Tanṭra pradīpa.³

On a Saturday when it was new moon of the month of Kārtika in Lakṣmaṇasena year 321, a MS. of Srinivasa's Setu-darpani (a commentary on the Prakṛta poem Setu-bandha) was copied while Dhīrasīmha was ruling Tirabhukti (Tirhut). It appears that in 1438 A.D. the Kartika new moon fell on Saturday (18th October).⁴ Thus

Dhīra Sīmha lived in
1438 A.D.

¹ Cf. the Dāna-vākya-āvalī (R. Mitra, Notices, V, 137 No. 1830; R. Bhandarkar's Rep. for 1883-4, p. 352; I.G.M.S. 5545) the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī (Ind. Govt. Newari MS. 4860 fol. 1a), introd. verse 3:—

सखि श्रीनरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूमण्डलाखण्डलो etc,

and the end verse No. 2 —

भूप श्रीमहोदयसिंहसखिलकः श्रीदर्पनरायणः ।

The Vivāda-candra and the Gaṅga-krtya-viveka have been quoted already in note 4 on the previous page.

For Rūcīpati's mention of Narasimhadeva, cf. the Nīrnayasagara Press edition of the Anargha-Rāghava-tikā, introd. verse 2, p. 2:—

अभूदभूत प्रतिपत्तौतिः सदा समासादित भूमिनीतिः ।

चिरं कृतार्थो ह्यन भूमिदेवः स्फुरत् प्रतापो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ २ ॥

² The Dāna-vākya-āvalī, introd. verse 4:—

विज्ञानुज्ञाप्य विद्यापति सति कृतिनं सम्प्रभाषामुदाराम् ॥

राश्रीपुष्पावलीका विरचयति मर्वा दानवाक्यावलीं सा ॥ १ ॥

and the Vivāda-candra, introd. verse 4:—

दर्पनरायण खपतेः श्रीमहोरा मन्त्रादेवी ।

अलभत् सुनयं तनयं नरपति मुद्राक्षिपरीतं प्रूरम् ॥ ५ ॥

³ This prince Gaḍādhara was a son of Raghavendra, who was son of the King Dhīra Sīmha.

⁴ Cf. the Setu-darpani, final colophon:—

परमभट्टारकेत्यादि महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजसेन देवीयैक विंशत्यधिक शतचयनमाके

it is clear that Dhīra Simha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century.

Bhairava Simha was the younger brother and successor of Dhīra Simha. Dhīra Simha had at least one son, Rāghavendra. It is not known how Bhairavendra came to oust him out of the throne. But in the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī Bhairavendra is highly praised, and from his "Viruda"¹ Rupanārāyaṇa, it is not improbable that he was ruling jointly with Dhīrasimha at the time, just as Sivasimha is said to have been ruling with his father Devasimha. He appears to have assumed, probably when he became the sole ruler, the other "Viruda" tlarinārāyaṇa. By his name or his later viruda he is mentioned in other works, such as Rucipati's Anargha-Rāghavatikā, in Vacaspati Miśra's Dvaita-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-maharṇava, Mahādāna-nirṇaya, Sudr-ācaracintāmaṇi and Pitrabhakti-taraṅgiṇi, and in Varddhamāna's Daṇḍa-viveka, and Gaṅgā kṛtya-viveka.²

कार्तिकामावस्थायां धर्मो समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपुराज कंस नारायण शिवभक्तिपरायण
महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमदीरसिंह सन्मुख्यमानायां तीरभृत्तो ज्ञानापुरतया प्रतिबन्ध (ह) सुन्दरी-
प्राने वसता सदुपाध्याय श्रीसुधाकराजामात्मजेन ज्ञानश्रीरत्नेश्वरेण स्वार्थं परार्थं च हितहितमिदं
सेतुदर्शनीयस्तकमिति ॥

Dhīrasimha is here given the viruda Kamsa-narayana an epithet also suggested in the introductory verse 6 of the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, and adopted later on by Lakṣminātha :—

देवी भक्तिपरायणः युनिमुख प्रारब्धपरायणः
संप्राने रिपुराज कंसदहन प्रत्यक्षनारायणः ।
विशेषां हितकाम्यया नृपवरोनुज्ञाय विधापतिं
श्रीसुयोगेश्वर पदमिति सतनुते दृष्ट्वा विबन्धयति ॥ ६ ॥

Cf. pages 425-26 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for November and December 1915, Vol. XI.

¹ Cf. I.G.MS. 4760, fol. 1a, the introd. verse 5 and the end verse No. 2 :—

श्रीध्यावर्जित पद्मगौडधरश्रीमाधोपमसौष्ठवा-
नेकोत्तुङ्गनरदसङ्गत सितचन्द्राभिरामोदयः ।
श्रीमद्देव सिंहदेव नृपतिर्यस्यानुजन्मजय-
त्याचन्द्राकर्मचक्रकीर्तिसहितः श्रीरूपनारायणः ॥

² Cf. The Anargha-Rāghava-tikā (Nirn. Sag. ed.), p. 2 introd. verse 3 :—

कमुखास्त वसुधरापरिदृष्टानन्दकण्ठहिते-
राधारो जगतामघोष विदुषां विनामकल्पद्रुमः ।

Only one queen's name is found,' Jayā (Jayātmā). She was mother of Rājādhirāja Puruṣottamadeva, and at her instance, Vacaspati wrote the Dvaita-nirṇaya, on the doubtful points of smṛti,¹²

Bhairavendra patronized the Sanskrit learning. Under his patronage, Rucipati wrote his commentary, Vacāspati Miśra compiled the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, Kṛtyamaharṇava and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya and Varddhamana Upādhyaya composed the Daṇḍa-viveka.³ Vacaspati was his "pariṣad" or officer, and Varddhamana his dharmadhikaranika⁴ or Judge.

दानेक्षणं कथाबलेपनिपुणः संसाररत्नाङ्कुरो

भूमिपाल शिरोमणिर्विजयते श्रीभैरवैन्द्रो नृपः ॥ १ ॥

Also J.R.A.S., n. s., XX, 554.

¹ Tradition says that there were two queens, Jyano and Jūyano. Jyano's son was Garuḍanārāyaṇa Purṣottamadeva and Jūyano's son was Rūpa Nārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra. He succeeded Bhairava Siṃha.

² Cf. the Dvaita-nirṇaya (R. Mitra, Notices, 1, p. 149 No. 275), introd. verses 5 and 7:—

विष्णोर्लङ्काः पुरमिव शङ्कोरिव देववामाङ्गणम् ।

देवीसुनाभिरैवा जयति जयात्मा महादेवौ ॥

श्रीभैरवैन्द्र धरणीपति धर्मपालो राजाधिराज पुष्पोत्तमदेवसमा ।

वाचस्पति निखिल सत्त्वविदं नियुज्य दैते विनिर्णयविधिं विधिरुचनोति ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. the colophons of Anargha-Rāghava-tikā,

इति समस्तप्रतिधाविराजमान रिपुराज कंस नारायण भवभक्तिपरायण श्रीहरिनारायण पदसमल्लस महाराजाधिराज श्रीमङ्गैरव सिंहदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहित वैजालीपान वास्तव्यशौचालंकरणभव श्रीवचपति महोपाध्याय विरचितशामनधर्माचवटीकायां सप्तमोऽङ्कः ॥

Bhairavasimha, like Dhirasimha, is here given the additional viruda Kamsa-nārāyaṇa. For Vacaspati Miśra's works one quotation will suffice, viz. the introd. verse 8 in the Madana-nirṇaya (Nep. Notices, p. 123):—

श्रीवाचस्पतिधोरं सङ्कारिभयां समासाद्य ।

श्रीभैरवैन्द्रपतिः स्वयं महादाननिर्णयं मनुते ॥ १ ॥

Also cf. the Danda-viveka (As. Sec. MS. I. B. 41, page 1) introd. verse 5:—

पञ्चदशल प्रखल खड्ग पङ्क्तिन । श्रीभैरवैन्द्र निखिलाश्रयिबौद्धरेण । तेनानुकल्प्य सलद्वयवशोक्थमाणा । श्रीवर्धमान कृतिमोऽस्तु कृतिः कृतार्था ॥ ५ ॥

⁴ Cf. the final colophons of the Sudr-ācāra-cintāmaṇi (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 22, No. 20015) and the colophons of the Daṇḍa-viveka, (As. Sec. MS., pp. 48, 59, 66, 80, 108).

During the rule of Dhirasimha, Bhairava had by his valour already subjugated the lord of Pafica Gauḍa.¹ He is said to have influenced Keḍāra Rāya, the representative (pratiśariram) of the lord of Gauḍa. He dug hundreds, of tanks, gave away towns and pāttanas (hamlets) as gifts, and performed the Tula-puruṣa-gift ceremony.¹

Bhairavendra had a younger brother by name Candra Sirhha, who is named in Vidyapati's Durgabhakti-taraigini and Miśaru Miśra's Vivāda-candra and Padārtha candra.⁸ He was probably a step brother, for Gadadhara in his Tantra-pradīpa mentions only two sons of Darpanarayaṇa (Nara-simhadeva), viz. his own grandfather Dhirasimha and Bhairavendra,⁹ and he would not have omitted Candrasimha, if the latter had been their uterine brother. Candrasimha had a wife named Lakhimadevī or Lachima Mahadevī at whose instance Misaru Miśra wrote his two works.⁵

¹ Cf. the Daṇḍa-viveka, introd. verse 4 (As. Sec. MS., p. 1):—

यः त्रीकुसेनमुपनीतशमल सेनम्, चाक्षीय सैनिकभिदाक्षमतेनियुक्ते । गौडेक्षर प्रतिपरीरमनि प्रतापः, केदाररायसवगच्छति दारतुल्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

² The Mahādhāna-nirṇaya (Nep. Notices p. 112) introd. verse 7 :—

विधाय सरसी इतं नगरपतनदीमदान्,
विजित्य भूपतिनदीतटास्तुष्टापुरषान् ।
य एष नृप भैरवः समर योन्नि पञ्चाननो,
जयत्यविधि दारको जगति राजहम्भारकः ॥

³ The Durgā-bhakti Taraigini (Ind. Govt. MS. 4660, fol. 99a) end verse 3 :—

यस्य क्षीर समुद्रमुद्र यशसी रामस्य क्षीमिनिवत् ।
क्षीणि मण्डल मण्डनो विजयते त्रीचन्द्रसिंहोऽनुजः ॥ २ ॥

The Vivāda-candra (Sans. Coll. MS. II. 1107, fol. 1a), introd. verses 4 and 5. and the Padārtha-candra (R. Mitra. Notices, IX, p. 12 No. 290). In Vidyapati's Padāvali is included a song of one Bhanu (No. 322) wishing long life to Candra simha :—

चन्द्रसिंह नरेश जीवतु
भानु चम्य रे ॥ ५ ॥

⁴ The Tantra-pradīpa (R. Mitra Notices VI, p. 233, No. 2172), the final verse No. 1, note 2 on page 424.

⁵ The Vivāda candra (Sans. Coll. MS. II. 117, fol. 1a), introd. verse 5 :—

बीमकलिभादेवौ तस्य चन्द्रसिंह नृपतेर्दयितस्य ।
मिसर मित्रद्वारा रक्षयति विवाद चन्द्राभिरामम् ॥ ५ ॥

Bhairavendra was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadra-deva, who assumed the viruda of Rūpanarāyaṇa. Rāmabhadra followed in the footsteps of his father in encouraging the study of Sanskrit. Under his patronage, Vacaṣpati Miśra, his paṛiṣada, wrote in his old age probably his last smṛti work, the Pitṛabhakti-taraṅgiṇi, and Varddhamāna compiled at his instance the Gathā kṛtya-viveka and the Tattvāmṛta-sāroddhāra.¹ Sri Rāma Bhatta while on pilgrimage went from Gaya to Tirabhukti apparently attracted by the fame of this Brahmin king, and after paying a visit to the king, returned to Prayaga (Allahabad), a fact which he noted at the end of the chapters of his commentary on the Sarasvata grammar.²

and the Padārtha-candra introd. verse No. 2 :—

श्रीचन्द्रसिंह ऋषतेर्दयिता क्षत्रिमा महादेवौ ।

रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रमिष्य मिश्रोपदेशेन ॥

The affix Candra is evidently derived from the name of his patron's husband.

¹ Cf. the P. bh. Taraṅgiṇi (Ind. Govt. MS. 897, fol. 84a) the final colophon :—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणाक्षज श्रीरामभद्रदेवपादानां कृते
मण्डल श्रीरामभद्रचरणारविन्द परिषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिमन्त्रेणा विरचितोऽयं ग्राहकस्य परिपूर्णः ।

For Varddhamāna, cf. the G. K. viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. pp. 75-6), introd. verse 2 and 4 and the final colophon :—

तस्माद् भैरवसिंह भूपतिरभूत् श्रीरामभद्रकृतौ ।

दीपादीपद्रवाभवत् स ह्य सत्ताजो गुणैर्दम्भितः ॥ १ ॥

कृते तस्य कृतज्ञस्य गङ्गाकर्तव्य कर्मणाम् ।

विवेकमुद्गासयति वर्द्धमानो यथामति ॥ ४ ॥

The final colophon (p. 76) :—

इति महाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणाक्षज महाराजाधिराज श्रीरामभद्रदेवपादानां कृते
श्रीवर्द्धमानकृतौ मण्डलकृतविवेकः समाप्तः ॥ अक्षं ११९ यौषवदि १३ वृष वेत्तौनापामि कुम्भपद्मीगामी-
श्रीपाध्याय श्रीसुरादीनां लिखितेना प्रसीति ॥ The Tattv-amṛta Saroddhāra (R. Mitra, Notices VI, p. 57, No. 2030), end verse 4.

तस्मात्तुर्भि रेभिः कुम्भैरेव गुम्फिनी गुणोपहितैः ।

मालेवैव निबन्धो रामयतेः कण्ठभूषणं भवतु ॥ ४ ॥

The King is here called Rāmapati.

² For Rāma Bhatta's visit, cf. the Vidvat-prabodhīpi (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 214, No. 804) :—

मयाया निर्गतौ रामश्रीरभूक्षाण्डदेश्यम् ।

रूपनारायणं विप्रं सन्नुष्टं खगिराकरीत् ॥

रूपनारायणाद् भूषादाज्ञां प्राप्य दुताग्नितः ।

तीरभूक्षाण्डदेशात् प्रयागं समुपगतः ॥

Rāmabhadra must be older than La. Sam. 376, Pauṣa vadi 13, Wednesday (13th January, 1496 A.D.) when the copying of MS. of the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka was completed. Furthermore Gadādhara wrote the Tantra-pradīpa while Rāmabhadra was ruling, and was therefore his contemporary.¹ At the instance of this prince Gadādhara a MS. of Bhojadeva's Vividha-vidyā-vicāracatura was copied on Friday Srāvaṇa vadi 1 of La. Sam. 372; and a MS. of the Dāna-kanda of the Kṛtya-kalpa taru was copied in Śaka 1426 and La. Sam. 374 Kartika Sukla 5 Wednesday.² Gadadhara was therefore living in 1489-93 A.D. and Rāmabhadradeva³ cannot be placed later than 1490 A.D.

Rāmabhadradeva was succeeded by Lakṣmināthadeva who adopted the viruda of Kansana-rāyaṇa. Under his patrṇage, Harapati Āgamacārya, son of Rucipati who had been patronized by Bhairavendra compiled the Tantrik work mantra-pradīpa.⁴

¹ For the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka, cf. note. The Tantra-pradīpa (Mitra, No. 2172), end verse 3:—

भूपः श्रीरामभद्रो धरत्रिसुरसह मेरवेन्द्रात्मजम् ।

श्रीश्रीमेतामिदानीं चतुस्रदधि + + + पूरसीमां प्रशालि ॥ २ ॥

² Nepal Notices, p. 65 — समस्त्यादि महाराजाधिराजवर कुमार श्रीमद्गदाधरदेवपादानामाश्रया श्रीशुभपतिभिलिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति । ससं १७२ । आषष्ठ वदि १ शुक्ले श्रीरत्नधर-नगरे । Ind. Govt. MS. 4026 fol. 13 la ससं १७४ कार्तिक शुद्धि ५ बुधे श्रीजिमौलीयामे समस्त प्रशाल्या विरा + + (जभा) ने महारजकुमार श्रीमद्गदाधर चिन्तदेवपादानामाश्रया श्रीशुभ पतिना लिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति ॥ शाके १४१६ ॥ Then (at the end) गत सप्तमसेन देवीय चतुः सप्ताधिक शतवर्षाब्दीय कार्तिक शुक्ल पक्ष्यां रौद्रिये both the MSS. were written by the same copyist Subhupati.

³ This king has been wrongly identified by Professor Bendall with Rāmasimha deva of the Karnāta dynasty (the History of Nepal by C. Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, p. 19).

⁴ Cf. the Mantra-pradīpa (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, pp. 34-5) introd. .verse 4 and the final colophon:—

श्रीकंसनारायणभूमिपालः सानुपद्मो मे कुर्वते निदेशम् ।

मन्त्रप्रदीपं कुलसम्बरं त्वं यद्दर्शने मे भवति प्रमोदः ॥ ४ ॥

Its final colophon:—

इति समस्तप्रशाल्या विराजमान शिवभक्तिपरायण महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् कंसनारायण श्रीमन्मौलीनाथदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहनाश्रया श्रीजालीशामबासी विख्यात श्रीपालपामीष महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरुचिपतिशर्मात्मजागमाचार्य श्रीहरपति विरचिते मन्त्रप्रदीपे पक्षद्वयः पटलश्च समाप्तः ॥

A Maithila MS. of the Devlmañatmyam was copied during his reign on Wednesday, La. Sam. 392 Pausa vadi 3, or December 1910 A.D.¹ So this king was ruling at least in 1510 A.D.

Laksmīnatha evidently came into collision with the powerful Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. In the peace concluded between Ala-ud-din Husain Shah and Sikandar Lodi in H. 901 (1496 A.D.) Bihar and Tirhut appear to have been allotted to the latter, on condition that he would not invade Bengal.² Sikandar Lodi then fell on Tirhut, and reduced its king to submission.' Later on, about the year 930 H. (1530 A.D.), Ala-ud-din Husain Shah's son and successor, Nasrat Shah, descended upon Tirhut, killed the Raja and subjugated the whole tract.⁴

It is difficult to ascertain and state the exact date for the rulers of this dynasty, but it may be safely stated that this dynasty flourished between the year 1324 when Firoz Shah Toghlak enthroned

¹ Cf. Nepal Notices, p. 63, final colophon :—

सुसं १८९ पीथ वदि १ बुधे महराज श्रीकंसनारायणदेव प्रचारेण... श्रीउद्यकरेश
लिखितेन पुस्तोति ॥

² Cf. Makhzan-i-Afghani, translation by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. S9, and Part II, p. 90.

Al-Badaoni writes, "Sultan Husain, leaving his Deputy, i.e. Malik Kandhu (Firishta) in Bihar, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gawna, one of the dependencies of Lakhuauti, and Bihar fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it."

* And in the year 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khau-i Jahan Lodi died, and Ahmad Khan his eldest son was styled A'zam Khan Humayun. The Sultan returned from Tirhut and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-i-Mashaikbi-i-Izatin, i.e. MSS. (AB) (B) in Bihar (Firishta), Shaikh Sharfu-d-Din Muniri (he was the son of Yahya-Msraïl, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gani-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Bihar, cf. Ain-i-Akbari (J) III, 370) may God sanctify his resting place, and came to Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan Alau-d-Din king of Bengala, and in the vicinity of Bihar, the son of Sultan Alau-d-Din, whose name was Danial, ki obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and death occurred in the camp of the Sultan; orders were promulgated remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Mahligarh to Jaunpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna, cf. pages 415-17 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh, Vol. I (1898 edition).

⁴ Cf. pp. 133-40 of the Riyaz-us-salatīn by Ghulam Husain Salīm translated by Abdus Salam, Calc. edition, 1902.

Kāmeśvara and the year 1496 when Sikandar Lodi invaded Tirhut.¹ It is not exactly known how this dynasty came to its end. But it is certain that it ceased to exercise independent authority about the year 1530 A.D. Nasrat Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut and killed the Rājā and practically made the Kāmesvara or "Oinwara"² dynasty of Maithila Brahmanas extinct.

It is sometimes doubted if the Kāmesvara dynasty was ever really independent of the Muhammadan sway. From the fact that Kāmesvara Thakkura was set in his place by Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, it may be safely assumed that the rulers of the dynasty had to pay tribute of some kind to the Delhi Emperors to whom they owed allegiance, though it is doubtful if the tribute was regularly or willingly paid or if the right to payment was always admitted.

The Kāmeśvara dynasty encouraged Sanskrit literature a great deal. The four most prominent writers during the rule of this dynasty are Jagaddhara, Vidyāpati, Saṅkara and Vācaspati Misra. Jagaddhara commented not only on works so widely varied as the religious *Gitā* and *Devi Mahātmya*, the lyrical *Meghaduta* and *Gīta-govinda*, the dramatic *Mālati-Mādhava* and *Venisamhara*, the prose romance *Vasava-datta* and the rhetorical *Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharana*, but he wrote original treatises on erotics (the *Rasika-sarvasva*) and on music (the *Samgīta-sarvasva*). Vidyāpati's name has come down to posterity in connection with Maithili songs, such as the *Kīrti-lata*, the *Kīrti-pataka* and specially his *Padāvali* (i.e. anthropology) songs that stirred up the later Vaiṣṇava writers and preachers of Bengal. But he wrote also on *Smṛti* (*Bibhagasara*, *Gaṅga-vakya-avali* and *Dana-*

* A full account of this invasion is given in Ranking's Translation of *Badsoni*, Vol. I, pp. 415-17 (J898), and also in *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, translated by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96, and in the 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi,' Thomas, p. 391.

² This dynasty is popularly known as the "Oinwāra" family, as the first founder of this family was Oin Thakkura whom popular tradition calls the great-grandfather of Kamesvara Thakkura and who is said to have established his principality with the help of Nanyadeva's descendants at village Oini in the Darbhanga district.

No family in Tirhut can at present be identified as lineally descended from this Oinwara or Kamesvara root.

vākyavali), on Niti or moral tales (Bhu-parikramana and Puruṣa-parikṣā), on Pujā (Saiva sarvvasva-sāra and Durga-bhakti taraṅgini), and on literary compositions (Iyikhanāvali).

The fact, generally speaking, was that Tirhut being comparatively free from foreign invasion, was able to give protection to a large number of scholars from adjoining countries, such as Oudh, Bihar and Bengal, which were being ravaged by invaders. This cultivation of Sanskrit scholarship in the 13th century A.D. in Tirhut had a marked effect on Bengal as people used to come in large numbers to Mithilā to learn the Śāstrās.

It may be incidentally mentioned here that it is thought that prince Indra Sena¹, writer of "Sali-hotra-sāra-saṁgraha" and whose viruda was Rupanārāyaṇa belonged to this family. But it is not exactly known when he lived and what link he formed in the (Kāmeśwara) line.

It is not clearly known if any local family took the place of the ruling Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithilā on its dismemberment or whether this dynasty ruled all over Mithilā. It appears, however, that one Rājā Prthvi Sirhha Deva reigned in Champaran in Samvat² 1492 (=1434-5 A.D.). His successor was Saktisimha who was followed by his son Madan Simha.³ They ruled over

¹ Cf. p. 19 of Bendall's History of Nepal and the surrounding kingdoms; also p. 265, Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library by H. P. Sāstri, 1905. The final colophon of the "Sali-hotra-sāra-saṁgraha" is:—

इति श्रीरुक्मिनारायण इत्यादे महाराजाधिराज श्रीरन्देन ज्ञानो सारसंग्रहः शक्ति होत्रः समाप्तः । शुभम् । श्री शके १७२४, श्री सम्वत् १८४१ आषाढ कृष्ण पक्षस्य सप्तम्याम् भौम् वासरे ।

² Cf. "Devimahāstmyam, which was copied in the reign of Prthvi Sirhha in Vikrama Samvat 1492 (= 1434-5 A.D.) at Champakāranya nagaram, p. 61 (S.) Manuscript No. 1508, of the Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library, by H. P. Sāstri, 1905.

देवी माहात्म्यम् नामराक्षसम् सम्वत् १४८२ समये भाद्र सुदि महाराज प्रणी विष्णुदेवमुख्यान राज्ञे चम्पकारण नगरे । शुभमस्तु ।

³ Cf. Amara Kośa in Bengali characters, p. 51, the Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library, by H. P. Sāstri, 1905, and particularly the colophon:—

विः सम्वत् १५११ आषाढ शुक्ल नवम्याम् शुभे श्रीचम्पकारण नगरे विप्रराज देव्यनरारायण-

Champaran and Gorakhpore, and it is certain that Madan Simha was reigning about the year 1454 if not much later and wrote a work called "Madana-ratna-pradipa," but it is not known to what family they belonged or how they came to gain possession of their Rājā or how far, if at all, they were dependent on superior ruling powers, Hindu or Muhammadan. It is probable that they were local Chieftains who ruled over Champaran and Gorakhpore which borders on Champaran, but it cannot be said what, if any thing, they had to do with the Kameswara family or the older ruling family of Nanya Deva. It may also be men-

Local Chieftains.

tioned that the Asoka pillar at Laurianandargarha in Champaran contains an inscription dated Vikram Samvat 1556 (=1500 A.D.) which says, "Nrpa-Narayana suta Nrpa Amara Simha." It is not known who this 'Narayana' and Amara Simha were and how they were connected with the other ruling families. It is safe then only to assume that they were local Chieftains ruling in different parts of the country and there may have been other Chieftains (not yet known to us) like them.

Genealogical table of the Kāmeśwara dynasty (based on Mithila Pañjīs). Cf. the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 14, pp. 187, 196; also the "Chronology of India" by C. M. Duff, p. 3050 :—

Adhirupa Thakkura

↓

Viswesvara Thakkura

Govinda Thakkura

↓

Iyaksmana Thakkura

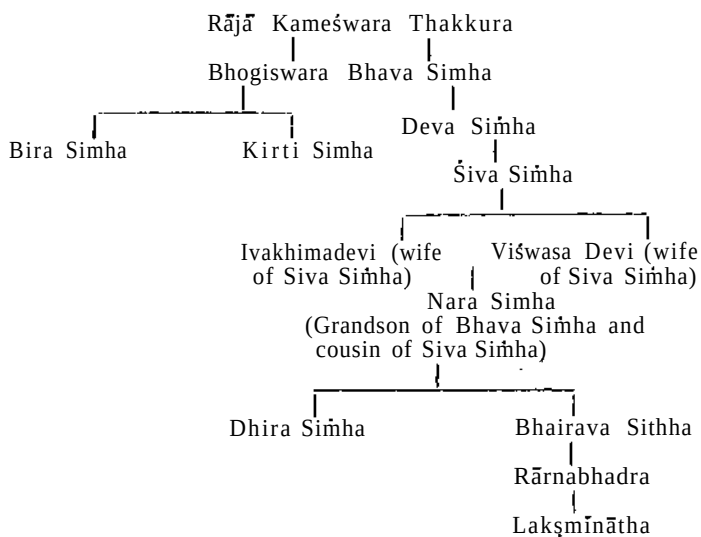
स्येत्यादि विविध विषयद्वारा विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्नन्दसिंहदेवनाम् संभुजनाम्
विजयराज राज्ये ठक्कुर श्री गङ्गा.....लिखितम्—इति ।

Also the colophon of Nara Simha Purāṇa on p. 29 of the same catalogue.

संवत् ११६ श्रावण सुदि षष्ठ्याम् रवि वासरे महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्नन्दसिंह देवनाम्
विजयिनाम् शासति गोरखपुरे सिपाइ कठके सद्गुप्ताय श्रीरुद्रनाथ भर्तृभिः नारसिंहाय नमः
पुराणस्य लेखि ।

1 Cf. p. 229 of the Catalogue (which quotes the colophon) :—

इति श्री श्री भक्तिसिंहाय महाराजाधिराज नन्द सिंहदेव विरचिते नन्दरत्नप्रदीपे
प्रायश्चित्त विवेक.....सम्पत् ८५८ (शेवार)



PART IV.

TIRHUT UNDER MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH RULE FROM THE 13TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY A.D.

CHAPTER I.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE IN TIRHUT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 13TH TO THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Muslim historians tell us that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak, Emperor of Delhi, invaded Tirhut about 1322 A.D. and established the supremacy of the Muslim rule over the whole country. Tirhut henceforth became a dependency of Delhi. He and his successor, Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, placed the whole of Tirhut under Kameśvara Thakkura who became the founder of the Thakkura dynasty which ruled over Tirhut for about two centuries till the middle of the 16th century.¹

Some years later, Kiroz Shah marched on Bengal to quell the rebellion of its Subahdars and when he arrived on the banks of the Kosi (? Gandak) near its junction with the Ganges, he found the passage difficult and the enemy's army posted in force on the opposite side (probably at Hajipur, said to have been founded by the then Bengal king, Haji Ilyas Shah). So the Sultan marched up the river for 100 kosa, and below Champaran; where the river was found fordable, crossed it by a living bridge of elephants. Then via Champaran and Racap he moved on towards Panduah.²

According to Barni³ Firoz Shah left Delhi on 10th

1 Cf. Bami's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Elliot, Vol. I 11, pp. 234-50; also cf. Account of the Sugaon dynasty of Kameśvara, Chap. X.

2 Cf. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, by Shams-i-Siraj-Afif-Elliot, Vol. I 11, pp. (293-4).

3 Elliot, Vol. I 11, pp. 292-294. Also cf. pp. 91-105 of *Riyazu-s-Salat* translated by M. Abdul Salani, Calcutta, 1902 edition, and also pp. 448-51 of the *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D.* translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

Shawwal 754 H. (8th November, 1353 A.D.) and returned to it on 12th Sha'ban 755 H. (1st September, A.D. 1355). The march through Tirhut took place therefore in the winter of 1354-5 A.D. In the winter, the rivers would have fallen low and would therefore be favourable to the crossing of cavalry and elephants. Barni's Kharosa lying between Gorakhpur and Tirhut is probably to be identified with Champaran (Sansk. Champak-aranya).

After this Tirhut continued to be under the overlordship of Delhi. On the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi, son of Sikan-dar Iyodi, at the battle of Panipat in H. 932 or 1526 A.D., Babar became the Emperor of Delhi. He has left in his Memoirs a list of countries subject to him and their approximate revenues. In this list appears Rājā (No. 22 or 23) Rūp-Nārāyaṇa (of Tirhut) who paid a tribute of Rs. 2,50,000 silver tankas and 27,50,000 black tankas or at 10 per silver tanka 2,75,000, in all 5,25,000 silver tankas. It would thus appear that Tirhut remained under the Hindu Raja in his time subject to the payment of Khidmatana or Tribute.¹

It appears that in the year H. 778 (1398 A.D.) the fief of Bihar (including Tirhut) was granted to Mullik Bir Afghan.²

Fief of Tirhut granted to Khwaja Jahan by Sultan Muhammad Shah, 1006 A.D.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Sultan Mahmud Shah, granted the fief of Bihar and Tirhut about the year 796 H. (1396 A.D.) to Khwaja Jahan.³

It appears that sometimes Tirhut has been mentioned separately from Bihar and sometimes only Bihar has been mentioned. Babar mentions that the countries from Sahara to Bihar were in his possession and yielded revenue of 52 crors. He has mentioned the income from

1 Cf. pp. 430-31 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI for November and December, 1915, also Erskine's Baber and Humayun, Vol. I, p. 541, and Thomas's Pathan Kings, p. 390, and Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 262.

2 Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad, Elliot's Vol. IV, p. 13.

3 Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad, Elliot's Vol. IV, p. 29.

Bihar separately from that of Ziparan which is now taken to mean Champaran.¹

Al-Badaoni says that Sultan Muhammad Shah in the year 796 H. (1396 A.D.) appointed Khwaja-i-Jahan, Governor of Bihar. He proceeded as far as Jainagar and took possession of it, acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as present to Delhi.

Al-Badaoni says that Haji Illyas was the ruler of Lakhnauti and a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Firoz Shah Toghlak and assumed the title of Sultan Sams-ud-din. He used to send presents now and then to the Delhi Emperor but was virtually independent.²

He also rebuilt the greater number of the forts which the infidels (i.e. non-Muslims or Hindus) had destroyed in Tirhut.* It is probable that the Muslims definitely occupied the southern portion of Tirhut though authentic history is wanting. Hajipur was a most important place in Tirhut during the Muhammadan period. The town was founded by Haji Illyas. He built a strong fortress there and rebelled against the Emperor Shah Toghlak. Firoz Shah came upon Tirhut about the year 1353 and compelled Haji Illyas to retreat to Pandua.⁴

It appears that towards the end of the 14th century, the kings of Jaunpur came over and occupied Bihar and Tirhut for about a century.⁵ But towards the end of the 15th century, Sultan Sikandar ibn-i-Sultan Bahlol Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, advanced upon Bihar and Bengal, defeated Husain Shah Sharqi near Patna and occupied Bihar, Tirhut and Saran. There-

¹ Cf. Tuzak-i-Babari, Elliot's Vol. IV, p. 262.

² Cf. pp. 309, 324, 317 of Al Badaoni, Vol. I.

³ Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh by Al-Badaoni, Vol. I, pp. 348-49 (1898 edition).

⁴ Cf. pp. 98-103 of Riyaz-us-Salat in translated by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

⁵ Cf. p. 114, do. Also J. Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 365.

upon Sikandār Lodi swept over Tirhut and exacted a heavy fine from the Rājā of Tirhut. It was either Rāmabhadra or Roopa Nārāyaṇa who is said to have ruled over Tirhut in 1495 when the Gafiḡa Kṛtya-viveka was composed.¹ But it will appear that after about 30 years, Nasrat Shah (son of Ala-uddin-Husain Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut, put the Rājā of Tirhut (Raja Kansanarayana² or his successor) to death and appointed Allauddin its governor and extended his kingdom across the river Gogrā into the district of Azamgarh in the United Provinces. His son-in-law Makhdum Alam was put in charge of the fortress at Hajipur. About the year 1540, Makhdum Alam revolted against Mahmud Shah, son of Nasrat Shah,³ and joined hands with the Pathan adventurer, Slier Shah of Sasram, in the district of Shaha-bad who aspired to the throne of Delhi.⁴

In the Persian book Wakiat-i-Mushtaki by Sheikh Rajkula Mustaki, there is an account of a portion of Tirhut (Champaran) in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517).

Rājā of Champaran
subdued by Mia Hussain
Farnulli, 1489-1517 A.D.

It will appear that Mian Husain Far-muli was jagirdar of Saran and Champaran, which were called *jalkhet* or the field of water, and he had taken no less than 20,000 villages from the infidels, besides those comprising his *jagir*. When he marched to attack the Rājā of Champaran, he found his advance checked by a flood of the Gandak and was obliged to encamp on its banks, while the Rājā remained secure in this fort on the other side of the river. One of his nobles, Mughula Kirani, however, was not daunted by this obstacle, though he was told that the breadth of the river was 7 *koia* (14 miles). Having taken a vow to abstain from food and

¹ Cf. Muntakhabut-t-Tawarikh of Al-Badaoni, translated by Ranking, 1898, Vol. I, pp. 415-17.

Also Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan-Lodiby Niamattullah—Elliot, pp. 95-6, Vol. V, 1873.

Also Makhzani-Afghani, translated by Dorn 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96.

For Gafiḡa Kṛtya Viveka cf. footnote p.

² Cf. footnote p.

³ Cf. pp. 133-46 of the Riyaz-us-Salatīn, by Ghulara Hussain Salim translated by Abdus Salam, Calcutta edition, 1902; also the Sikandarpur-Azamgharh inscription, Journal, Asiatic Society, 1973, page 296.

⁴ Cf. pp 537, 553, 555, 560, 572 of the 'History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D.,' translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

drink until he had attacked the Raja, he mounted his horse and plunged into the river. Stimulated by this example, Mian Husain and the whole army began to cross the Gandak, and at sunset dashed upon the Raja who had been lulled into security by the thought that he was protected from attack by the flooded state of the Gandak. "Suddenly," it is said, "an uproar rose in the city, for it was reported from the watch-tower that the Afghans had arrived; but the infidel did not credit it and was engaged in his pastimes, when the Afghans were upon him and forced him to fly for his life. By the will of God that day Mughula Kirani became a martyr. Mian Husain greatly lamented his loss, and said, [†]Would to God that to-day there had been no victory, for that and the plunder combined are no compensation for the loss sustained in the death of Mughula/ Thus after a duration of 200 years, destruction fell upon the kingdom of the Raja and all the riches and treasures which were amassed during that period were dispersed in plunder. The shoes of the infidels who lost their lives in this action were collected; and when melted down, no less than 20,000 mohurs of gold were obtained from them."

It appears that Hajipur was a strong position even in Babar's time (i.e. Sikandar Lodi's time). Sher Khan (later Sultan Sher Shah, on his flight from Babar's court, came to his zamindari in Sasaram and entered into a compact of friendship with Makdum Alain of Hajipur. Sher Shah defeated the enemies of this Makdum Alam who was afterwards very useful to him in his campaign against the Moghals.¹

Later on, the emperor Humayun ordered Mirza Hindal to cross the river Ganges with his forces to capture Hajipur which was one of the main strong-holds of Sher Khan. This was about the year 043 H. (1547 A.D.).²

After Muhammad Shah, the Delhi Crown appointed several governors from time to time to rule over Tirhut.

¹ Page 469-70 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. 1 (1898 edition).
² Do. do. do. do.

vSeveral Pathan families had settled **down in Tirhut and** when Daud Khan, the Pathan, rose and revolted against the Delhi Emperor about the year 1575, these Pathans swelled his forces. Khankhana was deputed* by Emperor Akbar to crush Daud Khan and he requested all Moghal and Pathan Chiefs to assist him.¹ It is said that the great emperor watched the fight at Hajipur personally from the southern bank of the Ganges at Patna. It was a hard struggle but victory sided with Akbar.

*The flight at Hajipur in
Emperor Akbar's time,
1575 A.D.*

In 982 H. (1582 A.D.) after the death of Sulaiman Afghan Karani, the ruler of Bengal, his son Bayazid succeeded him for a time, but he soon became unpopular and was murdered. Daud, the younger son of Sulaiman, then assumed the title of king but omitted to secure royal assent to his accession. The emperor Akbar who heard of Sulaiman's death and Daud's accession to power before he was assured of his loyalty, deputed Khan Khana Munim Khan. The Khan Khana levied a large army, but having obtained two lacs of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute from Daud, who was then at Hajipur, settled the matter peaceably and returned. Daud had superiority over the Moghals in numbers but he failed to strike the first blow and after concluding this mirage of peace, he established himself in the fort of Patna. But he began to oppress his subjects and soon lost the confidence of his followers. Having heard of this good opportunity, Khan Khana informed Akbar, who appointed Mirza Yusuf Khan to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and himself set off from Agra by the river Ganges.²

The Emperor encamped near Patna and despatched

¹ Cf. Riyazu s-Salatin by M Abdul Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, p. 122, which shows that the Imperial forces from Bihar, Tirhut and Hajipur were deputed to crush Daud.

Also cf. pp. 245-253 of 'The History of the Rise of the Muhaintnadan Powers in India till the year 1612 A.D.' translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

² Cf. Howe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. I I , 1884 edition, pp. 176-78 ;

" The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do !
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do !"

3,000 fully equipped horsemen in charge of Khan-i-Azam in boats across the Ganges for taking the fortress of Hajipur from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. Raja Kachiti¹ was appointed to go to the assistance of Khan-i-Azam with a large army. Thus they surrounded Hajipur both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the water-side to view the battle. On the other side, Fateh Khan Barha with a strong body of Afghans was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he foil, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, who sent them to Daud in the fort at Patna so that they might prove to him a warning and scare.² Daud fled from Patna in desperation and was afterwards chased beyond Gauda and destroyed. But soon after this, Gajapati, a zamindar of the neighbourhood of Hajipur and Patna, who had been subjugated, rebelled, and the Emperor started to take the field against him in person and eventually subdued him.³

The Emperor appointed Khan-i-A'zam as Governor of Bengal⁴ and Tirhut. Shahbaz Khan was appointed with a well-equipped army to assist Khan-i-A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hajipur and traversing the jungle of Kachiti (Gajapati?) should compel Arab Bahadur to come out of that place.⁵

It will appear that Hajipur was the base for all the Imperial operations in Bengal and Orissa and even for some time in the Western Provinces and Akbar had special regard for this place.⁶

Towards the close of Akbar's reign A'zam Khan returned from Makkah, and joined the new faith inaugurated by Akbar, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship. He cut off

¹ Tabaqat-kAkbari (Elliot, V, 377) has Gajpati.

² Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 182-83.

³ Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition, pp. 244-45.

⁴ Cf. Elliot, V, p. 410, note.

⁵ Cf. page 293 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II.

⁶ Reference may be had to pp. 290, 320, 344, 353, etc., of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

his beard and learnt the rules of the new faith from His Reverence 'Allami, and received Ghazipur and Hajipur as jagir.¹

Fresh rebellion at Hajipur suppressed by Todar Mall.

Hajipur again figured in the rebellion of Kak Shah jagirdar of Bihar and Bengal, and Todar Mall was sent to suppress the rebellion.²

It is related that Muzaffar Khan, whose deputy at Hajipur, Mir Saukiti, was killed by some rebels, again put Hajipur in order, and dispersed the rebels with the aid of Raja Udikarana, the zamindar of Champaran.³

Tirhut with the rest of Bihar enjoyed peace under the Moghal rule. Several jagirs were conferred upon Pathans and other loyal families in Tirhut who, up to this day, are in enjoyment of these jagirs.

In the Hijri year 996 (1560 A.D.) Manasinha was appointed to the government of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna.⁴

Towards the close of his reign, the Emperor Akbar appointed Mulla Taib of Kaithal Dewan of the Province of Bihar and Hajipur. *Todar Mall at Hajipur.* It also appears that Raja Todar Mall and other Imperial nobles passed the rainy season one year towards the close of Akbar's reign at Hajipur."

At the time that the Emperor went to Kabul (about 1600 A.D.) towards the close of his reign to set matters right there, Bahadur, son of Badakhshi had the *Khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahadur Shah. It is said that the following rhyme was composed for his signet :—

Bahadur Shah's meteoric career as a ruler of Tirhut.

" Bahadur-ud-din Sultan
Son of Asfid Shah Sultan.
His father was Sultan, and himself Sultan,
Bravo ! Sultan bin Sultan."

The Ain-i-Akbari says, " In the Sirkar of Hajipur the fruits Katahal and Barahal grow in abundance." The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one." (Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett, p. 152, Vol. III, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

¹ Cf. p. 412 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II.

² Tabakat-i-Akbari of Nizamud-Din-Ahmad, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 417.

³ Pp. 39 and 49 of Akbar-Nama of Abul Fazl, Elliot, Vol. VII. 1875 edition.

⁴ P. 375 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

⁵ Pp. 274 and 297 of do. do.

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khan:—

" A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver
come to him
Requires of necessity a slap on the head.
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant that its wings should not
grow."¹

The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) during
Tirhut in Ain-i-Akbar, Emperor Akbar's lifetime, gives an
attractive account of Tirhut, its curd,
its buffalo and its fruits and says that rent was paid in
cash and not by division of crops.

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMADAN RULE IN TIRHUT DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES A.D.

There is no succinct history of Tirhut during the 16th and 17th centuries. During these centuries, Tirhut consisted of three main divisions, i.e. Hajipur, Champaran and Tirhut. The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) gives the following figures²:—

Name of Sircars.	Number of Mahals included in Sircar.	Area in Bighas. ³	Revenue in rupees.
Champaram	3	85,7U	1,37,835
Hajipur	11	436,953	6,83,276
Tirhut	74	266,464	4,79,494

¹ Pp. 307 of Howe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. I I, 1884 edition.

² Cf. pp. 43, 88, 149 to 156 of Vol. II of Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta edition, Bibliotheca Indica, 1910; also cf. p. 1 of "India of Aurangzib," by J. N. Sirkar, Calcutta edition, 1901.

³ A bigha was equal to -538 of an acre—Cf. paras. 79 also and 84, pp. 19 and 30 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report by Mr. C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901.

The Ain-i-Akbari tells us that the assessment was made under the supervision of Todarmall, Akbar's Prime Minister in the year 1582 after actual measurement and that Government revenue was fixed at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce. The duties¹ of the Revenue Collectors were carefully defined.

During Akbar's time (1556-1605 A.D.) as depicted in Ain-i-Akbari, separate sircars of Tirhut, Champaran, etc., and Bihar (on the southern side of the Ganges) are mentioned.²

Though we know that, for purely revenue adjustments, Tirhut used to be mentioned separately not only from Bihar but separately even from Hajipur and Champaran,³ it seems that Tirhut was not governed separately from Patna and Bihar after Emperor Jahangir's time (1605-1627 A.D.). There is no mention of revenue of Tirhut separately from that of Bihar in the time of Shah Jahan.⁴

Mir-at-i ' Alam, writing about the time of Aurangzeb (1660-1707 A.D.) says that Bihar included 252 mahals and makes it clear that for all broad purposes, Tirhut

formed part of Bihar.⁵

Todarmall's assessment was revised during Emperor

¹ "The Collector of Revenue," says the Ain, "should be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord paramount, and establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator. He should deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by admonition; and if this avail not, proceed to chastisement; nor should he be in apprehension of the laud falling waste. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money, and recover them gradually (system of agricultural loans).

"The agricultural value of land varies in different districts, and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagement take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage. Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments, but also in kind. He should be just and provident in his measurement."

*"The Collector should see that no capitation tax be imposed nor interfere with the remission of dues granted by former governments. He shall refrain from accepting presents. He shall also waive all perquisites on handicrafts, market, police, travelling passports, garden produce, temporary sheds, enclosures, fishing rights, post dues, butter, oil of sesame, blanketing, and wool." Cf. pp. 43-5 of Ain-i-Akbari.

² Cf. India of Aurangzeb by J. N. Sirkar (1901 edn), p. 50.

³ Cf. Do. p. li.

⁴ Cf. Majalisu-s-Salat in of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 137-38.

⁵ Cf. Elliot, Vol. VII, 1877 edn., p. 64.

Aurangzeb's reign in the year 1685.¹ We learn that the following increase in the revenue took place :—

	From Rs.	To Rs.
Champaran ..	1,37,835	2,10,151
Hajipur ..	6,83,276	10,29,309
Tirhut ² ..	4,79,494	7,69,287

Thereafter we have on the authority of Chahar-Gulsan that in the year (1720) the revenues³ of the three Sircars were as noted below against their names:—

Names of Sircars,	Revenue.
Champaran	2,40,603
Hajipur	11,33,185
Tirhut	7,37,080

Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh written in the 17th century has much praise for Tirhut.

" Tirhut has long been a seat of learning and a centre of Hindu culture. Its climate is excellent. The curd of this place remains unchanged and pleasant to the taste for one month. If any milkman adulterates his milk with water, some calamity from the invisible world visits him. Its buffaloes are so strong that the tiger can not hunt them. In the rainy season, owing to excess of water, the deer, the elk, and the tiger come down together to inhabited places, and men have the pleasure of hunting.

" In the district of Champaran, they sow the seed of the vetch *mash* without ploughing the soil, and it grows without the labour of cultivation. The long pepper grows abundantly in its jungle."⁴

It appears from all accounts that Tirhut together with the rest of Bihar formed part of Bengal in the 18th

¹ Para. 89, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report, 1900, and para. 91, p. 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

² Number of Mahals increased from 74 to 102. Cf. para. 91, p. 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

³ P. I of "India of Aurungzeb," by J. N. Sircar, 1901 edition.

Also cf. p. 134 of the Chahar Gulsan, by Ray Chatar Chand Kayastha, written in the year 1173 H. (1759 A.D.) in the same book.

⁴ Cf. p. 37 of India of Aurungzeb, by J. N. Sircar (1902).

This account seems to be borrowed from the Ain-i-Akbari, cf. the Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarret, Vol. III, p. 152, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

century and was ruled (in allegiance to the Delhi Emperor) by the Nawabs of Murshidabad who used to have a Deputy Governor at Patna.¹

A revision of Tirhut along with the rest of the Province took place about the year 1750 when Alivardi Khan was the ruler of Tirhut along with the rest of Bengal and Bihar. By this settlement the assessment in Tirhut with 93 parganas was increased to Rs. 8,20,042 and that of Hajipur was reduced to Rs. 8,28,120. In Champaran the revised assessment² was Rs. 2,06,822. It will thus appear on the whole that there was some decrease in the assessment.

It may be interesting to note here that Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730. While at Patna as Governor of Bihar under Suja-uddin the Nawab of Murshidabad, he heard an unsatisfactory report regarding this part of the country. It was infested by a band of robbers, called Banjaras, who, in the guise of peaceful traders and travellers, laid the country under contribution and plundered right and left. The zamindars of Bettiah and other places were also in a state of insurrection and had for some time set at defiance the authority of the Governor. In order to reduce these marauders and rebels, Ali Vardi Khan took into his service a body of Afghans under Abdul Karim Khan, who is described as the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga, and first sent them against the Banjaras. The expedition was successful, the Banjaras were routed, made to disgorge their plunder, and driven out of the country. Then, according to the Riyazu-s-Salatīn,³ "Ali Vardi Khan, being aided by the Afghans, advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bettiah and Bhawarah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their region had never previously been trodden by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bent before to any of the former Subadars. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After

¹ Para. 93, p. 33 of Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 7901, and para. 90, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901 edition. [1902.]

² Cf. Riyaz-us-Salatīn, translated by Abdus Salam, pp. 296-7, Calcutta edition, 3 Sair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's translation (reprinted, Calcutta, 1902), Vol. II, p. 58.

fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty, amounting to several lakhs in specie and other effects ; and settling with the Rājās the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased.

About the disruption of the Moghal Empire, the Afghan Chiefs of Tirhut began to intrigue with the Mahrattas, who were invading Bengal and eventually sided with Mustaffar Khan, the rebellious General of Ali Vardi Khan in the year 1745. They, however, placed Jainuddin or Hiyabat, a son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan as a Governor of Bihar. The Governor received them in a Darbar in Patna but towards the conclusion of the ceremony, the Afghan Chiefs mercilessly assassinated him. They sacked the city and its suburb, looted treasures, dishonoured, women and children, desolated villages, etc., etc. The Mahrattas joined and reinforced them. At last Ali Vardi Khan started at the head of a big army and defeated them near Barh. The Afghan ring-leaders were killed. Ali Vardi Khan captured their women but sent them to Darbhanga honourably and settled *jagirs* on them for maintenance. The Mahrattas were put to desperate flight.

At Patna, Ali Vardi Khan received a message from the Rājā of Bettiah, saying that he had given shelter to the families of Shamsheer Khan and Sardar Khan, Afghan leaders, and was ready to pay the Nawab 3 lakhs of rupees if he would agree not to demand their surrender. The Nawab refused to treat with him, insisted on the unconditional surrender of the families of the Afghan Chiefs, and advanced towards Bettiah to enforce his demands. The Rājā thereupon quietly gave up the wife and daughter of Shamsheer Khan, who were treated with the utmost courtesy by Ali Vardi Khan.¹

¹ Jamīu-t-Tawārīkh gives a description of Miran (near Hajipur), son of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was set on the Bengal *Gaddi* by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey (1170 A.H. = 1757 A.D.).

In the year 1760 the Emperor Shah Alain who was incited to overthrow the growing influence of the British East India Company was engaged in the invasion of Bihar and Khadim Husain Khan, the Governor of Purnea, marched to join him with an army composed of 6,000 horse, 10,000 foot, and 40 pieces canon. Before, however, he could effect a junction with the Emperor, Captain Knox had marched to the relief of Patna and driven off the besieging force. He followed up this blow by defeating the Governor of Purnea at Hajipur, and Khadim Husain fled precipitately northwards towards Bettiah. Shortly after this, a force commanded by Major Caillaud, and Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Khan, who was placed on the seat of Governor of Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D., hurried up and set out in pursuit. In an action fought on the 25th June, the enemy were routed, leaving behind their guns, a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and all their heavy baggage. The rains had now set in, the Gandak was in flood, and Khadim Hussain Khan was unable to procure boats and cross it. He, therefore, fell back towards the hills, closely pressed by Caillaud and Miran; and here his army lost their way and were dispersed in the dense forest." At daybreak," it is said, "his people could not discover the morning star, and concluded that it must be hidden by the chain of mountains close to which they supposed themselves to be." Their position was, in fact, desperate, with a river in front, an enemy in their rear, and the soldiers dispirited and scattered; but fortunately for them, the plans of the invading force were completely altered by Miran being struck by lightning while sleeping in his tent near Bettiah.¹

¹ Miran was preparing to attack Khadim Hussain Khan, nephew of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of 'Azimabad' (Patna). Having conceived some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahabat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard; in the meantime making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidabad. When Amina Begam and Ghasiti Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters after bathing and putting on clean clothes cursed Miran, saying "O God, we have done no harm to Miran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds. Their prayer was heard; for Miran, after arriving

Thereupon Caillaud, on whom the command of the allied forces now devolved, abandoned the campaign. He moved the army before the fort of Bettiah, received the submission of the Rājā, and then marched off to Patna.¹

In 1762 Mir Kasim Ali had to send an expedition against the Raja of Bettiah. "The command of it," says the author of the *Sairul-Mutakharin*, "was given to Bahadur Ali Khan, who had been for a long time Grand-master of Artillery to Ali Vardi Khan and now enjoyed a small part of that office under Mir Kasim Khan. He had with him several commanders with their corps, together with some pieces of canon in the English fashion, and some regiments of Talingas, disciplined by Gurgan Khan. His orders were to take the fortress of that name, and to chastise the zamindar of that country, who had proved unruly." This expedition appears to have been completely successful, for we learn later from the same work that, as the fortress of Bettiah had been taken but recently and the country had been but lately brought under control, the Nawab availed himself of the pretence of establishing order in that region to set out on an expedition against Nepal.

This expedition, it is said, was undertaken at the instigation of the Nawab's Armenian General, Gurgan Khan. "As the country of Nepal was known to produce gold, as well as to be full of riches, Gurgan Khan, who had as much ambition as covetousness in his composition, wished to undertake an expedition thither. But he had another object in view; he wanted also to make a trial of the troops which he had disciplined, and of the artillery which he had trained. With this view, he had long before commenced connec-

Invasion of Nepal under General Gurgan Khan during Mir Kasim Ali's regime.

in the vicinity of Hajipur, attacked Khadim Husain Khan, and after defeating him pursued him; but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zi-1 Ka'da in the year 1173 A.H. (4th July, 1760 A.D.) while it was raining, a thunderbolt descended and struck Miran and his servant dead. Cf. pages 428-29 of *Jimui-t-Tawarikh* of Fakir Muhammad, Elliot, Vol. VIII, 1877 edition.

But the *Riyazu-s-Salat* translated by Mr. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, page 382, places the scene near Jahangirnagar (i.e. Dacca).

Also cf. *Khulasat-t-Tawarikh* of Maharaja Kalyana Siriha translated by Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June 1919, pp. 218-235 especially p. 235.

1 Raymond's translation, Vol. 11(1902), of *Sair-ul-Mutakharin* and Broome's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*.

tions with those crowds of *Cashmirians* and *Sanyāsis* and *Fakirs* who yearly frequented those parts ; he had likewise procured much information from some French priests that lived at Latsa (Lhasa) insomuch that he became proficient in the knowledge of the passes over the mountains and of the entrances into the country. He even* attached to his service some of those men, whom he found to be endowed with understanding and capable of serving as guides in his expedition; for they had of themselves tendered their services on that head, and had first inspired him with the thoughts of conquering so wealthy a country.

In spite of these allies, the invasion was a disastrous failure. An advance force entered Champan under Gurgan Khan and was followed by the main body under Mir Kasim Ali, who pitched his camp at Bettiah. Gurgan Khan then advanced to the north, and commenced the ascent of a pass through the hills. Here he was met by the Nepalese, and a short fight took place in which the Bengal army was successful. They pushed on to the summit and halted for the night, but no sooner was it dark than the Nepalese attacked and drove them back in disorder to the bottom of the pass. The whole force then fled in rout back to the main camp at Bettiah; and the Nawab, without making any further attempt to pierce the Nepalese defence, broke up his camp and marched off to Patna (1783).

The invasion was a disastrous failure.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF TIRHUT DURING THE ENGLISH PERIOD.

The preceding pages show how Muhammadan power became practically extinct in Tirhut in the beginning of the 18th century. In fact the dominions of the Moghul Emperors were reduced to a few districts in the neighbourhood of their capital, Delhi, and Indian potentates and adventurers established themselves wherever they could, all over the country, including

Extinction of the Muslim power at the beginning of the 18th century.

Tirhut. They ceased to pay revenue to the Government wherever and whenever they could do so with impunity. From the time of Aurangzeb, Tirhut and Bihar formed part of Bengal and were ruled from Murshidabad where the Moghul Emperor's viceroy lived; and the history of Tirhut became associated with that of Bengal.¹

Foundation of the British
influence near Calcutta.

It will suffice here to say that British merchants established themselves firmly near Calcutta towards the end of the 17th century. Any attempt at the history of the foundation of the British Raja will be out of place here. But it may be stated that several villages which now form the site of present Calcutta, had been conveyed to the British Company by valid patents of Alamgir (i.e. Aurangzib) and these settlements were confirmed by the Sayyid Ministry of 1717.² Though the Governor or Nawab of that time, Murshid Kuli, continued to annoy the factory his successor, Ali Vardi Khan, in the year 1742, allowed them to make their possessions secure.

1 Fakhrudaula, a brother of Zafar Khan (Governor of Bengal), was Governor of Bihar, but owing to some quarrel with one Khwaja Mutassim, he was dismissed from his Governorship of Bihar which was then annexed to Bengal under royal orders, under Shuja Khan (Shujaudaula), son-in-law of Zafar Khan, as Governor, about the year 1740 A.D. Henceforth Bihar was ruled from Murshidabad, the Musalman capital of Bengal (Murshidabad was so called after Murshidkuli Khan which was the former name of Zafar Khan) and the Murshidabad Nawabs appointed their deputies to rule Bihar with capital at Patna. Thus Shuja Khan (Shujaudaula) appointed Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jang as his Deputy Governor of Bihar (pages 372-381 of Sayar-ul-Mutakharin, Loridon edition, 1831).

Cf. also Khulasat-tu-Tawarikh, by Maharaja Kalyana Simha, p. 222, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June 1919.

It is worthy of note that in the times of Bakhtiar Khilji and his immediate successors, South Behar was included in the Bengal or Lakhnauti Viceroyalty. South Bihar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty in 622 H. by Emperor Altamsh who placed it under a distinct governor, named Alaaddin Jant. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Behar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler, Ghiasuddin (see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 163). It continued to be a part of the Bengal Kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Behar belonged to the *Shar* Kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397 A.D.; again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Governor Darya Khan, assumed independence in Behar, with the title of Shah Muhammad, and about 1498 A.D. or about 903 A.H. South Bihar again became more or less subject to the Musalman Kings of Gauh, Husain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Under the early Mughal Emperors, Behar was again formed into a distinct Subah, but under the later Mughals, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal Viceroyalty. North Behar appears to have been generally included in the Musalman Kingdom of Bengal (cf. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 451 and 586) cf. pages 59-60 of *Riyazu-s-Salatm*, by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

² The two Sayyid brothers were those who held the balance of power during the reign of King Farrukh-Shiar of Delhi and his feeble successors (page 144, Keene's History of India, Vol. 1, 1906 edition;).

Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-daula who was weak and an inexperienced man of violent temper. The British community of Calcutta succeeded in overthrowing Siraj-ud-daula who had committed atrocities on them and made Mir Jaffar, a relative of Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab in 1757. Jaffar was however an old man of feeble disposition and was deposed by the British in the year 1760. He was succeeded by Mir Kasim.

The relations of the British with Mir Kasim were ruptured about the year 1763 when Mir Kasim aided by the titular emperor Shah Alam of Delhi and Shuja, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, threatened to storm the Company's possessions at Patna.

The parties eventually faced each other near Buxar where a pitched battle was fought. It was a daring deed, for the British had less than 11,000 soldiers, whereas the forces of their adversaries numbered over 50,000. Victory sided with the British. The Emperor Shah Alam came over to the British camp and made over the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar (including Tirhut) and Orissa together with the districts of Benares and Gazipur, as imperial fief, to the British Company. The treaty, was concluded on the 12th August, 1765 A.D. and the Company undertook to pay the Emperor Rs. 26 lacs a year in return for the Dewani.¹

It has been usual to regard Gave's victory at Plassey as the decisive battle of British India. But it is evident that it was not comparable to the battle of Buxar. Plassey indeed may be almost said to have had no direct or immediate result beyond a palace revolution. It was Buxar which, coming after the dazzling successes of Adams, conferred upon the Company and its officers a legitimate status as servants and feudatories of the Moghul empire and virtual masters of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa by imperial Grant.²

¹ It may be noted, however, that Orissa remained for some time in the hands of the Mahrattas and came under the British power in the year 1803 A.D.

² The text of the Farman granted by King Shah Alam to the English in 1765 is worth reading.

" At this happy time our royal Farman indispensably requiring obedience, is issued; that, whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high

This conferment of the Diwani practically transferred all sovereign power to the Company, and this transference of power was required in the interests of the Indian people.¹

The Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa handed over to the British.

Since the year 1765 the history of Tirhut has been confined to the establishment of order, the progress of settled Government, the growth of cultivation,² etc., etc.

A short campaign, however, was necessary before the authority of the British was acknowledged in Tirhut. Of this campaign the following account is taken from Broome's 'History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army' (1850):—

and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewani of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from of the beginning of the Fussel Rubby of the Bengal year 1182, as a free gift and ultumgan, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption of the payment of the customs of the Dewany, which used to be paid by the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabab Nudjum-ul-Dowla Beheuder, and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar; and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army for the Protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees to royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahshigh in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddes of the Dewany, the Manager of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must, on no account whatsoever, give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewany and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom—written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August. 1765 (Aitchison's Treaties (India), p. 60).

¹ Keene's History of India, Vol. I, Chapters VI and VII (1906 edition).

² Though Champaran was included in Mithila, it used to be mentioned separately from Tirhut and Hajipur, and never formed part of Saran in any Moghul records. But it appears from revenue records that either at (about 1790 A.D.) or before the Permanent Settlement, it formed part of the district of Saran with the headquarters at Chapra and was separated from it and formed into a district in the year 1866, with an area of 3531 sq. miles.

It was about the year 1781 when Tirhut received its first European Collector in Mr. Grand, that the Sircar of Hajipur was coalesced into the Sircar of Tirhut and then ceased to exist as a separate unit. The town of Hajipur lost some of its importance owing to the transference of its administrative importance to Muzaffarpur.

The district of Tirhut having an area of 6343 sq. miles and having grown beyond the administrative capacity of one Collector was split up, in 1874, into the two districts of Muzaffarpur with its head quarters at Muzaffarpur (a town founded in the 18th century by one Muzaffarkhan, an amil or farmer of Chakla

" In the beginning of 1766, Sir Robert Barker moved from Bankipore with a considerable detachment of his Brigade into the Bettiah country, to reduce a number of the refractory zamindars of that district, who, taking advantage of the troubles that had existed for the last two years, had shut themselves up in their strongholds and refused to pay any revenue, of which considerable arrears were now due. The judicious arrangements of Sir Robert Barker, and the efficient force at his disposal, led to a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of affairs in this quarter. Some little resistance appears to have been offered at first, but the inutility of such attempts being rendered very apparent, served to prevent any subsequent efforts of the same nature, and in a few months the whole country was brought into a state of complete subjection."

Sir Robert Barker, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated from Camp at Rampur, 6th March, 1766, gave a very favourable account of the resources of this district, with which even at the present time we are but scantily acquainted. He observes:—' Bettiah will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the jungles) ; timbers as large as any I have seen, musk and elephants' teeth; besides many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of.' The Select Committee reported these circumstances to the Court of Directors, stating that they looked upon it ' rather as an article of curious intelligence than mere prospects of advantage to the Company.' At the same time, they expressed their determination of pushing the discovery to the utmost advantage, if the advices received met with confirmation.

It appears that under the orders of the Court of Directors, a Board¹ of Revenue was established in

Nai in pargana Bisara) and Darbhanga. (Pp. 5 and 6 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901).

¹ Para. 98, page 34 of Pinal Report, on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Calcutta in the year 1772, and the revenue of Tirhut was settled for 5 years on the farming system. But in 1774, only two years later, this European Agency was replaced by native amils under the superintendence of six Provincial Councils, Tirhut being subordinate to that stationed at Patna. About the year 1777 the Board directed the collection of detailed information for the purposes of revenue settlement. Mr. Francis Grand,¹ to whom is attributed the foundation of indigo as European enterprise in Tirhut, was appointed the first Collector of Tirhut in 1782 and continued collecting detailed information and making settlements till 1787 when he was replaced by

¹ The following report, written by him in 1785, throws some light on the condition of the district. He wrote :—

" I n 1782 I was transferred by Mr. Hastings from Head Assistant to a commercial factory (in which the duties consisted of prizing cloths, seeing saltpetre weighed or loaded, attending to the accounts, etc.) to the Government of two considerable provinces involving the settlement or collection of revenues and maintenance of justice: the provinces were Tirhut and Hajipur. I took possession of a country yielding a revenue of above seven lakhs of rupees, but which had suffered from the depredations committed by those who were compelled to abandon the charge to me, and had besides been in revolt owing to the intrigues of the Raja of Benares, Chet Singh, whose baneful influence had spread so far, and would have spread further had he not been checked in time by Mr. Hastings' wise and spirited measures.

" I recovered a large balance due from the farmers to Government, quieted and appeased without bloodshed every disturbance, brought back the disobedient to a just sense of their errors, augmented the revenue, introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, erected three at my own expense, and thus possessed at that moment a fortune of £15,000 sterling, looked forward to a proportionate augmentation by continuing in my station and extending my manufactories, which with my houses, lands, furniture, tents, equipages, horses, boats, stood then upon a valuation of £10,000 more."

In 1787 Lord Cornwallis having been apprised that Mr. Grand was largely interested in local industries transferred him from Tirhut, and the news drew from him the following remarkable protests :—

" On the 26th August 1787 I was in full possession of my appointment and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance, and luxury of life. I was beloved and respected by those living with me, my assistants, Mr. David Vander Heyden (since M. P. for Westloe), Mr. Henry Colebrook (since Member, Supreme Council) together with Mr. Steel my Surgeon, and Mr. Purvis, my Private Secretary (since retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from the indigo manufactories), and I will say, because I challenge the contrary to be proved almost venerated by the natives of every description under my government, whose tears on hearing of my removal accompanied me even from the place of residence to the bank of the Ganges, where the limits of the district ceased, a distance of twenty-five miles.

" On the 27th August 1787, by one stroke of His Lordship's pen, was Mr. Robert Bathurst nominated Collector of Tirhut and Hajipur, and thus every hope and fair built prospect existing on the preceding day completely blasted. Thus the blow was struck, and from that day fell, perhaps never more to rise. View the portrait and feel " !!! (Cf. pages 35-36, paras. 100 and 101 of Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Mr. Bathurst, who took up the enquiries. Between the years 1790 and 1793, the whole of Tirhut including Champara had its revenue permanently fixed under the direction of Lord Cornwallis.¹

Between the years 1840 and 1845, a first revenue Survey of Tirhut was made along with that of the rest of the country. It was followed by the River Survey between the years 1860 to 1862.²

It may be mentioned here that the Bettiah estate used often to fight with the Nepalese administration and the British Government had to take action with the Nepal Government several times.*

The Bettiah Estate and the Nepal Darbar.

In the year 1840, the last cause of the disturbance was that the Nepalese entered the Ramnagar territory on the occasion of a large fair and proclaimed that the tract of land (8 miles wide and 30 miles broad) which had formerly belonged to Nepal but had been given to the Rām-nagar Rājā on the occasion of his marrying a Nepalese princess, had now on the death of the princess, been resumed by Nepal. Eventually the Nepalese had to withdraw from this region and the villages were made over to the rightful owners in the year 1842.*

The results of the mutiny were felt on the border (between Tirhut and Nepal) at Sugauli where Major Holms was murdered by his men. From there the mutineers proceeded via Siwan to Azam Gurh. Though some treasures were looted, precautions were taken throughout Tirhut on account of the mutiny and nothing serious happened anywhere. The Nepalese sepoys who were lent to keep order in these parts of the country, proved very useful during the mutiny.

The main burden of preserving peace and order during

1 Para, 100, page 39 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

2 Para. 260, page 95 of do. do. do.

8 For those interested in these settlements, the following works are recommended:—

- (i) Prinsep's Political and Military Transactions in India, Vol. I, 1825.
 - (ii) Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, 1880.
 - (iii) Mutiny of the Bengal Army (1857-58).
 - (iv) Holmes' History of Indian Mutiny, 1891.
- Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, 1880.

the stormy days of the mutiny, fell upon the European Planters in Tirhut.

In the year 1858, Tirhut with the rest of India passed from the British East India Company to the British Crown.

The immense material and moral progress that Tirhut with the rest of India has seen under the British rule need hardly be dwelt upon here.

APPENDIX A.

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF SANSKRIT WRITERS OF MITHILA.

<i>Name of Author.</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged.</i>	<i>Part of the century.</i>
Athinava Vācaspati Miśra ..	between 1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Acala Upādhyāya ..	18th	
Arjuna Jhā ..	19th	In the beginning.
Badrinātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Latter-half.
Baguraya Jhā or Ratnapāṇi ..	19th	First half.
Bāna Kavi ..	15th	Second-half.
Baidyanātha ..	18th	
Bateśvara Jhā ..	15th	In the middle.
Benidatta Jhā ..	18th	
Bhagiratha or Megha Thakkura ..	16th	Second-half.
Bhānudatta or Bhānu Miśra ..	13th	Do.
Bhavadeva Miśra ..	17th	First-half.
Bhavanatha Miśra ..	15th	Do.
Bibhākara ..	19th	In the middle.
Bhīṣma Upādhyāya ..	18th	First-half.
BisVésvara Miśra ..	17th	Second-half.
Cauda Jhā ..	19th	Towards the close.
Candēśvara Thakkura ..	14th	First-half.
Candradatta Jhā ..	19th	Do.
Candradatta Upādhyāya ..	Time not yet settled.	
Chatrakara Sukla ..	15th	In the middle.
Citradhara Upādhyāya ..	19th	
Dāmodara Miśra ..	15th	About the middle.
Devanātha Thakkura ..	16th	
Dhanapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	Latter-half.
Dinabandhu alias Nemana Jhā ..	18th	In the middle.
Durgadatta Miśra ..	15th	
Durgadatta Sarma (Jha) ..	19th	In the beginning.
Dvarkanātha Thakkura ..	19th	In the latter-half.
Gaṇapati ..	17th	
Gaṇēśvara Miśra ..	14th	First-half.
Gangadasa Jhā ..	Time not yet settled.	
Gangananda ..	17th	In the beginning.
Gangeśopādhyāya ..	12th	Fourth-quarter.
Giridhāri Upādhyāya ..	Time not yet settled.	
Gobardhanācārya ..	12th	
Gobinda Thakkura ..	16th	
Gokulnātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	First half.
Grahesvara Miśra ..	14th	
Harapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	At the end.

<i>Name of Author.</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged.</i>	<i>Part of the century.</i>
Harihara ..	19th	Second-half.
Hariharopādhyāya ..	18th	
Harināthopādhyāya ..	14th	Second-half.
Harṣanātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Towards the close.
Hemāṅgada Thakkura ..	16th	
Hridāyanāth Sarrna ..	19th	
Indrapati Thakkura ..	15th	In the middle.
Jagaddhara ..	15th	First-half.
Jayadeva Miśra ..	15th	Latter half.
Jivanātha Jhā ..	18th	
Jyotirīśvara Kavisekharācāryya	14th	First-half.
Kālidāsa ..	Time not yet settled	
Kedāranātha Sarma ..	19th	Second-half.
Kesava Miśra ..	16th	Second-quarter.
Khageśa Sarma ..	18th	Latter-half.
Kṛṣṇa Sarma ..	19th	
Kṛṣṇadatta Upādhyāya ..	19th	In the beginning.
Lakṣmidhara Upādhyāya ..	17th	Latter-half.
Lakṣmipati Upādhyāya ..	15th	First-half.
Locaua Kavi ..	17th	Second-half.
Macala Upādhyāya ..	18th	Do.
Madhusūdana ..	15th	First-half.
Madhusūdana Thakkura ..	1610 A.D. (i.e. towards the close of the 16th century)	
Maheśa Thakkura ..	16th	Second-half.
Maudana Miśra ..	9th	First-half.
Misaru Misra ..	15th	About the middle.
Mukteśvara Jhā ..	19th	Second-half.
Murāri Miśra ..	9th	In the beginning.
Murāri Miśra ..	15th	Third-quarter.
Murāri Miśra ..	16th	Second-quarter.
Narahari ..	Time not yet settled	
Narahari Miśra ..	16th	In the beginning.
Narahari Upādhyāya ..	15th	In the middle.
Narapati Jhā ..	18th	Towards the close.
Nilāmbara Jhā ..	19th	
Padmanābha Datta ..	14th	Second-half.
Padmanābha Miśra ..	17th	
Paraśurāma Jhā (Mahāmahopādhyāya) ..	17th	Second-half.
Pārthasārathi Miśra ..	Time not yet settled	
Pradyumṇa ..	16th	First-half.
Prajñākara ..	Time not yet settled.	
Premauidhi Thakkura ..	15th	Towards the close.
	(1488 A.D.)	
Puruṣottama Deva ..	13th	Second-half.
Raghudeva Miśra (Saraśvata)	17th	Do.
Raghudeva Jhā ..	13th	At the end.

<i>Name of Author.</i>	<i>Century to which the author belonged.</i>	<i>Part of the century.</i>
RājaSekhara	14th	
Rāma Upādhyāya (Jha) ..	18th	Towards the close.
Rāmabhadra Upādhyāya ..	16th	Do.
Rāmadāsa Jhā	17th	Do.
Rāraadatta Thakkura ..	14th	Second-half.
Ratnapāṇi	15th	Third-quarter.
Ravi Thakkura	16th	In the beginning.
Rucidatta Upādhyāya ..	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Rucipati	15th	First-half.
Rudradhara Upādhyāya ..	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Sālikānatha Miśra	Time not yet settled.	
Samkara Miśra	16th	Second-half
Samkara Miśra	15th	Do.
Sarborutribedin	19th	
Simha Bhupāla	14th	
Sivāditya Miśra	11th	First-half.
Sridattopādhyāya	14th	At the beginning.
Sridatta Miśra	15th	First-half.
Srinivāsa Miśra	14th.	
Subhaukara Thakkura ..	16th	At the end.
Sucarita Miśra	16th	First-half.
Sudhākara	16th	Beginning.
Udayanācāryya	10th	Towards the close,
Umāpati Upādhyāya ..	18th	First-quarter.
Vacaspati Miśra	9th	Second-quarter.
Varddhamānopādhyāya ..	1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Varddhamāuopādhyāya ..	13th	
Vangamani	17th	First-half.
VanSamani	17th	Beginning.
Vasudeva Miśra	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Vidyākara Miśra	19th	
Vidyāpati Thakkura	15th	First-half.
Viṣṇudatta Jhā	18th	Latter-half.

ABHINAVA VACASPATI MISRA

A most distinguished writer on Smṛti. In the final colophon of the Sudra-ācāra-cintamani, he is called Maharājādhirāja Srimada-Harinārayana-pariṣada, a court Paṇḍita of the King Hari Nārāyana Bhairava Simhadeva. In his last work extant, the Pitr-bhakti-tarangīṇi, towards the end, Vācaspati is called the Pariṣad, or court Paṇḍita of Ramabhadradeva, the son of Bhairava Siṃha.

HIS WORKS ARE I :—

- (i) The Ācāra-cintāmaṇi, on the daily rites of the Vajasneyins, including the daily worship of deities.

- (H) The Ahnika-cintāmaṇi, on the daily rites of the twice-born generally.
- (iii) The Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, dealing with the festivals of the year.
- (iv) The Tirtha-cintāmaṇi, describing the five sacred places. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Bhuvanesvara), Gayā, the Ganges, and Benares, and the various ceremonies to be observed there when on pilgrimage.
- (v) The Dvaita-cintāmaṇi, on doubtful points of Smṛti.
- (vi) The Nīti-cintāmaṇi, on the kingly duties.
- (vii) The Vivāda-cintāmaṇi, dealing with civil and criminal law.
- (viii) The Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, on legal procedure and evidence.
- (ix) The Suddhi-cintāmaṇi, on purification.
- (x) The Sūdr-ācāra-cintāmaṇi, on the daily duties of a Sudra.
- (xi) The Srāddha-cintāmaṇi on funeral ceremonies.
- (xii) The Tithi-nīrṇaya, on the doubtful points of Smṛti in connection with lunar days.
- (xiii) The Dvaita-nīrṇaya, the ascertainment of doubtful or disputed points in Smṛti.
- (xiv) The Mahādāna-nīrṇaya, deals with the sixteen great gifts.
- (xv) The Vivāda-nīrṇaya, on points of civil and criminal law.
- <xvi) The Suddhi-nīrṇaya, on purification due to religious impurities, death, birth, etc.
- (xvii) The Kṛtya-mahārṇava, dealing with the fasts and festivals of the year and discussing the proper time thereof.
- (xviii) The Gayā-srāddha-paddhati, a manual of the funeral rites to be performed at Gaya.
- (xix) The Candana-dhenu-pramaṇa, a discussion of the texts for substituting sandal paste marks instead of burnt marks on the bull dedicated at the time of the Srāddha.
- (xx) The Dattaka-vidhi, or Dattaka-putr-estiyāga-vidhi, a manual of the rites for the adoption of a son.
- (xxi) Pitṛbhakti taraṅgini.

- (xxii) Prāyascittacintāmani.
- (xxiii) Gayāyātrā.
- (xxiv) Gayāprayoga.

At the end of the Pitr-bhakti¹ he states that he composed 10 works on the Sāstras (Nyāya) and 30 on Smṛti. His Nyāya works yet discovered are :—

- (i) The Anumāna-khaṇḍa-tikā, said to give the essence of the views of Gautama (Nyāya) and of Jaimini (Mīmāṃsā). It is probably a commentary on the Anumāna-khaṇḍa of Gangesopādhyāya's tattva-cintāmani.
- (ii) The Khaṇḍan-oddhāra, notes on the work of Sriharṣa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā.
- (iii) The Nyāya-sūtra-oddhāra, notes on the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. A fragment only found.
- (iv) The Sabda-nirṇaya, a grammatico-philosophical treatise on Sabda or words. No MS. yet found. Mentioned in his Dvaita-nirṇaya.

One Laghu-puruṣ artha-cintāmani is mentioned in the Benares College Catalogue as composed by the Maithila Vācaspati Miśra. If correctly attributed, it is not clear whether it belongs to Smṛti or Darśana.

It is said traditionally that he had a son named Lakṣmidāsa who in 1501 A.D. wrote the Ganita-tattva-cintāmani, a commentary on the Ganitadhyāya and Golādhyāya of Bhāṣkarācārya's Siddhānta-sīromani. In this work he calls himself the son of Vacaspati Miśra, who was son of Keśava of the Upamanya Gotra.² Varddhamanopādhyāya in the Danda-viveka declared Sankara and Vācaspati as his guruvah (preceptors).

He has attributed some of his works to Bhairavendra (i.e. HariNārāyaṇa), i.e. the Kṛtya-mahārṇava, the Vyavahāra-cintāmani and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya and has admit

¹ Cf. Pitrībhakti Tarangini :—

ब्राह्मे इह कुलो निरन्तरि बंधा येन यौवने ।

निर्मिताखेन चरमे वयस्यष्ट विनिर्भवे ।

² But the Mithilā Panji Prabafidha (i.e. the hereditary tables of Maithila Brāhmanas) shows that Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Batsya-gotra and of Paliwarsamaul-mool.

Popular tradition calls a son of Vācaspati Miśra Narahari Miśra whose son was Keśava Miśra.

ted having composed several works such as Dvaita-nirṇaya by the order of Jayādevi, queen of Bhairavendra,

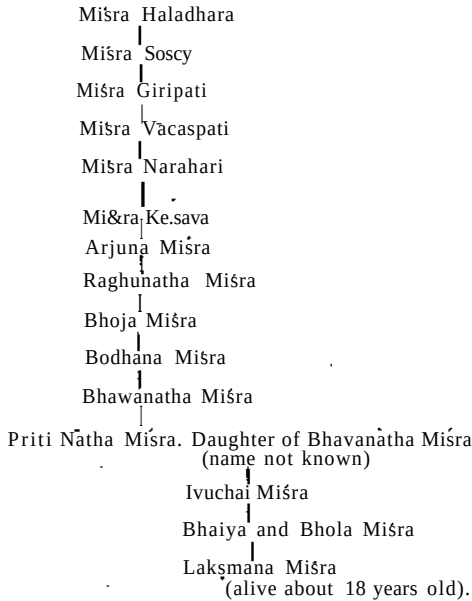
The oldest manuscript of his, a copy of the Suddhi-nirṇaya, is dated Samvat 1416, Caitra Amāvasya, or 1494 A.D.¹ These accounts show that he flourished in two reigns, viz. of Bhairavasīmhaḍeva, and in his old age of Bhairava's son Rāmabhadradeva.⁴

He composed a large number of works and must have lived to a good old age. He may be placed between years 1450 and 1550.

ACALA UPADHYAYA.

He is traditionally believed to be a brother of Macala Upadhyaya. This tradition is, however, based upon Pañji. Aufrecht³ mentions one Acala Upadhyaya, author of

The following table based on Maithilā Pañjis will show his family connection;—



¹ Cf. R. Mitra, Notices, X, p. 58, No. 3318.

Here 'Samvat' is obviously mistaken for Saka.

² Cf. Rāmabhadradeva.

Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 5 (a) and Vol. I I, p. 1 (b).

Vakyabāda and Sabda-vicāra. From his name it appears that he was a Maithila. He has been also mentioned by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra in his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (No. 1940) and by Paṇḍita Debi Prasāda in his Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Oudh, Vol. XVII (1884, No. 22). His age is not yet certain, but tradition assigns him to the 18th century.

PANDITA ARJUNA JHĀ.

He is known for his works: (1) Laghu-dipika, a book on astrology, and (2) his commentary on Udayanācāryya's Kusumafijali.

He is traditionally assigned to village Magrauni in the Darbhanga district and is said to have flourished at the beginning of the 19th century.¹

PANDITA BADRI NĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was the author of (1) the commentary known as Marmasucika Byākhyā on the Tantrika work "Bhairava-Yāma-loktastotra"; (2) a commentary on Tārābhakti Sudhārṇava; (3) Cakra Kaumudi.

Paṇḍita Ceta Nātha Jhā of Darbhanga has written a detailed commentary on Badrinātha's Bhairava-Yama-lokta-Stotra.

Aufrecht* has mentioned one Badrinātha Upadhyāya mentioned in Kavindra Candrodāya. It is not certain if it is the same person as our author.

His style is modern and his time certain. He is said to have emigrated from his birth-place in village Khokhā in the Purnea district to village Ujjain in Darbhanga district where he lived under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Maheswara Simha.³ So he may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

¹ Cf. the commentary.

कार्तिक दशमप्रतिपद्भक्त गोविन्दस्यार्थे लिखितमिदम् । पुस्तक लिखन परिश्रमसेवा
विद्वज्जगदीश्वरः । स्वामर सङ्गमखेदो बहुमानिकः परंवेति । इति शके १७४३ सन् १९९८ साख ।

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 366 (b).
Cf. Maheswara Simha.

RATNAPĀNI JHĀ OR BAGURAIYĀ JHĀ.

He is the author of the following works¹ :—

Ācārasaṁgraha (Smṛti);

Ekoddistasāriṇī;

Kṛiṣṇārcanacandrikā ;

Kṣayamāsādiviveka;

Nāḍiparikṣādicikitsakathana;

Parvanacandrika;

Prāyaścittapārijāta;

Mahādānavākyaṅgāvali;

Mithileśacarita, a description of the customs and manners of Mithila and its rulers;

Mithileśahnika ;

Vratācāra, written for Maheśvarasimha, son of Rudrasimha, son of Chattra Simha ;

Subodhini Dh., written by request of Rudrasimha, Raja of Tirhut;

Rāmacandra Pratistha, a book on rituals and several ritualistic and religious songs.

He is a modern writer and was contemporary of Rājā Rudra Simha² who patronised him. His time is certain and he may be placed in the first half of the 19th century.

BANAKAVI.

He is the author of Pārvati-pariṇaya-nāṭaka, dealing with rituals of marriage ceremonies prevalent in Mithila. He was a Maithila Brahmana of *Bhandāri-samaya-mool* and of Vatsya-gotra.³ Popular tradition assigns him to a village called Bhandarisama in Darbhanga district near Manigāchi railway station. The image of goddess, 'Vaniswara-bhagawati' said to have been founded by him, is still to be found in that village.

1 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 490 (a).

2 Cf. Rudra Simha.

3 Based upon Maithila Panji.

Baṇakavi was a very important and famous Paṇḍita of Mithilā.

He must be distinguished from his namesake, the famous writer of Kadamvari, Sri Harsa-caritra, etc.

Tradition makes him friend of Vācāspati Jhā¹ and brother of Rucipati.² So he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 15th century.

BAIDYANĀTHA.

He was a Maithila and wrote KeSava caritra, a poem describing the life of Keśava Deva, king of Multan, father of Tara Candra.³ He lived in the 18th century A.D.

BATEŚWARA JHĀ.

He is the author of a commentary on the Sanskrit drama Mudrā Rāksasa and said to have been a contemporary of Raja Dhira Simha⁴ and as such he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century A.D. He is said to have been great-great-grandfather of Narahari Upādhyāya.⁶

BENIDĀTTA JHĀ.

Known for his poem, Rasa-kaustubham, which is still in manuscript.

His age is not certain. He may be placed in the 18th century as his style is modern.

BHĀGĪRATHA OR MEGHA THAKKURA.

Three of his Vaiṣeṣika sub-commentaries are extant, all on Vārddhamāna's work, viz :—

- (i) the Kirṇāvali-prakāśa-prakāśikā;
- (ii) the (Nyaya). Kusum-anjali-prakāśa-prakāśikā, etc.;

¹ The following śloka is traditionally ascribed to Vācāspati Jhā :—

अथः कान्याक्षमेव कवि विपदि महारज रात्रिशौरेः शय्याः शय्यौष सिन्धु प्रक्षयमुपगतो
वाक्यसाक्षिण्य कोकः । दिव्योत्तरीयां मिथानं मिथनमुपगतं वाहता दिव्यवाणी । बाधे दूर
प्रथाये प्रतिष्ठत विधिना प्रापिते दीर्घे निद्रास् ।

² Cf. Rucipati.

³ Cf. the Lahore Statement No. 4 showing the old and rare manuscripts in the Gujranwālā and the Delhi districts, by Paṇḍita Kāśinātha Kunte.

⁴ Cf. Dhira Simha.

⁵ Cf. Narhari Upādhyāya.

- (iii) the (Nyāya) lilayati-prakāśa-vyākhyā;
- (iv) Dravyaprakāṣikā;
- (v) a commentary on Bauddhā-dhikkāra.

He was an elder brother of Mahesa Thakkurra and may therefore be placed with him in the 4th quarter of the 14th century.'

But if his brother, Mahesa Thakurra,² was the founder of the present Darbhanga Raj, then he must be placed in the 2nd half of the 16th century.

BHĀNU MISRA OR BHĀNU DATTA.

He is son of Ganeśa or Gaṇapati and he has cited several verses of his father in his works which evidently show that his father was also a poet. This Gaṇapati is very likely the author of 'Mahāmōda' to which reference is made by Rajasekhara.³

The four works, viz : (1) Rasamaiijari; (2) Rasa taraṅgiṇī; (3) Rasapārijāta ; and (4) Gita-gauripati, are ascribed to him. The first two works are undoubtedly by one and the same Bhānudatta. According to his own statement* Rasamaiijarī is an older and more detailed work than Rasataraṅgiṇī.

The following works are also attributed to him⁵:—

- (1) Kumāra Bhārgaviya,
- (2) Muhurta-śara,
- (3) Alatkāra Tilaka,
- (4) Sringaradipika.

He says at the end of the Rasamaiijari that he lived in a country encircled by the river of the gods, i.e. the Ganges. This must put him in close proximity to Mithilā.

According to tradition he was living in village Isahpur

¹ Cf. the following śloka which is attributed to Megha Thakkurra who is said to have been a student of Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara Misra :—

विश्वरूपे जयदेवे पण्डितकवेसका विषयारक्तः श्रीमानिष भतीरयः सुमज्जि श्रीचन्द्रपत्यात्मज
श्रीश्रीरामदेव तेन रचिता श्रीमच्छेष्ठाग्रज श्रीदामोदरपूर्वजेन जयसाहाचन्द्रनेषा

कतिः ॥ ४ ॥

² Cf. Mahesh Thakkur, p. .

³ Cf. Sakti Mukṭāvalī of Jalhana.

⁴ Cf. Peterson's introduction to Subhāṣitāvalī, p. 33.

⁵ Cf. Rasataraṅgiṇī, p. 68A, Benares edition.

⁶ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 505 (a), 1885.

near Manigāchi railway station in Darbhanga district. A tank called Bhānumati is still found in that village.

His date is uncertain.¹ His Rasamaiijarī was commented upon by Gopāla in Vikrama Samvata 1494, i.e. 1437 A.D.

Certain verses, viz. verses Nos. 790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328 and 3685 in "Saraṅgadhara-Paddhati" are cited under the name of the poet Bhānupaṇḍita or Vaidya Bhanupaṇḍita. If our author is identical with Vaidya Bhanu Paṇḍita, he certainly lived before the date of Saraṅgadhara Paddhati, i.e. 1363 A.D.

In Rasataraiigini and Rasamaiijari, he frequently cites 'Bharata' and 'Srngara Tilaka' of Rudrabhatta. It is now certain that Rudrabhatta lived before the 12th century A.D. because he is cited by Hem Candra, the author of "Kavyaśūśana," who admittedly lived in the 12th century. So Bhanudatta may be placed approximately in the 2nd half of the 13th century.

BHAVADEVĀ MISRA.

He was son of Kṛṣṇadeva Miśra of Mithilā and was author of Danadharmā-prākriyā and Patanjalasutrābhāṣyā² and he belonged to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D.

BHAVANATHA MISRA.

He was father of Safikara Miśra and brother of Jivānatha or Jayanatha Miśra. He was known for his erudite learning of Sāikhya Darśana Nyāya and Smṛti. Even now the Maithilās identify his house in village Sarisava in Darbhanga district.

The works Mimamsā Navaviveka, Nyāya Pallava, Nyāyalilāvatanthābharāṇa and Kṣāṇḍanākhādyatika are attributed to him though without³ absolute certainty.

He spent his days in Benares. Bhavanātha Misra has

¹ According to popular tradition he was father of Jānuddatta Miśra and Jānuddatta's daughter's son was Gaṅgā Nanda Kavi, who was author of Bhṛṅga-dutta.

² Cf. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rājendra Lal Mittra, Calcutta, 1871-90, No. 1834.

³ अथोत्तमव्यापितमर्जितं यशो न शोचनीयं किमपीह भूतले । अतः परं औभवनाथशर्मा
यस्य शोचनीयं किमपीह भूतले ।

left a great name and reputation in Mithila.¹ It is said of him by the Maithila Panditas that he was named Ajāchi Misra because when a ruler of Mithila called him to his house, he said it was not necessary for him to go to the king and all that he required were a few *bel* fruits of which there was an abundance in his house.

As he was father of Sankara Misra² he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.

BIBHĀKARA.

He was author of Ācāra-dvaita and is said to have belonged to village Ujana in Darbhanga district. He is assigned to the middle of the 19th century A.D.

BHĪSMA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the author of Gita-Samkara (a book on music) mentioned in the Catalogue of Oudh Manuscripts.³ He is also accredited with the authorship of Kumarasambhvatikā and Vṛtyadarpaṇa. He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa.

His time is uncertain but he has a modern style and may be roughly placed in the 18th century A.D.

BISVESVARA MISRA.

He is author of "Smrtisamuccaya" mentioned by Dhanurdhara in his "Nitya Kṛtyārṇava," Tradition says that he was married to the daughter (Kumudinidevi) of Raja Acyuta⁴ Thakkura and that he was father of Raghu-deva Miśra who has mentioned him in his Virudavali.⁵ He is traditionally said to have been honoured by king Shah Jahan.

¹ It is said of him that a Sanyāsi who saw him teaching his pupils spoke :—

सर्वं सर्वं विचारं ज्ञानुरी कामुरीय वयसा विभावये ।

ज्ञानुरी भवति यत्र ज्ञानसम् ।

on this Bhāvanātha Misra replied :—

ज्ञानुरी धिनं सया करोमि कः

² Cf. Saṅkara Misra.

³ Cf. Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Oudh by Pandita Deviprasāda, Vol. III, 20 : also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 154 (a).

Also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 413 (b).

⁴ Cf. Account of Darbhanga Raj Family

⁵ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 448(a).

He is to be distinguished from BiSweSwara, author¹ of " Smṛti Samuccaya " quoted by Hemadri, by Snlapaṇi, by Premanidhi, by Raghunandana in PrāyaScitta-tattva, by Ananta in Bidhāna Pārijāta, etc..

As he was a son-in-law of Acyuta Thakkura, he may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 17th century.

PAIJTDITA CANDĀ JHĀ.

He was a great writer who flourished towards the close of the 19th century and was in the employ of the late Mahārāja Sir Lakṣmeśwara Simha and the present Maharaja Sir Rameswara Simha. He has left several works, some of which are :—

1. Mithiā Bhāṣa Rāmāyaṇa.
2. Saptasati.
3. Puruṣa-parīkṣā-tika.
4. Rasamanjari.
5. Lakṣmiswara Vilasa.
6. Vātāhāvāna.
7. Gitāśudha.

He may certainly be placed towards the close of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century.

CANDESVARA THAKKURA.

He is a noted authority of Smṛti in Mithila and he is known for his famous Smṛti Ratnakara which consists of seven parts² :—

- (i) The Kṛtya-ratnakara³ deals with fasts, festivals, and their appropriate times,

¹ Cf. Virudavali :—

बीविश्वेश्वर भिषगः कुमुदिनी देवी कुमारं कुलासंकारं समता पथं गच्छयन्ति गौरी
मिरिमादिव दोषिणी ऽचुतठकुरस्य कृतिभिः श्रीवृद्धिनामान्ययःवेद्योऽसौ रघुदेव बालक कवि
वैदेहभूषणः ॥

विधादुधमुखं मन्त्रीपतिमद्य श्रीवृद्धिनाथं ततो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाधिदेव सहितं श्रीमोक्षनं
मोक्षनम् । ततो श्रीहरिदेव देव जगुषं ओष्ठं वयोभिर्गुणैः कृत्स्नमां विषदावलीनिध सदाजगन्ते
ऽमुनेन्यस्यमान् ॥

² Cf. the last śloka of the Dāna-ratnākara.

श्रीकृत्यदानस्यवहार इति पूजा विषादेव तथा मृच्छकं ।

रत्नाकराधर्माभुषो निबन्धाः, कृतास्तुलापूषव देन सप्त ।

³ The Kṛtya-ratnākara quotes a considerable number of later Smṛti works, e.g. the—

- (ii) The Grhastha-ratnākara¹ deals with the duties of a householder,
 (iii) The Dana-ratnakara² deals with the various kinds of religious gifts.
 (iv) The Suddhi-ratnākara³ is on purification,
 (v) The Vivada-ratnakara³ deals with the Civil and Criminal law and may be said to have formed

Kalpa-taru (39 times)
 Kalpa-taru-kara (7)
 Kāma dhenu (7)
 Gopāla (2)
 Jīa-nibandha (1)
 Bhupāla (9)
 Dāna-sāgara (25)
 Deveśvara Dharmā-dhikāranika (1)
 Parijāta (36)
 Murāri-rājā (1)
 Yogiśvara (2)
 Rājā-marttanda (3)
 Lakṣmidhara (4)

Varṣa-dipikā (1)
 Vasantarāja (1)
 Visvarupa (1)
 Vrata-sāgara (1)
 Sesodatta (1)
 Sesodatta (1)
 Sridattopādhyāya (1)
 Sat-trimsanmata (2)
 Samaya-pradipa (12)
 Skānda-yamala (1)
 Sāgara (20)
 Smṛti-maharajava-prakāśa-kara (2)
 Halāyudha (2).

¹ The Grhastha quotes the—

Kalpa-taru (8)
 Kalpa-taru-kara (2)
 Kāma-dhenu (1)
 Parijāta (18)
 Mitakṣara-kara (3)
 Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (1)

Lakṣmidhara (10)
 Sridatt-aunika (2)
 Smṛti-maharajavakara (5)
 Smṛti-ratna viveka (3)
 Halāyudha (9), and besides these it mentions thrice his own Kṛtya-ratn-ākara.

² The work (Dana) professes to have been made after consulting the Kalpa-druma, the Parijāta and the Kāma-dhenu. The references are few, among which may be mentioned :—

Kalpa-taru (1)
 Kāma-dhenu (1)
 Dāna-sāgara (8)
 Parijāta (4)
 Prakāśa (2)
 Brhad-Yogiśvara (1)
 Bhupāla (7)

Bhupāla-paddhati (1)
 Medhatithi (r)
 Mṛtyunjaya (2)
 Yogiśvara (2)
 Lakṣmidhara (1)
 Sāgara (13)

³ It forms the basis of the Vivada-cintamani of Vacaspa'i Misra, the Vivada-cāndra of Miśra Miśra and the Daṇḍa-viveka of law, such as the commentators of the Daya-bhaga (Acyuta Cakravartti, Raghunandana, Sri-Kṛṣṇa Tarkalankara), Raghunandan in his 28 tattvas, and so on. It contains a large number of quotations from authorities, and mentions the following late works and writers of Smṛti :—

Asahāya as quoted by Prakāśa-kara (1)
 Udayakara in Manuṭika (4)
 Kalpa-taru (21)
 Kalpa-taru-kara (4)
 Kāma-dhenu (6)
 Graheśvara Miśra (2)
 Parijāta (50)
 Bhaguri, the Vṛtti-kara (1)
 (Manu) Bhāṣya-kara (1)
 Mitakṣara (7)

Mitakṣara-kara (3)
 Miśra (1)
 Medhatithi, quoted twice from the Prakāśa (7)
 Lakṣmidhara (11)
 Smṛti-Maharajava (1)
 (Smṛti-maharajava) prakāśa (22)
 (Smṛti maharajava) prakāśa-kara (25)
 Harihara (3)
 Halāyudha-nibandha (3).

the basis of the Vivāda cintamaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra (Abhinava), the Vivāda candra of Miśra Miśra and others who followed Candeśvara Thakkura,

- (vi) The Vyavahara-ratnakara¹ is on legal procedure and evidence,
- (vii) Puṇḍra Ratnākara.

He compiled other works, viz : —

- (i) The Kṛtya-cintamani² on astrological discussions of religious observances.

It was often quoted in later works and should be distinguished from the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra. In the introductory verses it mentions Garga, Varāhamihira, Bhojaraja Sripati Parasara and Saxya, Jivesvara and others.

- (ii) The Dana-vakyavali² seems to be a supplement to his Dāna-ratn-ākara. It mentions the Kalpataru (3), the Kāma-dhenu (1), the Dāna-kanda, the Dana-sagara (1), besides his own Dāna-ratn-ākara (once).
- (iii) The Siva-vakyavali,² on Siva worship is quoted in the Varṣa-kṛtya of Rudradhara.

The following works are also attributed to him³ : —

- (1) Ādhividhi; (2) Dasa vimokṣavidhi; and (3) Svāmipalavivādataraṅga.

The Vivāda and the Vyavahara ratnakaras make him entitled to be called a writer on politics and his works may be compared well with those of Kautilyasta Kamaṇḍaka and Sukra, the early writers on Politics in Sanskrit whose works show Indian life in full vigour.

Candeśvara's works cover the whole ground of administration, military, civil, judicial, and so on. His work shows that he wrote under the orders of the king, Hara-Simha whose minister he was. It may be noted

¹ The Vyavahāra is said to be an enlargement of the Kalpa-druma, the Parijāta and the Kāmadhenu of Gopāla. The headings agree very nearly with those in the Vyavahara-Kalpa-taru.

² For the Kṛtya-cintamāni, Ind. Office Cat. p. 611, No. 1621, for the Dānavākya-vāli, Ind. Govt. MS. 5480 (33 folios) copies in samvat 1612 or 1555 A.D., and for the Śiva-vākya-vāli, Ind. Offg. Cat. VI, p. 1409, No. 3727.

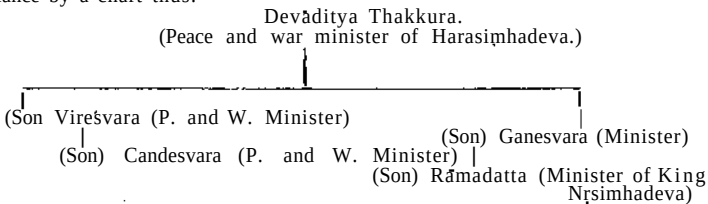
³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I. p. 177 (b).

that Ganeśvara, Candēsvara and Rāmadatta belong to one family. Candēsvara has given an account of his family in the Kṛtya-ratnākara (apart of his Smṛti-ratnākara), the end verses of Dana-ratnākara and the Vivāda-ratnākara.¹

Candēsvara was war minister of Harasiṃhadeva. He is said to have won great battles with the Nepalese in the Sākā year 1236 corresponding to 1314 A.D. Rāmadatta, son of Ganeśvara, was a Minister of Raja Nṛsiṃhadeva of Mithiā. Candēsvara says that he conquered the Mlecchas. This may perhaps refer to the Muslim invasion of Tirhut about 1324 A.D. under Ghyasuddin.²

In the circumstances Gaṇeśvara and Candēsvara may be safely placed in the ist-half and Rāmadatta in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.

1 We get the following facts about the family. Devāditya was peace and war minister of the king Harasiṃhadeva. He had two sons, Virēśvara and Gaṇeśvara. Virēśvara was peace and war minister of the same king, and Gaṇeśvara his minister (mantri). Candēsvara, son of Virēśvara, became peace and war minister of the same king. He is said to have conquered Nepal, to have given large quantity of gold on the bank of the Vagvati river in the bright-half of the month Mārgaśīra, Śaka 1236 (1314 A.D.), and to have rescued the earth from the deluge of Mlecchas. Rāmadatta, son of Gaṇeśvara, was minister (mantri) of the king Nṛsiṃha and a Mahamahattaka too. The family relationship may be shown at a glance by a chart thus:—



It is doubtful if a busy high officer like Candēsvara personally compiled the digest. Its very size, one section (the Vivāda) alone taking up 671 pages in print and the extravagant praise bestowed on Candēsvara in the introduction and at the end prevent us from coming to this conclusion. His cousin Rāmadatta admits that his manual on Samskāras was completed by one Svāmi Thakkura, and that his manual on gifts was compiled with the aid of Bhava Sarman of Khaupa (ua ?) lavariśa. These high officers probably supervised the compilations prepared by some pandit or body of paṇḍits, and were naturally credited with the authorship. In modern times we have similar examples in Bengali translation of the Mahabharata passing under the name Kaliprasanna Simha of Calcutta; and going back earlier we find both Vidyapati and Vacaspati Misra attributing some of their own works to their patrons (pp. 385-86 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec, 1915, Vol. XI).

2 R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 135, No. 2069, end verse 2:—

मद्रा खेचलद्वार्ये बलुमती येनोदता लौक्या ।

विश्वनाभनिर्वैरिणः क्षितिभुजां खड्गोः समासादिता ।

The Dāna-ratnākara which gives this information should therefore be later than 1324 A.D. Some of the other Ratnakaras (Vivāda) and the Kṛtya-cintamani

PA^{AD}ITA CANDRADATTA JHĀ.

His most famous work is (1) Bhaktamala in Sanskrit. His other works are (2) Paribhāṣa-mani-mālā; (3) Kārṇa-gitamahākāvya and (4) Bhagawati Stotra; (5) Kaṣigita or Kaṣikagita (a treatise on music) and Kṛṣṇa-virudavali.

He was a contemporary of Maharāja Chatra Simha¹ and so he may be placed in the ist-half of the 19th century.

CANDRADATTA UPĀDHYA.

He was a Maithila² Brahman and author of भगवद् भक्तिमहात्म्य "Bhagwatbhakti Mahātmya." His time is not yet certain.

CHATRAKARA SUKLA.

Known for his commentary on the drama Anargha-raghava. He says in his commentary³ that he wrote it at the instance of Raja Bhairava Simha⁴, son of Raja Nrsimha of Mithila. Thus he may be placed during the reign of Bhairava Simha, i.e. about the middle of the 15th century A.D.

CITRADHARA UPADHYAYA.

He is said to have belonged to village Magrauni in Darbhanga district. His extant works are: (1) Pramāṇa Pramoda⁵; (2) Singara-Sārini and (3) Virasārini. Tradition assigns him to the 19th century A.D.

mention his performance of the Tula-puruṣa ceremony in Śākā 1236, and must be later than that date. It seems probable that his compilations were generally completed after A.D. 1314 and some part after 1324 A.D. They may be therefore placed roughly between 1315-30 A.D. His uncle, Gaṇeśvara, composed his work, the Sugati-sopana, a little earlier, say in the beginning of the fourteenth century, while his younger cousin, Ramadatta, compiled his work a little later, say in the second quarter of the same century (p. 386 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec. 1915, Vol. XI).

¹ Cf. Appendix C.

² Cf. The catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of his Highness the Maharaja of Alwar by Peter Peterson, No. 1580, extract 5093, Bombay, 1892.

³ Cf. the following sloka in the commentary :—

राजराजमरसिंह कुलना निर्मलौ भय कुशाक्ष भागुना ।
 चक्षरोभिरपि गतीकीर्तिना कान्ति विजित ममोज दुर्तिना ॥
 नीमना तेन भूषेन कार्यते लघ्वेराघवे ।
 द्युक्त नीमच्छत्र करमिति पुष्पाविहतिः सती ॥

⁴ Cf. Bhairava Simha, 1.

⁵ Aufrecht mentions two other works called " Pramana Pramoda": (1) by Gokulanātha and (2) by Hari. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 354(b).

DĀMODARA MIŚRA.

He is known for his "Vānibhuṣaṇa" published in the Kāvya-mālā series.¹ In the colophon he describes himself as a Maithila of the Dirghaghosa or Dighawaita* family.

He must be distinguished from Damodara Misra, the compiler of Hanumāna Nāṭaka as well as from Dāmodara Miśra of the Bhoja Prabandha.

Paṇḍita Lakṣmi Nātha, the commentator of the Prākṛitapingala, has mentioned his work and as Lakṣmi Nāth's work is assigned to the Samvat 1657, I think Damodara may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century if not earlier. But from Damodara's "Vanibhusana" it appears that he lived during the time of Mahārāja Kīrti-Simha."

As Kīrti Simha flourished at the beginning of the 15th century, he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century.

DEVANĀTHA THAKKURA.

He is author of Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-pariśiṣṭa, a commentary on Jayadeva's Āloka which in itself is a commentary on Gangeśa's work. It appears that a manuscript of his work was copied in La. Samvat 443 or 1562 A.D.⁴

Local tradition makes him son of Govinda Thakkura, calls him Nyāya Pāṇcaka and places him in village Bhata-simiri. He is said to have been a pupil of Somabhatta.⁵ He is accredited with the authorship of : (i) Smṛti-Kaumudi; (ii) Adhikaraṇa-kaumudi; (iii) Kāvya-kaumudi and (iv) Tantra-Kaumudi. As son of Govinda Thakkura, he may be placed in the 16th century.

¹ No. 53 of the Kāvya-mālā series, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1903 edition.

Also cf. Aufrecht's Catalogous Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 231 A.

² इति मैथिल्य द्योर्ध्वं धीमं कुलोद्भूतं दामोदरं मित्रं विरचितम् बाबरीभूषणं समाप्तम् ॥

³ कीर्तिसिंह उपजीव यावदस्मत् दानितरणी ।

(p. 13, śloka 82 of Vānibhuṣanam.

For Lakṣminātha cf. Aufrecht's Vol. I, p. 538 B.

⁴ Cf. H. P. Sastri, Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

⁵ In Adhikaraṇa Kaumudī Deva Nātha says :—

सीम भट्टीषदिदृष्टेन पद्या संचरतोऽधुना

सीमांसा विप्रचारखे शरणं मन भारती

DHANAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Rucipati, and author of *Sraddha-darpaṇa* in which he has given the following genealogical table which will show his family connection :—

Ratnapāṇi

|
Nyāyāditya

|
Matikara

|
Harivansa

|
Ratidhara
Viswanatha

Rucipati (commentator on Anargha-Ra-
ghava)

|
Dhanapati (author of *Sraddha darpaṇa*)

|
Agamācāryya Harapati (author of *Man-
tra pradipa*).

Dhanapati has mentioned in his *Sraddha-darpaṇa*¹ that this book was composed during the time of Maharāja Rupanarayana Rāmabhadra, who apparently flourished in the 2nd-half of the 15th century.

Bibhākara in his *Dvaita Viveka* (not yet published) has mentioned that Maharaja Rupanarayana Ramabhadra² was a friend of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.³

As he flourished during the time of Sikandar Lodi, he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th century.

PANDITA DINABANDHU JHA AUAS PANDITA
NEMANA JHĀ.

He was a pupil of Pandita Acala Upādhyāya of Magrauni. It is traditionally believed that he served under the

¹ Manuscript of *Sraddha-darpaṇa* is to be found in the Darbhanga Raj Library, Darbhanga.

² Cf. Ramabhadra.

³ शिकन्दर पुरन्दरो मुसदुरोदर श्रीकृपा दिनं ममयति भुवं विविध नागरी विभजे ॥ १ ॥

प्रचक्ष् रिपुमण्डली मुकुट कोटि कोटि प्रभासमाजुल पदाम्बुजस यमिष विजभावन मथन ॥ १ ॥

Rājā of Nepal and got jagir from the Nepal Darbar in the Samvata year 1811 corresponding to the English year 1754 A.D. He left many sons who were famous for their Sanskrit learning, such as Nandi Jhā, Babujana Jhā, Kṛṣṇadatta Jhā and others. It is said that the Nepal Darbar sanad is still in the possession of the descendants of Paṇḍita Dinabandhu Jhā of village Pilakwara in the Darbhanga district. I have not been able to see this. But all this account is based on popular tradition backed up by the Maithila Pāñji which shows these names.

DURGADATTA MISRA.

He is known as the author of Nyāyabodhini on Nyaya and Vaisesika and ²Vṛitta-Muktavali. Aufrecht calls the author of Vṛittamuktāvali to be a Maithil. His time is not yet settled, but he cannot be placed earlier than the 16th century A.D.

PANDITA DWĀRAKĀ NĀTHA THAKKURA.

He wrote a commentary³ on Sraddha Paddhati of Sridatta* Upādhyāya. His father's name was Kalanatha Thakkura who was an inhabitant of village Govindapur in the Bhagalpur district. There is no dispute regarding his Maithila nationality.

His style is quite modern. He may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

GANAPATI.

He is known for his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, a book in three parts dealing with the rites or ceremonies to be

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 256 (a).

² Cf. H. P. Sāstri, Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

³ Published at the Jageswar Press, Benares. Cf. the final śloka which he composed.

श्रीकृष्णाय सद्भास्यं शब्दं ज्ञानं केसरी. सेखरी कृतं सज्जनोपसङ्गं काव्यां शिवं स्मरन्
अनेकं शास्त्राख्यबहोव्यं टिप्पण्या भूष्य, सखीकं दत्ताय सम्यक् श्रीद्वारकानाथ इति प्रपूज्ये
प्रकाशये पदति के सुधीः सन् ॥ १ ॥

गोविन्दपुर वास्तव्यः कर वदो मङ्गलार्थः । धीयुक्तान् प्रार्थये नित्यं सम्यक्सांख्यलितानि मे
उत्तमपदांतक संशोधनं परसम्मा निवासि ।

* C. F., p.

performed on the bank of the river Ganges. In this book he states that he was born in the family of YogiSvara¹ and his grandfather received pension from the Mithilā king and that he was son of Dhāresvara. A manuscript or copy of it has been found dated Samvat 1755, i.e. 1698 A.D.² Gaṇapati quoted Vacaṣpati Miśra and Varddhama-nopādhyāya as authorities. He belongs in any case to the 17th century.³

GANEŚVARA THAKKURA.

He was brother of the minister VireSvara and uncle of Candēśvara.

He was a writer on Smṛti and minister of Rājā Hara-siṃha-deva⁴ of Mithilā. He wrote Suga-ti-sopana⁵ (steps to bliss) dealing with various kinds of Dānas (gifts). As he was uncle of Candēśvara⁶ who lived in the 1st-half of the 14th century A.D. there can be no dispute regarding the certainty of his time which may be put in the 1st-half of the 14th century.

GANGA NANDA.

Known for his poetical piece "Kārṇa Bhuṣaṇa which he composed while in the service of Mahārāja Kārṇa Simha of Bikāner. His Kārṇa Bhuṣaṇa has five chapters and traces the development of the several *rasas* or sentiments through all the stages or *bhavas*.⁷ From the last śloka of Kārṇa Bhuṣaṇa, it appears that he was a Maithilā.⁸

¹⁻² Cf. the introductory and final verses in the Ganga-bhakti-tarangini.

³ Varddhamaṇopādhyāya and Vacaṣpati Miśra come towards the end of the 15th century. Gaṇapati therefore comes between the 16th and the 17th centuries A.D.

⁴ Cf. Harisimhadeva.

⁵ Cf. the 1st śloka:—

वेदसुति पुराणादि दृष्टा लोका द्वितैमिषा ।

छानं सुगति सोपानं श्रीमच्छर मन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

A manuscript of the Suga-ti-sopan exists in the Nepal Darbar library and is dated Lakṣamaṇa Samvat 224=(about) 1340 A.D. (cf. p. 131 of the Nepal Catalogue by H. P. Sastri) 1905.

⁶ Cf. Candēśvara.

⁷ Cf. page 167, "A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature" by M. Krishnamaharya, 1st edition.

निरभुज्जेन धीरेण गङ्गाभन्देन निर्मितम् ।

सरस्यवतंसाय स्यादेति कर्षभूषणम् ॥

He is also known as the author of a small work *Bhrn-gadoota*, a poetical piece. It is a *Duṭa-Kāvya* (i.e. written on the model of *Kālidāsa's Meghdūta*).

The popular tradition asserts that he lived in village *Sarisau* from *Vikrama Samvata* 1673 to 1742 corresponding to 1616 to 1685 A.D. He was son of a daughter of *Janudatta*, who was son of a *Bhanu Misra*. He is traditionally said to be a nephew of *Paṇḍita Raghunandana* who was a student of *Maheśa Thakkura*. He is also known as author of "*Kāvya-dakīnī*." He may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century, as his patron *Kaṇa Simha* of *Bikanir* flourished in the first-half of the 17th century.¹

GANGEŚOPĀDHYĀYA.

Gangeśopādhyāya is the author of the famous book *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, i.e. the thought-jewel of truths. His book is said to be the most liberal treatise on the *Nyāya* system. *Vācaspati Miśra*, *Jayanta*, and *Udayana* have been quoted from place to place in his work. The principal object of this work was to controvert the principles of *Buddhism*.

It must be remembered that *Vācaspati*, *Jayanta*, and *Udayanācāryya* are the originators, so to speak, of the *Nyaya* system in *Mithila* and *Bengal*. The fact that the *Bengal* authors refer freely to their works, shows their influence. *Gangeśopādhyāya*, comes next only to these three writers.

The *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* is divided into the following *khaṇḍas* (parts) :—

- (i) *Pratyakṣa* or perception ;
- (ii) *Anumāna* or inference with a special sub-section on *Isvar-anumāna* or the inference about God;
- (iii) *Upamāna* or comparison;
- (iv) *Sabda* or affirmation.

There are too many commentaries² on these works to admit of any enumeration here but it may be noted that

अनधीत्यसंख्यं निश्चितं कर्षभूषणे ।

दुष्यं धीरमादित्यं निमित्तं विनिवेदनम् ।

¹ Cf. p. 277, C. M. Duff's *chronology of India*, 1899.

² The *Vedānta Paribhāṣa* mentions only 10 commentaries.

each of these khaṇḍas is divided into several parts, each practically forming a book.¹

Sabda-mani-prakaśa is a commentary on Gangēsa's works by Haridasa Nyayalarikara of Navadvīpa²

In the final colophon Gangēsa is given the title of Upādhyāya (modern Ōjha), a class of Brāhmaṇas who with the Miśras and Thakkuras practically monopolized Sanskrit learning in Mithila. Varddhamānopādhyāya calls himself son of Ganēśvara.

His age is not as yet exactly determined but he has criticised Sriharṣa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya. He must therefore be placed in the 4th quarter of the 12th century between Sriharṣa and his son Varddhamānopādhyāya³ who has been assigned to the 1st half of the 13th century A.D., i.e. he belongs to the 4th quarter of the 12th century A.D. This supports the popular tradition in Mithila that he lived 800 years ago.

GIRIDHĀRI UPĀDHYĀYA

He was a Maithil⁴ Brahmana and author of the astrological work, "Lagnavāda" His time is not certain.

DURGADATTA SARMA JhĀ.

Known as author of a poem called "Vātaḥ Vāṇa." His descendants are still living in village Tarauni⁵ in the Darbhanga district.

He seems to have lived at the beginning of the 19th century A.D.

GOVARDHANĀCĀRYYA.

A famous poet in Mithila. He was son of Nilambara⁶ and was closely related to Udayanācāryya. But if this⁷

¹ Pratyakṣa has been divided into 12 parts, Anumāna into 17, Sabda into 16 and Upamāna has only one part.

² Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

³ Cf. Varddhamanopadhyaya.

⁴ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 196a.

⁵ He is to be distinguished from Durgadatta Jha, author of Nyaya-bodhini.

⁶ Cf. Aryasaptasati.

यं ग्रन्थमिति मुरोरनु यस्याक्षोऽधर्मकर्म सकुचितम् ।

कविमह मुद्रमसमिध तं तामं मौलान्वरं वन्दे ॥

⁷ Cf. the Āryasaptasati :—

"उद्भूतं वल्लभाभ्यां उपपन्नमिच्छिन्नां सोदराभ्यां ।

द्वौषिण रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निमज्जीकृतम् " Āryya.

Udayāna was different from the famous scholar of Nyāya, then Govardhanācāryya's Maithili nationality becomes still more doubtful.

His work "Āryya Saptāsati" (so called because it consists of 700 Slokas in the Āryyā "metre"), is well known. It appears from an inscription that he was one of the Ministers of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.¹ This is also borne out by his own words in the Āryyasaptasati.²

Jayadeva has mentioned him in his Gitagovinda.³ As Jayadeva lived at the Court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Govardhanācāryya seems to have lived before the beginning of 12th century.

GOVINDA THAKKURA.

He is son of Kesava and Sono Debi.⁴ He was born

- 1 "गोवर्द्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि सन्निभौ लल्लवत्स्य च "
- 2 "सकल कलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभोः प्रबन्धस्तु कुमुदवन्धोश्च
सेमकुलतिक्तक भूपतिरेको राकाप्रबोधश्च " ॥
- 3 वाचः पञ्चवयस्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भश्रद्धिं गिराम् ।
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः स्नाथो दुरुद्धतः ॥
शृङ्गारोत्तर सत्यमेव रचनै "राक्षार्थगोवर्द्धनः"
स्यार्थः कोऽपि न विद्युतः नृतिधरो धार्या कविः उमापतिः " ।
- 4 काव्यप्रदीपारम्भे यथा,—
"सोनोदेव्याः प्रथमतनयः केशवस्यात्मजनुमा
श्रीगोविन्दो वृत्तिकरः कवेः खेदपात्रं कनीयान् ।
श्रीमन्नारायणचरणयोः सम्यगाधाय चित्तं,
नत्वा सारस्वतमपि मयः काव्यतत्त्वं व्यनक्ति " ॥ इति ॥
समाप्तौ यथा,—
"ओष्ठे सर्वगुणैः, कनीयसि वयोभावेण, पात्रे धियां
गात्रेण स्मरमर्षकवेन (ए) परे, निहाप्रतिष्ठात्रये ।
ओष्ठर्षे त्रिदिवं गते, मयि मनोज्ञेने च कः शोधये-
द्व्याशुद्धमन्त्रो मन्त्रस्य विधिना भारोऽयमारोपतिः ॥ १ ॥
परिशौल्यस्तु शक्तौ समस्ता सक्तोपशौलेन
हममङ्गलं प्रदीपं प्रकाशयति यः प्रकाशयति ॥ १ ॥
दीपिशदितयं कन्ये प्रदीपदितयं सुतौ ।
समस्तौ सम्यगुत्पाद्य गोविन्दः शर्म विन्दते " ॥ १ ॥ इति

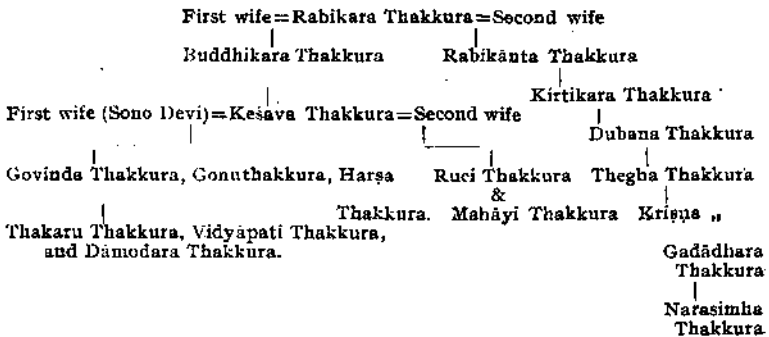
On the basis of these slokas, the following chart of the family of Govinda Thakkura may be drawn up:—

in the Ravikara race in Mithilā.¹ His descendants can still be traced in villages Sumaul and Bhatasimiri near Madhubani in the Darbhanga district.

He is author of: (1) *Kavya Pradipa*² and (2) *Puja Pradipa*.

Kṛṣṇa Stotra has also been attributed to him.

His *Kāvya Pradipa* is a commentary on *Kāvya Prakāśa* a well-known work on poetics by Mammattā. Though following the lines of Mammattā, it is generally studied as an independent treatise on poetics and has its own bulk and extent. His date is pretty certain. He lived between Viśva Nath (who flourished in the 15th century) the author of *Sāhitya darpaṇa*, whom he refers to in his work by the word "Arbachin" (= modern), and Kamalākara Bhatta (who has referred to *Kāvya Pradipa* in his commentary on Mammattā's *Kāvya Prakāśa*), the author of *Nirṇaya Sindhu* which is dated 1612 A.D. We can therefore certainly place him in the 16th century.



Cf. *Prastāvanā* of *Kāvya prakāśa*, pp. 34-36 under the authority of Public Instruction, Bombay edition, 1901.

¹ The *Kavyamala* of Bombay has published a genealogical account of Govinda Thakkura and has found him to be a Maithila.

² The following slokas at the beginning of the *Pujā Pradipa* as well as that at the end of it show that he was in the employ of one Bhavanand Raya. It is not known who this Bhavananda Raya was and to which part of the country he belonged.

न स्नायन्ते विदेश गुरवे यस्य विद्या विदन्ते नाखेवन्ते जलधितनया यस्य दृष्टाः कृपाङ्गम्
नाकाक्ष्मि लक्षिदपि सुधां यस्य काव्यं पिवन्तः सन्तस्तुल्यं जयति अगति श्रीभवानन्द रायः ॥ १ ।

श्रीमत् केशव तनयो गोविन्दलक्ष्मिदेश (समु) वर्ती । प्रकटयति धर्मं पदवीं पूजाकर्तुं
प्रदीपेन पञ्चान्न श्लोकः श्रीमद्भवानन्द विदेशवर्ती गोविन्दशर्मा गुदभक्ति युक्तः । उपासकानामुप-
कारहेतोः पूजाप्रदीपं कृतवान् विनष्टः ॥ १ ॥

GOKULNĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

An important Smṛti writer noted for his work "Ekāvali." Besides his Ekāvali he is said to have composed the following works:—

(1) Amṛtodaya Nātaka; (2) KuSumāñjali-tippāni; (3) Ekāvali-Chando-grāṇtha; (4) Kādambari-kīrti-Sloka; (5) Kādambari-pradīpa; (6) Kādambari-praśnottaramālā; (7) Kavya-prakāśa-tika; (8) Rasinīcakra-Tattva-cintāmanī-tikā; (9) Dikkalanīrupaṇa; (10) Tattva-cintāmanī Diddhiti-bidyota; (11) Padaṅkya-ratnākara; (12) Māsamīmāṃsa; (13) Mithyatvanīrbhāṇa; (14) Sivastuti; (15) Khaṇḍana-kūṭhāra; (16) Ālokatippāni; (17) Adhārādheya-bhava-tattva-parīkṣa; (18) Muktibāda-bhīkāra; (19) Bīṣṭa-vaishīṣṭya-bodha; (20) Tarka-tattva-nirupana; (21) Prabodha-kādambari and (22) Dvāda-vicāra, etc.

He lived under the patronage of Mahārāja Fatehsah of Garhwal. He is traditionally known to have lived in village Mangrauni in the Darbhanga district and to have taught his younger brother Jagannātha Upādhyāya.

As his daughter Kādambari died young he wrote most of his works in her name.¹ There is an image of Gauridīgambhārā at Hajipur founded by him. He flourished during the reign of Mahārāja Rāghava Śirīha, and he must be placed in the 1st-half of the 19th century.²

GRAHESVARA MIŚRA.

His works are lost. But he is quoted twice in Candēśvara's Vivāda-ratnākara and no less than ten times in Varddhamana's Danda-viveka.³ He wrote a work on Vyavahāra which is named in the Danda-viveka of Candēśvara as Vyavahāra-taraṅga, and which probably formed part of a general digest. As he is called Miśra and as he is quoted by the Maithila writers, he has been taken as a Maithila.

Having been quoted by Candēśvara⁴ as an authority his time must be earlier than fourteenth century A.D.

¹ She must have been a pretty cultured young lady. It is said that his son was Raghunātha Upādhyāya.

Cf. Appendix C

³ The Vivāda-ratnākara, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 46, 483; As. Soc. MS. of the Danda-viveka, pp. 44, 78, 88, 104, 105, 106 (3), 59 and 105 (अवधारणरत्ने अक्षर मित्रः)

⁴ Cf. p. 379 of the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1901 edition.

HARAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known as the author of the book called 'Mantra-pradipa/ which was composed under the order of Mahārāja Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣmi Nātha. He was brother of Dhanapati Upādhyāya and son of Rucipati.

As brother of Dhanapati, he may be placed at the end of the 15th century.¹

HARIHARA.

He was a brother of Nilakantha and wrote the Prabhavati-parinaya Nataka,² and may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 19th century.

HARIHAROPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his Bhṛtrhari-nirveda-nataka (a work on drama) which has been published in the "Kāvya-mālā Sanskrit series" of Bombay.³

Aufrecht mentions one Harihar whom he calls a Maithila and brother of Nilkantha and to whom he ascribes the authorship of Prabhavatiparinaya-nataka. It seems that the author of Bhṛtrhari-nirveda-nataka, and Prabhavati-parinaya-nataka was the same person.

Several other works are also attributed to him.⁴ His time is not yet settled, but he seems to be quite a modern author and may be placed in the 18th century.

HARINĀTHOPĀDHYĀYA.

Aii important Smṛti writer noted for his work Smṛti-Sāya. His nationality is not yet settled, but several Maithilas have put him among the Maithilas and Vacaspati Miśra in his Vivada-cintamani, Varddhamāṇa in his Daṇḍa viveka, etc., who are Maithils, have quoted his works as an authority, but it cannot be denied that several non-Maithila writers have also quoted him as an authority such as the Bengalee Sulapaṇi, in his Durg-otsava-viveka. He has referred to Gaura several times in his work. Therefore his Maithil nationality is not quite certain.

¹ Cf. Dhanapati.

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762 (b). ³ Cf. N. 29.

⁴ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762, and Vol. III, p. 157.

His works are also quoted by Raghunāndana and Kamalākara.¹

He has referred to Harihara (who belonged to the 13th century) more than once. Sulapāṇi has referred to him and as Sulapāṇi is said to belong to the 15th century, our author lived between the 13th and the 15th centuries A.D. and may probably be put in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.²

HARṢA NĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He wrote Uṣaharaṇa Nātaka in mixed Sanskrit and Maithili and was patronised by Mahārājā Lakṣmīśvara Simha of Darbhanga. As a contemporary of Mahārājā Lakṣmīśvara Simha he may be placed towards the close of the 19th century.

HEMANGADA THAKKURA.

He was son of Gopāla Thakkura and grandson of Mahesa Thakkura.³ He was a very famous astrologer. He has composed a book called "Grahana Mala"⁴ which contains an account of solar and lunar eclipses for 1,000 future years. He may be placed in the 16th century/

HRDAYANĀTHA SARMĀN.

He is author of Nandi-mukhariirupaṇa and was a Maithila.⁶ He belonged to the 19th century A.D.

INDRAPATI THAKKURA.

He is known for his Mimafisā-rasa-palvala, a book on Sīrti written for the ignorant of Mithila. It appears from

¹ Cf. Aufreeht, Vol. I, p. 758(a).

² A manuscript of Srāddha-viveka of Sulapāṇi dated the 1st Chaitra, 1451 Vikrama Sambat, corresponding to the English year 1394 A.D., written by Gunār-nava Misra is in the possession of Pandita Parmeswar Jha, Librarian to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. This shows that the composition might have been made some 50 or more years before that date because in those days work of a writer was considered authoritative by the people only after the author's death. This places Sulapāṇi at the beginning of the 14th century and Harinathqpadhyaya at the middle of the 13th century.

³ All this is based upon Mithila Pauji and tradition.

⁴ Cf. the first sloka at the beginning of Hemaiigada Thakkura's «« Grahana-mālā." »

खण्डवलाकुल तरणमोषालादापयं गौरी ।

देवाङ्गदः सतनुतेपक्षीं राक्षपराग्य ॥ ७ ॥

⁵ Cf. Mahesa Thakkura.

⁶ Cf. Aufreeht, Vol. I, p. 767 (b).

this work that he was son of Rucipati and Rukminidevi and a pupil of Gopāla Bhatta. There was one Rucipati who commented upon Anargha-rāghava, under the patronage of the Mithila Ruler, Bhairava Simhadeva. He may be placed at the middle of the 15th century.¹

JAGADDHARA.

He is author of the following works²:—

Devimahātmyatika, Bhāgavadgitāpradīpā, Mālatimādhavatīkā, Rasadīpikā Meghadutatikā, Tattvadīpinī Vasavadattatikā, (quoted by Sivarama on Vasavadattā), Venisāmhāratīkā and Sarasvatikanthabharanatikā.

Towards the close of his work³ (Commentary on Beni-Samhāra Nātika) he describes his family and traces his descent from the famous Mīmāṃsā writer Candeśwara* who was removed from him by 5 degrees.

It is said that he was a Maithila Brahmana of Surganmoola and Parāsaragotra. It is also asserted by popular tradition that he was a Dharmadhikaraṇika (Superintendent of Religious Department) at the court of Mahārājā Dhira Simha.

As fifth in descent from Candeśwara, he may be placed about the ist-half of the 15th century A.D.

¹ Cf. Dhanapati.

² In his commentary on Beni-samhara-nātika, he has described his literary eminence:—

येना पाठि कठोरं गीतम् सप्त वैशिष्टिकं खण्डनम्
येना अपि सुकाव्यं कोषं निबद्धं तत्पाणिनीयं सप्तम्
कन्दो लंकरणं च शब्द भरणं येन ध्यायि स्मरं
तेभानेन जगद्धरेण कविना टीका कृत्यमर्जिता ।

also cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 195 and V. II, p. 39.

³ The following table will give his family connection:—

Mīmāṃsaka Candeśwara

Vedadhara

Rāmadhara (Mīmāṃsaka).

Gadadhara (Tantarika)

Vidyadhara

Ratnadhara

Jagaddhara.

His mother's name was Damayanti.

* Cf. Candeśwara.

JAYADEVA MIŚRA.

It is evident from Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* that there have been several Jayadevas such as :—

(1) Jayadeva with the surname Pakṣadhara, pupil and nephew of Hari Miśra, paternal uncle of Baṣudeva Miśra and Guru of Rucidatta Miśra and author of

(i) *Tattvacintāmaṇi-Āloka* called also *Cintāmaṇi Prakāśa* or *Manyāloka* or *Āloka*, a commentary on *Gāṅgeśa Tattva Cintāmaṇi* in 4 khandas.

(ii) *Dravya Padārtha*, a commentary (*Dravya Kirṇāvali Prakāśa*) of *Vardhamāna*.

(iii) *Nyāya Padārthamālā*.

v(iv) *Nyāya Lilāvatī viveka*.

There are also 18 more works on *Nyāya* which are generally attributed to him :—

(1) *Upanayālakṣaṇāloka*, (2) *Karakavada*, (3) *Tritīya-cakravartilakṣaṇāloka*, (4) *Dvityasvalakṣaṇāloka*, (5) *Pakṣatapurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (6) *Pakṣatasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (7) *Parāmarsasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (8) *Pratijnālakṣaṇāloka*, (g) *Prathamapragalbhalakṣaṇāloka*, (10) *Prathamavalakṣaṇāloka*, (11) *Viruddhapurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (12) *Viruddhasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (13) *Viśeṣaniryuktyāloka*, (14) *Vyaptyānugamāloka*, (15) *Savyabhicārapurvapakṣagranthāloka*, (16) *Savyabhicārasiddhāntagranthāloka*, (17) *Samānyabhāvāloka*, and (18) *Hetulakṣaṇāloka*.

(2) Jayadeva, with the surname *Piyusavarṣa*², son of *Mahādeva* and *Sumitra* and author of *Candrāloka* and *Prasanna Rāghava*.

(3) Jayadeva, son of *Bhojadeva* and *Rāmādevi* and author of *Gitāgovinda*. There are also several other authors named Jayadeva.³

Jayadeva number (3) is admittedly a Bengalee, but it is open to question if Jayadeva Nos. (1) and (2) are identical and Maithila. It appears from the internal as well as the external evidence, that they are not identical.

Both in the "*Candrāloka*" and the "*Prasanna Rāg-*

¹ Cf. p. 200 of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1891.

² His title of *Piyusavarṣa* is known from an sloka from the *Candrāloka*.

जयदेवः कौशिकः सुखयं वित्तमुते पौयसः वरुणः ।

³ Cf. p. 200, Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1891.

hava " the author Jayadeva has mentioned the names of his parents who were Mahādeva and Sumitrā—Cf. Candrāloka, I, 16,¹ and Prasanna Raghava,² p. 6.

The date of Jayadeva No. 2 is pretty certain. He has reproduced literally the definition of the figure *Vikalpa* given by Ruyyaka in his "Alaṅkāra Sarvaswa." Ruyyaka was Guru (teacher) of Mamkhaka, author of the Srikantha Carita.³ Mamkhaka lived under the king Jayapida of Kasmira, 1128-1149 A.D. Thus Ruyyaka lived at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Two verses⁴ have been cited by Sarāṅgadharma from the Prasanna Rāghava in the Sarāṅgadharma Paddhati, which dates from 1463 A.D.⁶

It may be, therefore, safely assumed that Jayadeva, the author of Prasanna Rāghava and Candrāloka, lived between Ruyyaka and Sarāṅgadharma, i.e. between the 12th and the 14th century.

It is not certain if he was a Maithila for he does not say so in his works, nor is there any external evidence to establish his Maithila nationality. It may be incidentally mentioned that Jayadeva, the author of "Prasanna Raghava" was a well-known poet, a fact which is supported by Tulasi Dasa (the famous Hindi poet who lived in the

¹ Bombay edition, 1914 :—

महादेवः सप्तप्रमुखसखविदौकसतुरः
सुमित्रा मङ्गलि प्रविहितमतिर्यस्य पितरौ ।
अनेनऽसावाध्यः सुकविजयदेवेन रचिते ।
चिरं चन्द्रालोके सुखयतु मयूखः सुमनसः

² Calcutta edition, 1872 :—

सुखधरः । [सप्तप्रयकोपम्]
विलासो यदाचामसमरसनिधन्दमधुरः
कुरङ्गाली विन्वाधरमधुरभावं गमयति ।
कवीन्द्रः कौपिन्धः स तव जयदेवः अवस्थो-
रयासौदासिष्यं न किमिह महादेव तनयः ॥
अपिच । लक्ष्मणस्यैव यस्यास्य सुमित्राकुलजन्मनः ।
रामचन्द्रपदाङ्गोले भ्रमद् भङ्गायते मनः ॥

³ Śrī Śrikantha Charita, Chap. XXV, 26, 13.

⁴ Cf. Kalidasa Et, L'Art Poétique De Linde, p. 111, Paris, 1917.

⁶ Cf. Sylvain Le'vi, Le theatre Indien, p. 281.

16th century A.D.) having borrowed certain ideas literally from his Prasanna Raghava.¹

But he seems to be quite different from Jayadeva who was a famous Nayyayika and whose Guru (teacher) Hari Miśra and whose well-known pupils Vasudeva and Ruci Datta are also well-known Nayyaikas. In none of his Nyāya works he has mentioned himself as Piyūṣavarsa or as writer of any poetical works or has mentioned his

¹ Cf.

Prasannarāghava, by Jayadeva Kavi, printed by Jivānanda-Bidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācāryya, B.A., Srīrāmāpurā, 1872 edition :—

Page 5.

भठिति अगतीसाम्भन्धाः पितामहविष्टपान्
ममति पथि यो देव्या वाचः त्रमः समजायत ।
अपि कथमसौ सुष्ठेदेनं न चेदवगाधते
रघुपतिगुणयाम स्त्रावास्तुधामय दीर्घिकाम् ॥

Page 27.

नेदं धनुसलति किंचिदप्येन्दु मौलेः ।
कामातुरस्य वचसासि वसिधामे-
रभ्यर्चितं प्रकृतिचोर सजः सतीनाम् ॥

Page 127.

चन्द्रहास हर मे परितापं
रामचन्द्र विरहानल जातम् ।
तं हि कामि जित मौक्तिकसूर्यं
धारया वदसि शतिलम्भः ॥

Page 129.

अलमकथं चेतः यौमन्व शीकवनस्पते ।
दहनकषिकामेकां तावन् मम प्रकटीकुरु ॥
ननु विरहिणां संतापाय स्फुटीकुरुते भवान्
नव किसलय येलीलाजान् लक्षानु शिखावल्लिम् ॥

Pages 132-33

हिमांशुशार्ङ्गार्णवजलधरो दावदहनः
सरि द्विवीयातः कुपित फचिनिश्चाधपवनः
नदा मञ्जी भञ्जी कुवलयवनं कुन्तगहनं ।
मम लक्ष्मिसेवान् सुमुखि । विपरीतं जगदिदम् ॥

Page 10.

भक्ति हेतु विधिभवम विहाई ।
सुमिरत सारद आवत भार ॥
राम सरित सर विनु अह्वामे ।
सो त्रम जायन कीटि उपाये ॥

Page 119 (Balakanda).

ठिगै न शम्भु शरासन कैसे ।
कामौ वचन सती मन जैसे ॥

Page 376 (Sundara Kānda.)

चन्द्रहास हर मम परिताप ।
रघुपति विरह अनल संताप ॥
शीतल निशि तव अशिवरधार ।
कह सिता हर मम दुख भारा ॥

Page 377 (Sundara Kānda).

सुनऊ विनय मम विठप अशोका ।
सत्यनामक हर मम शोका ॥
नूतन किसलय अनल समाना ।
देऊ अगिनिमम करऊ निदाना ॥

Pages 378-79 (Sundara Kānda).

रामकहा वियोग तव सीता ।
मोहक सकल भयउ निपरीता ॥
नूतन किसलय मऊ लक्ष्माम् ।
काल निशा मम निशिग्रथि भानु ॥
कुवलय विषम कुम्भवन सरिता ।
वारिद तप्त देल जनु वरिषा ॥
जेहीतव रङ्गी करत सो पौरा ।
उरग आस सस विविध समौरा ॥

parents as Jayadeva No. 2, the author of Candraloka and Prasanna Rāghava, has done, or has called himself or his relations Miśra.

It appears however, that the poet and dramatist Jayadeva,¹ author of the Prasanna Rāghava, was also a Nayyāyika, though his works on Nyāya are not stated either in Prasanna Rāghava or Chāndraloka. This does not, however, point to the conclusion which has sometimes been drawn that Jayadeva No. 2 (the poet) was identical with Jayadeva No. 1 (Nayyāyika).

Jayadeva (No. 1) seems to be a Maithila. His uncle and teacher was Hari Misra² and his pupils were Vasudeva Misra³ and Rucidatta Misra.⁴ Now many of the Maithila families bear the surname of Misra and some of them claim their descent from Jayadeva No. (1) (Nayyāyika) (a fact which is supported by their Panji or genealogical tables preserved in Mithila) and though some Bengalees have claimed this Jayadeva to be a Bengalee, their claim appears to be baseless.

The Maithilas have a grand saying about him :—

शङ्कर वाचस्पत्योः समानौ शङ्करवाचस्पतौ भवतः ।

“यत्तद्धरं प्रतिपत्तौ लक्ष्मी भूतौ न चक्षायि” ॥

His ancient limit is fixed by Varddhamaṇa whose work he sub-commented upon. A copy of the Viṣṇu Purāṇ transcribed by him and found in the Darbhanga district, gives the date of its transcription Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 345⁵ i.e. (1119+345)=1454 A.D. Popular tradition

¹ Cf. Jayadeva's Prasanna Rāghava by Jivananda Bidyāsāgara, Calcutta edition, 1872, p. 7 :—

येषां कोमल कायकौशलकला लीलावती भारती
तेषां कर्कशतर्क वल्लवचमोद्गारेऽपि किं वीर्यते ।
येः कान्ताकुक्ष मण्डले करवहाः सानन्दमारोपिता
तैः किं मलकरीन्द्रकुक्ष शिखरे भारोपणीयाः शराः ॥

² But Jayadeva in his own work Cintāmaṇi-āloka, writes as follows :—

अधीत्य जयदेवेन हरिमिश्रात् पिबत्यतः तत्त्वविमलामये रित्यभासोकीर्यं प्रकाशते ।

³ Cf. Vasudeva Misra ; also Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, 1903, p. 567.

⁴ Cf. Rucidatta Misra ; also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 523.

⁵ Cf. the sloka :—

वाचस्पत्ये युतेः सारभूतयनैः संख्या गते दायने ।
यौ मङ्गलौ मन्त्रौ भुजो नृपदिने सर्गे च पक्षेक्षिते ॥

makes him a Guru (preceptor) of Dāmodara Thakkura, brother of MaheSa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj during Akbar's reign (1556-1605). Also another tradition calls him a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura. Thus he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th century A.D.¹

JIVANĀTHA JHA.

He was related to Nilāmbara Jbā. His known works are:—

- (i) Bhavakutuhala,
- (ii) Bhava-prakasa,²
- (iii) Diṣṣa-tattva-prakāśa-vanamāla,
- (iv) Vasturatnāvali, and
- (v) Janma-patri-bidhān.

Of these only Bhavakutuhala has been published. His style is modern. He may therefore be placed in the 18th century.

JYOTIRIŚVARA KAVISEKHARACĀRYYA.

He was author of Varṇaṇa-ratnākara and Dhūrttasa-māgama. The Varṇaṇa-ratnākara is written in Maithililanguage, but neither the characters nor the language can be properly distinguished from ancient Bengalee. The subject-matter of the book is very curious. It gives the poetic conventions. For instance, if a king is to be described, what are to be his qualities, if a capital is to be described, what are to be the details, and so on. Sometimes the conventions are very amusing. I will give the description of a pimp; she must be about hundred years old, with wrinkles all over her body, her hair as white as conch shell, her head high, her body without flesh, her cheeks all shrunken, her teeth all fallen. She must be a sister of

वदन्त्या ससरावतीमधिवसन् यः भूमि देवास्तथा ।

त्रैलोक्यलुधरः सुपुलकमिदं शब्दं बलेकीदृतम् ॥

1 Dr. R. L. Mitra (Notices V, p. 299, No. 1976) assigns the date Lakṣmajñ Saftnava 154= 1270 to Paksadhara, but the date actually given in the manuscript (Pratyakṣa-āloka) is La. Sa. 1509 and Dr. Mitra drops the dot to assume La. Sa. 159 only, I don't think he has given sufficient reasons for adopting this course and for thinking that such insertion of dots to indicate decimal and centesimals figure are not uncommon. It looks as if the whole thing is doubtful.

To be distinguished from the medical work Bhāva-prakāśa, by Bhava Misra, cf. Aufrecht, Vol. III, p. 88(a) and from Bhava Prakasa on poetries by Sarada. Aufrecht, Vol. III, p. 93(a).

Nārada (the god of quarrels) and an expert in bringing two persons together, and so on. This book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyapati. As regards the antiquity of the work, the author is already well known from a MS. of Dhurttasamagama Nāṭaka in the Nepal Darbar Library. The Nāṭaka was composed by the same Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara during the reign of Harasimha Deva, the most important of the Karnatak Kings of Mithilā, whom Prof. Bendall places in or about 1324.' His Dhurttasamagama Nāṭaka is said to have been recited on the occasion of Harasimha Deva's victory over the Muslims.

He may therefore be placed in the 1st half of the 14th century.

KĀLIDĀSA.

Kālidāsa is the name given to the author of a short piece on metric Śrutabodha by name. It consists of 43 stanzas, every one of which illustrates a kind of verse and the beauty is that the definition is put in the form of a verse of the same name. A Maithilā Paṇḍita of this name is borne out by the Maithilā Paṇḍi and Maithilās traditionally believe that he was author of Śrutabodha which is not much known beyond Mithilā. But as a matter of fact, quite a number of commentaries by non-Maithils, exist.

His time is not yet certain.

It is however difficult to ascertain whether the author of " Śrutabodha was really a Maithilā. There have been several Kālidāsas, viz. :—

(1) Kālidāsa the author of—

- (i) Sakuutalā.
- (ii) Vikramorbaṣi.
- (iii) Mālvikāgnimitra.
- (iv) Raghuvaṇśa.
- (v) Kumār Saṁbhava.
- (vi) Rtusamhāra.³

(2) Kālidāsa of Akbar's time.

1 Cf. p. 23 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

2 Cf. Prof. Bendall's History of Nepal and its surrounding kingdoms J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903.

3 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 675 (b); Vol. II, p. 161(a) and Vol. III, p. 140(a).

- (3) Kālidāsa Ganaka, author of the Satruparajaya Svara-Sāstra sara,
- (4) Kālidāsa, son of Balabhadra, author of the Kuṇḍa-prabandhu.
- (5) Kālidāsa, son of Rāmagobinda, author of the Tri-pura Sundaristuti kāvya.

And in addition to these names, there are also several other Abhīnava Kālidāsa¹.

KEDARNATHA SARMA.

He was son of Paṇḍita Harihara Sarma,¹² who lived in village Kataia in Darbhanga district.

He is an author of a small work written partly in prose and partly in poetry "Mithila Barnana" i.e. an account of Mithila. Some satirical pieces regarding funny customs among the Maithila Brahmanas are often quoted from this work.³

He is a modern writer and may be placed in the latter half of 19th century.

KEŚAVA MISRA.

He was son of Narahari Misra, who was son of Abhinava Vacaspati Miśra. Popular traditions assign him to a village Sagauna. He is said to have been the author of (1) Dvaita-Parisista, a supplement on Dvaita-nirnaya of

¹ Cf. "Kālidāsa" by Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, pages 1 and 2, Paris edition, 1917, and Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 99.

² Cf. the final sloka

इति विदेशक भूमि निवासिना । हरिहराभिधभूषुर कुमुदा ॥
विरचित मिथिला परिवर्त्तनम् । जनकजी परिशीलय सर्वतः ॥

वेदार्थापदन विरोधमधिकं वृद्धाण्यके पाषाणम् ॥ इत्याद्याम मम पत्युर्वेवाहि कीयासमा
शिक्षादानविधिः मिथीधनवतां मिथालनं सद्दिदाम् ॥ यन्निर्देशयगौरिय बङ्गगुणगौडी
स्तान्मूलैः ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. sloka

केचित्पाणिप्रक्षयमधिकं कुर्वतेभ्यो विदुषाः, तेभ्यः कस्या ददति सुभगा वासिकां हृदयेभ्यः ॥
आकाशमस्ति कूक्षतिष्वजिनैः कालोऽपि नास्तीत्येते ॥ भिक्षुश्च लौकिक जातिर्ब्रह्मगुण
यवावृत्तामेधिलैः ।

Cf. also Mithileśa-carita (मिथिलेश चरित) a description of the manners and customs of Mithila, its rulers, etc., communicated in the form of questions and answers, to Ratna Misra, a Dravidian, by Ratna Māni (Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra Notices, Sanskrit MSS. No. 2023).

Vācaspati Miśra and (2) Tārkabhāṣa. The book Sāṅkhya-parimāṇa¹ is also attributed to him. He is to be distinguished from Keśava Miśra, the author of Alamkāra Sekhara.²

It is said that he was minister of Mahārāja Rupa Nārāyaṇa Kāmabhadra and of his son Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣṇminatha.³

In the light of what has been said about Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra,⁴ he may be placed in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century.

PANDITA KHAGES SARMMA.

He was author of (1) Kasi Siva-stuti, (2) Kasya-bhilaṣaṣṭaka. He lived in village Tabhakā near Narhan in Darbhanga district and is traditionally said to have been patronized by the landholders of Narhan.⁶

It appears from an account of this author by Paṇḍita Canda Jha in Kasi Siva-stuti⁶ that he lived during the time of Mahārāja Narendra Simha.⁷ So he may be placed in the latter half of the 18th century.

¹ Cf. Samkhya Parimāṇa.

² Cf. Keśava Miśra, p. 28 (a). Aufrecht, Vol. I 11:—

Keśava Miśra the author of the Alamkāraśekhara, lived under Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, grandson of Ramcandra. A notice in Cunningham's Arch. Survey V, 160, states that Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, came to the throne in Kangra in 1563. Keśava Miśra wrote also a Vakhyaratna which in the Alamkāraśekhara is quoted twice.

³ Cf. p.

⁴ Paṇḍita Panneswara Jha, Librarian to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga has a manuscript of Kesava Miśra Cintamani-prakasa which is dated La. Sam. 473, the end verse of which is as follows:—

इति सोदरपुरकुलसम्भूत महामन्त्रीपाध्याय श्रीवशिष्ठन विरचितं तस्य चिन्तामणि प्रकाशः
प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः खसं १७३ पाक्षीसं श्रीकेशवेन लिखितेषां प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्म वशिष्ठैः ।

This La. Sam. 473=1592 A.D.

⁵ Cf. the slokas by Paṇḍita Canda Jha (Kāśī Śiva-stuti).

सर्वादित्यनूत्तरीयपुराभ्युदयः । शोणान्वयेखरगणसंयुजं सप्तरीरक्षम् ।
नेपाक्षान्विपाक्षान्वयप्रियं कुलियुदे । शिशुरवशिष्टैकौ मंगारामसख्यत्वरहितः ।
तद्वंशीयानरवनिगनराधीशः क्रमेण संहताः । यकीभुक्ताश्रीमोदपवरवण्डस्य दौहित्रः ।
ग्रामोयष्टभक्तोन्नतनिमित्तकदेवुषीवासः । तत्रैवास्मन्महायमसुरैः कतिनः कवेस्त्वदम् ।
निधिलयाभाङ्गतास्तीता दुसादुता युक्तम् । इन्द्रपुरोहितयुगा गोकुलनाथाय ये स्थाताः ।
तेषां शिष्याणां सन् पथितरत्नेषु यमौशः तन्नाथः कविरत्नजने खवेयेति विश्वासः ।
यौतौ नरेन्द्रसिंहान्वितेभ्योऽस्तुतौ युगपत् । गुह्यं शिष्यौ गुह्यविधौ सद्यसरे मान्यसद्वक्त्रैः ।

⁶ Cf. do.

do.

⁷ Cf. page

KṚṢṢNA ŚARMAN.

He was a Maithila of the Saṅkarādhis family. He is author of Anvaya-lapika-kumara-sambhava-tikā and Ra-ghubamśa tikā. He is a modern writer and belonged to the 19th century A.D.

KṚṢṢNADATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for several works such as Gīta-Gopi-pati and Candrikācarita and a commentary on Jaydeva's Gita-govind, called Sasilekha. He is undoubtedly a Maithila as will appear from the śloka of Gita-Gopi-pati:—

“मैथिल कृष्णभक्तित मिति माधवचरणयुगल
मुपनीतम् । तखि हे कृष्णमनुष्यम् भासम्” ।

Harṣanātha Upādhyāya has translated this work and his introductory śloka will settle Kṛṣṣnadatta's time.

चण्डी पदाम्भोजयुगं प्रणम्य श्रीहर्ष नाथो लघुभिर्बचोभिः ।
स्वमात्मतामहमातुलेन कृतं प्रबन्धं विशदो करोमि ।

Harṣanātha is said to have been a Paṇḍita with the late Mahārāja Lakṣmeswara Simha of Darbhanga. Thus Kṛṣṣnadatta may be placed at the beginning of the 19th century.¹

IvAKṢMIDHARA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Biśweśwara Miśra and Lakhimā Thak-kurāni who is said to be daughter of Acyuta Thakikura. I have not come across any authentic list of his works, but he is identified by some Maithila Paṇḍitas with the author of the treatise on Smṛti called Kalpa-Taru consisting of Kṛtya-kalpa-taru, Vivāda-Kalpa-Taru and Vya-vahāra-kalpa-taru and quoted by Hemadri in Dana Khaṇḍa by Sūlāpāṇi, by Varddhamāna, by Mitra Miśra and by Vācaspati Miśra, etc. This is however more than doubtful as the author of the Kalpataru belongs to a much earlier period. As son of Viśweśwara, Iyakṣmidhara may be placed in the second-half of the 17th century A.D.

1 Cf. Appendix C

LAKṢMĪPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the writer of *Sraddharatnam*, a book on general ceremonies for the *Sāmavedins* and *Vajasaneyins*.¹ A copy of *Udayana's Tātparyya-parīśuddhi* was made by his order in *La-Sam* 339 or the year 1458 A.D.² He names *Indrapati* as his guru. *Lakṣmīpati* may in the circumstances be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.³

LOCHAN KAVI.

He is author of "*Rāgataranginī*" (i.e. a treatise on music), which is said to have been composed⁴ at the instance of *Rājā Mahinātha Thakkura* of *Darbhangā*. In this book he also gives an account of *Darbhangā Rāj* family. A copy of *Naiṣadha Charitra* copied by him on palm leaves (at village *Raiyama*) in *Taka* year 1603 is available in the *Daibhangā Rāj* library. As he was a contemporary of *Mahinātha Thakkura*, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

MACALA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was brother of *Acala Upādhyāya* and lived in the old village of *Magrauni* in the *Darbhangā* district. He is credited with the authorship of "*Satrāṅja-Prabandha*."⁶ The age cannot be accurately stated, but it is said he belonged to the 2nd half of the 18th century.

MADHUSŪDANA.

He was son of *Narasimha*, grandson of *Nageśwara* of *Mandavagrāma*. He had three brothers *Govinda*, *Narahari* and *Vāmadeva* and he wrote under *King Dhira Simha*

¹ Cf. *Mitrā*, *Notices*, VI, p. 52, No. 2026.

² Cf. *Nepal MSS. notices*, p. 31.

³ Cf. *Indrapati*.

⁴ Cf. the 8th and 9th slokas in the *Rāga-Taranginī*:-

यो आगतिं महीतले निरपमः सर्वान् पुंसां कलास्त्रासम्भूषं च कथयाम्बुदपवदानम्दाय यो
नित्यम् । तस्य बौद्धपद्मन्दराक्षज महीनायामुज्ज्वलाय विप्रः कोऽपि सुषम्भो नरपते
कीर्तिं तनोति प्रियाम् ॥ ८ ॥

किञ्चित्समाप्त्य कुताचिदस्यस्त्वयश्च सम्पाद्य पदप्रबन्धम् । वितन्यते ह्योचननामधेयद्विजेन
वा राजनरक्षिणीयम् ॥ ९ ॥

⁵ i.e. a treatise on chess.

of Tribhukṭi (Tirhut) his astronomical work, *Jyotiṣapradīpāṅkura*.¹

As a contemporary of Dhira Simha/ he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.

MADHUSŪDANA THAKKURA.

He is known for his works *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka*, *Kantakoddhāra* and *Dwaita Nirnāya Jirnoddhāra* and *Samaya Pradīpa Jirnoddhāra*, which is a commentary on *Samaya-pradīpa* by *Sridattopādhyāya*, *Anyathā khyati kantakoddhāra*. The prevailing tradition in Mithila which is backed up by *Maithila Pafiji* calls him son of *Govinda Thakkura*. A manuscript of his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-kantakoddhāra* has been found cir. La. Samvata 4gi or 1610 A.D."

Surely he is later than *Vācāṣpati Miśra* on whose *Dvaita-nirṇaya* he wrote another *Kantakoddhāra*.⁴ He, therefore, lived before 1610 A.D.

MAHEŚA THAKKURA.

He is known for his commentary *Tattvacintāmaṇi, Āloka-darpaṇa* or the mirror of the light, on a commentary of *Jayadeva* on *Gangeśa's* work. *Āloka-darpaṇ* has been much praised in *Sankara Miśra's Tri-sūtri-vyākhyā*.⁵

He is also accredited with the authorship of (1) *Tithi-tatva Cintāmaṇi*, (2) *Malamasa Śārinī* and (3) *vSarvadeśa-vrittanta-Saṃgraha*.

Popular tradition also ascribes to him two other books, viz. : (1) *Dayasara*—a treatise on law of inheritance and (2) *Aticarādī-nirṇaya*.

Maheśa Thakkura's brothers were *Mahadeva*, *Bhāgiratha*, *Damodara* and *Viṣṇu*. He was highly respected by the king.⁶

¹ Cf. *Aufrecht*, Vol. II, p. 97 (b).

² Cf. *Dhira Simha*.

³ Cf.

चक्रे रास कनीयसोऽनिरपतेः श्रीतां सुमन्दामुधा वने फासुन सप्तमी रवि दिने गङ्गा गङ्गाशार्कः इत्यादि ।

⁴ Cf. *Vācāṣpati Miśra*.

⁵

प्रकाशदर्पणोद्गीत कङ्कि व्याख्या कर्तव्यम् । १ ।

तथापि व्याख्या मान सुदिश्यायं मनोद्यमः । २ ।

⁶ The following slokas are taken from the *Anumanaloka-darpaṇa* (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 631, No. 1389, and verses 1 and 2) which will show his family connections :

Gopāla Thakkura and Acyuta Thakkura are known to be sons of Mahēsa Thakkura.

The time of the Āloka Darpaṇa therefore lies between that of Jayadeva and Sahkara Miśra or between 1250 and 1450 A.D. Mahēsa Thakkura may be placed in the last quarter of the 14th century.

But this goes against the popular tradition which makes this Maheśa Thakkura the grantee of the Darbhanga Rājā from King Akbar. This would place Maheśa Thakkura and his brother, Bhagiratha in the 2nd half of the 16th century.¹

It may, however, also be said that Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rājā family was author of at least the work Sarvadeśa Vrittānta Sāri-graha in which he gives an account of Akbar's family or a part of his reign² and surely lived in the second-half of the 16th century A.D. This may make the author of the Tattva Cintamaṇi Alokadarpaṇa quite different from Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rājā family.

MANDANA MIŚRA.

He is also called Suresvarācāryya. He is the author of (1) Kāśimokṣa Nirṇaya; (2) Taittirīya Sruti Varttika; (3) Naiṣkarmya Siddhi; (4) Paścikarana Varttika; (5) Vrihadāranyakoparinisada Varttika; (6) Brahma Siddhi; (7) Brahma Sutra Vāsyavarttika; (8) Vidhiviveka or Bhavanā viveka; (9) Manasollāsa or Dakṣiṇa Mūrti 6totra Varttika; (10) Laghuvarttika; (11) Varttikasara and (12) Varttikasara Samgraha.

The Maithils call him a Maithila and get over the admitted accounts of his having been in the Central Provinces by saying that he had emigrated from Mithilā. But he has nowhere stated or hinted that he was a Maithila and his Maithila nationality is very doubtful.

जनकविषय जम्हा राजसम्मानपात्रं साहे + + + + श्रीरा चन्द्रपदीसमुजः । अर
चयद् मुमा ना लोकसाधित्य नित्यप्रमथित सल दर्पी दर्पणं श्री महेशः ॥ १ ॥

खेडा महादेव भगीरथ दामोदरा यस्य वयोमहाभ्याम् । (स) दर्पणं निर्मितं बालसीचां
महोदरे विष्णुपदी महेशः ॥ १ ॥

¹ Cf. Account of Maheśa Thakkura in Appendix C.

² Cf. India Office Catalogue, Vol. VII, p. 1573, No. 4106.

Maithilas however quote from the Samavata Nāṭaka to show that he was a Maithila.

“आखण्डलः प्रखिलमण्डलीषु

यत्राभवन्मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।

आर्या तु भार्याऽपि सतीयदीया

समध्यगच्छत्सकलं हि शास्त्रम् ॥”

But the Nāṭaka is of recent date and the statement in it that Mandan Misra was a Maithila, might refer to some other Mandan Misra or might be based upon some popular tradition and cannot count as an authority.

Also the Maithilas identify Mahisrnatipur (as in the sloke below) where he is said in the "Sankar Digvijaya" to have lived with a village Mahisi in Darbhanga district, but this is again without any strong foundation especially in absence of strong local traditions and as "Mahismati" is authoritatively identified with some place in the Maharashtra Country.

“अथ प्रसस्ये भगवान् × × × × × × × × × ।

खट्वापुरमालुलोक माहिष्मती मण्डनमण्डितां सः ॥”

He was a contemporary of the famous Samkarācāryya who lived in the first-half of the 9th century A.D. and so he may be placed in the first-half of the 9th century A.D.

MISARU MISRA.

He wrote several books on Smṛti. His works are :—

- (1) The Vivāda-candra, dealing with Vivāda and Vyavahāra.
- (2) The Padārtha-candra, on the categories according to the Vaiśeṣiko-nyāya system.

He dedicated his works to Lachimādevi, wife of Candra Simha, a brother of Bhairava Simha¹ Deva. He

¹ Cf. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures, 1883, p. 27. "In the 14th century, Queen Lachimādevi of Mithilā (Tirhut) composed the Vivāda-candra, the quotations of which from the named later authorities are as follows:—

Pārijata (1).

Balarupa (1).

Bhavadeva (2).

Ratn-ākara (10).

Ratn-ākara-kṛta (1).

Vyavahāra-tilaka (1).

(Smṛti-maharṇava-)Prakāśa (1).

Smṛti-sāra (7).

can therefore be safely placed about the middle of the 15th century A.D.

MUKTESWARA JHĀ.

He is said to have written a book on the rituals "Puja Patala" under the direction of Raja Maheśwara Sim ha.¹ He certainly lived in the 2nd half of the 19th century.

MURĀRI MIŚRA.

He is son of Vardhamāna and Tantu Mati Debī and of the Maudgalya-gotra and author of Anargha Raghava Nataka (drama). There is a tradition that he was a Maithila, but the point is more than doubtful.

Several commentaries have been discovered on the Anargha Raghava and as the best of them is by Rucipati² who was certainly a Maithila, Murāri is also looked upon by the Maithilas as a Maithila. But the book is most popular and widely read in Cashmere and he is mentioned by Rajanaka Ratnakara in his book "Haravijaya" - (38—67)³ and it looks as if he was well known in Cashmere in Ratnakara's time.

He is different from Murari,⁴ son of Rudra Sarmma, the author of Suddhi Nibandha; and from Murāri the author of Gobhilagrihya Subha Karma⁵ Nirnaya.

In the introduction⁶ to his Anargha Raghava it is said that the audience were terrified by the representation

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's Notices on Sanskrit Literature, IX, 12, No. 2901, introd. verse 2 may be consulted.

श्रीचन्द्र सिंह नृपतेर्दयिता लक्ष्मिमा मन्नादेवौ ॥

रसयति पदार्थं चन्द्रं मिथरु मित्रोपदेशेन ॥ ९ ॥

¹ Cf. Maheśwara Simha.

² Cf. Rucipati.

³ Cf. Rucipati.

⁴ Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 1, Bombay, 1894 edition:—

“अङ्गुलीया (अङ्गुली) जाडक इवीतमनायकस्य नाशं कविरक्षितं यस्य मुरारिरित्यम् ।
आज्ञातान्नाशभुवनः क्षणतः स दैत्यनाथो हिरण्यकशिपुः सङ्गं वन्दुभिर्व ॥

⁵ Cf. Murāri.

⁶ Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 6, Bombay, 1894 edition.

सूत्रधारः—अलमतिविसृष्टे । भी भी लवयोदवेलावनालीतमाह तयकन्दस्य विमुक्त
मौलिसम्भम मन्नामौलमेवो कमलाकुचकलणकेलिकसूरिकापनादुरस्य भगवतः पुदधीतमस्य
थावाधायुपसमाजीयाः सभासदः कुमसिद्धिदीपादागतेन कलकन्दस्यनाम्ना कुशीलवेन रौद्र
वीमलभयानकाङ्कतरसभूषितं कमपि प्रबन्धमभिनयता नित्यं किलायमुद्वेजितौ लोकः ॥

of a play which was full of sentiments of anger, terror and disgust and probably the reference is to Bhavabhūti's plays such as *Mahābīra Caritam* and *Mālatī Mādhava*. Accordingly his work was meant to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience. The plot is made up of the story of Rāma and owing to the eloquence of the narration, he has been named Bala-Valmiki.¹ The play has no dramatic beauty, and it is more fit for the hall than for the stage. His diction is inscrutable and his ideas are far fetched and in most cases unnatural. Any how he shows himself a master of scholarly reading and ready vocabulary. Viewed as classic poetry, his work finds a middle place in the pantheon.

As Ratnākara flourished at the court of Avanti Varmān, king of Cashmere (855-884 A.D.) Murāri surely lived before the latter half of the 9th century A.D. But as he appears to have lived after Bhavabhūti² who belongs to about the middle of the 8th century A.D., Murāri may be placed in the latter part of the 8th century or at the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

MURĀRI MIŚRA

He was the author of the Smṛti work *Suddhinibandha*. Murāri's father was Rudra Sarmā, the son of Harihara, the chief justice of Deva Simha, who sat on the same throne with the king. His father Jayadhara Ladha was the chief justice of Bhavasimha. The colophon of this work is rather curious. It says "Kosiśvara Kṛta *Suddhi-pradipikā Samāpta*." The name of the author and the work are both different from those given in the text." As his grandfather was a contemporary of Deva Simha,⁴ he

¹ Cf. the following śloka often quoted in praise of Murāri.

देवौ वाचमुपासते हि नन्दवः सारं तु सारस्वतं जानीते नितरामसौ गुरुकुलशिरो मुरारिः
कविः । अन्विर्लङ्घित एव धामरभट्टैः किं लब्ध गम्भीरमापाताल्लनिमग्नपौत्ररत्नमुज्ज्वलित
मन्त्राक्षरः ॥ १ ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे सति कुह ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे
सति कुह ॥ २ ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा । भवभूतिं परित्यज्य मुरारि मुरारीकुह
॥ ३ ॥ भवभूतिमनाहत्य निर्वोदमतिमा मया । मुरारिपदचिन्तायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥

² Cf. V. S. Apte's *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1890, p. 1044.

³ Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

⁴ Cf. Deva Simha.

may be placed two generations later than Deva Simha and must have lived in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

MURĀRI MISRA.

He was a son of Kṛṣṇa Misra¹ and student of Kesava Misra and Rama Bhadra. He is known for his book :²

- (1) *Srāddha-kalpa-tikā*.
- (2) *Gobhila-grhya-sutra-sabhā-karma-nirṇaya*.
- (3) *Istikālanirṇaya*.
- (4) *Parvanirṇaya*.
- (5) *Subhakarmanirṇaya*, written under king Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa.
- (6) *Bhāṣya* on the mantras in *Pāraskargrihya Sutra*.
- (7) *Prāyascittamanohara*.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Sāndila-gotra and of Sodarapuriya-moola." He was serving under Mahārāja Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa, king of Morang (now in Nepal).

As student of Keśava Miśra, he may be placed in the second quarter of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Murāri, the author of *Anargha-raghava*.

NARAHARI.

He was son of Narasimha and grandson of Ganesa of Mithiṛa. He is known for his work *Narapati-jayacarya-tikā*. His time is not yet certain.

NARAHARI MIŚRA.

He was son of Vācaspati Miśra (Abhinava). He is known for his commentary on *Swarodaya*, an astrological work. As son of Abhinava Vacaspati Misra,⁴ he may be placed at the beginning of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Narahari Upadhyaya⁵ son of Yajñapati and grandson of Bateśwara.

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 462 (a).

² Cf. do do.

⁴ Cf. Abhinava Vacaspati Miśra.

⁵ Cf. Narahari; Upadhyaya.

³ As evidenced by Panji.

NARAHARI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is a famous writer on Nyāya and author of "Dvaita-Nirnaya" and Anumanakhanda-dusanoddhara and Tattva-cintāmani.¹ It appears from his work that he was son of Yajñapati (writer of 'Prabhā') grandson of Sivapati and great-grandson of Paśupati and Bateśwara. He is to be distinguished from Narahari, son of Vācaṣpati Miśra, as he calls himself great-grandson of Bateśwara and has often criticised Vācaṣpati.

According to popular tradition he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of *Mandara-mool* and of *KaSyapa-gotra*. His time has not yet been settled. But as his father's great-grandfather flourished during the time of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṃha,² he may be placed in the middle of the 15th century.³

PANDITA NARAPATI JHĀ.

He is traditionally believed to have lived at village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. He is famous for his erudite knowledge of Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya. His brother's name is said to have been Paṇḍita Gaṇapati Jha. He is still remembered for his works⁴: —

- (1) Gopi-Vallabha Kāvya, and
- (2) Raghavakīrti-sataka.

in which he describes the time of Mahārāja Rāghava Sirhha of Darbhanga and his predecessor.

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 279 (a) and Vol. II, p. 60(6). * Cf. Bhairava Siṃha. s The table based upon the account given at the end of the book "Dvaita Nirṇaya" by M. M. Permeswara Jha of Darbhanga, Samvat, 1964 edition, is useful to some extent in determining his time:—

Bateśwara.
|
Paśupati.
|
Sivapati.
|
Jayapati.
|
Narahari.

It is traditionally said that Bateśwara's daughter's son was Ayāci Bhavanātha Miśra, who flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century—Cf. Bhavanātha and his grandson was Sivapati, whose time also falls in the 1st half of the 15th century. As Narahari was grandson of Sivapati there is no dispute regarding his time.

* These manuscripts are in possession of Pandita Parmeswara Jha, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Daribhanga.

Raghava-kīrti-sataka would show that the author lived in the court of Rājā Raghū Simha. So he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century.¹

PANDITA NILAMBARA JHA.

He is the author of the astrological work Gola-prakāśa. It appears that he migrated to and settled in Patna. It appears that he lived during the reign of Mahārāja Śivadāna Simha of Alawar estate in Rajputanā. He is reputed to have written several books. In the final colophon, he calls himself a Maithila. He may be placed in the 19th century.

PADMANĀBHA DATTA.

He belongs to a renowned and long line of Maithila Brāhmaṇas (scholars) and is noted for his famous Vyākaraṇa "Supadma." This grammar is very popular in Central Bengal. From his genealogical account given at the end of the Supadmavyakaraṇa² it appears that he was son of Dāmodara Miśra.

Dāmodara is author of a book (Vanibhuṣaṇa) where he says दीर्घं घोषकुलीयं दामोदर इति नूनः

On the basis of this the Maithilas say that he belonged to what they call Deeghavaimool section of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas. But it is still open to question whether Damodara, the author of Vanibhuṣaṇa, was the

¹ Pandita Parmeswara Jha is the 5th in descent from Narapati Jhā. He tells me that Narapati Jhā and his brother Ganapati Jha lived for some time at the court of the Nawab of Patna. Many villages were granted to them in Saran district by the Nawab. But these villages are not now in possession of their descendants.

² As for the genealogy of Padmanabha Misra, please, Cf. the final slokas of Supadma (Vyākarna) from which it appears that Baraharuci Misra, Vyasadatta Misra, Durghatta Misra, Jayaditya Misra mimansa, Sripati Misra, Ganesvara Misra, Bhanot Misra, Halayudha Misra, Sridatta Misra, Bhavadatta Misra Damodara Misra, Padmanabha Misra all belonged to one family.

³ Cf. the final colophon of Vanibhuṣana :—

इति मेयिल दीर्घं घोष कुलीयं दामोदर मित्र विरचित वाणीभूषणं समाप्तम् ।

नमो श्री श्री निवासं प्रथम जन मनः शङ्खु संहार कालम् । भोतं दृष्ट्वा रि कंवादिजगत्
मनिशं नायकास सुरेशम् ॥ पाणिन्यादिप्रचैतान्यतिविमलधियां शब्दशास्त्राणि दृष्ट्वा ।
पूर्वपुत्रं सदर्थाविगमनगुहमाविस्तरं पूर्णं मेतन् ॥ दिक् सात् दर्शितं किन्तु सकलार्थं विकासनम् ।

same person as the father of the author of Supadma Vyākaraṇa. But as he and his ancestors have been called Miśras in the Supadma and as the Bengali Panditas have never been called Miśras it may be taken that he was a Maithila rather than a Bengali.

He gives a list of his books in the last few slokas of Supadma including (1) Supadma Grammar and Pafijikā, (2) Prayogadlpikā, (3) Uṇādivṛtti, (4) Dhātukaumudī, (5) Yanlugvṛtti, (6) Gopālacarita, (7) Ānandalahari-tikā, (8) Śiṣupalabadhatika, (9) Chandoratna, (10) Āeāra-candrikā and (11) Bhūriprayoga.

His time is certain, i.e. he lived in the 2nd half of the 14th century as will appear from a śloka of his Prasodarādivṛtti, a part of his Uṇ-ādi-vṛtti, which his śloka says he composed in the Śākayear 1297, i.e. 1375 A.D.¹

PADMA MĀBHA MISRA.

He was Naiyāyika. He was Son of Balabhadra Miśra and brother of Biśwanatha Miśra. The Māithila Pañjis mention his family.

His works are :—

- (1) Rāddhānta-muktāhāra or Siddhānta muktāhara;
- (2) Ciptā-maṇi-parikṣā;
- (3) Bhaskara tikā of Udayana's Kirṇāwali; and
- (4) Rāddhānta muktāhāra vyākhyā kaṇāda rahasya.

भैर्यावधेयं धीराः श्रीपद्मनाभ निवेदितम् उक्तौ व्याकरणदर्शः सुपद्मस्यास्य पञ्जिका । ततोऽपि
वासुबोधाय प्रयोगावधेय दीपिका । उणादि हस्तिरचिता तथाच धातु कौमुदी । तच्चैव
यद्वक्तुकोटिः परिभाषा ततः परम् । आनन्दलक्ष्मीटीकास्तुतावाधार चन्द्रिका ॥ कोषे भूमि
प्रयोगाख्यौ रचितस्तात अक्षतः । धीराः श्रीपद्मनाभेन गृह्यते श्रुयमञ्जलिः । संस्कार्य प्रतिपाद्यावः
पुत्र पद्मसपुत्रिका ।

¹ Cf. H. P. Sastri, Notices, Vol. I, p. 225, No. 228, and verse 10 :—

शक्ते शैल भ वादित्ये सैवे ससे रवेः स्थितौ ।

द्विजेन पद्मनाभेन भाषा खलनिर्द्वलतम् ॥

² Cf. Final slokas of Bhaskara tikā :—

श्रीविश्वनाथानुज गरीयान् वल्लभद्रजम्भा । ततोऽपि तर्काभिगत्य सर्वान्
श्रीपद्मनाभो विदुषां विशोदम् ॥

He lived after Varddhamana¹ and is traditionally assigned to the 17th century A.D.

PARASURĀMA JHĀ.

He was a student of Raghudeva Misra.² He was a good Nayyāyika and Dharmaśāstrika Paṇḍita. It is traditionally said that he lived in village Jagili (in Purnea district) where he had written many valuable Sanskr̥ta books on palm leaves which are even now in possession of Paṇḍita Parameswara Jha, Librarian to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who is said to be seventh in descent from him. His work Satasastra-samvada is a useful composition.³ As a student of Raghudeva Misra, he belongs to the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PĀRTHASĀRATHI MISRA.

He was a son of Yajñatman Misra,⁴ and author of:—

Tantrarātna.
Nyāyaratnamālā.
Nyāyaratnākara.
Sāstradīpikā.

He is called a Maithila. The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā regard him as Maithila and even point to some individuals

¹ Cf. the śloka (at the beginning of Kīrnāvalitika).

उपदिष्टा गुह्यरक्षोरस्युष्टा वर्धमानेन ।

किरणावस्थानार्थास्तन्यते यद्गुणभेदेन ॥

² Cf. the final sentence in Vācāspati Miśra's Vyavahāra Cintāmaṇi copied by Parasurāma.

यस्य पत्नीयामे सदासहोपाधाय श्रीरघुदेव सरस्वती नामाज्ञया श्रीपरशुराम शर्माणा
लिखितमिदं पुस्तकम् ।

शके १५३७

(i.e. 1615. A.D.)

³ This has not yet been published. The manuscript is in possession of M.M. Parmesvara Jha of Darbhanga.

⁴ Cf. the śloka No. 43 in the Prayuktilaka of Nyāya ratnamālā (Benares) 1900 edition :—

आचार्यसमसामित्य श्रीमदाज्ञानसमुद्रा ।

पार्थ सारथि विशेष प्रयुक्तिं सिद्धतः कृतः ॥ ४१ ॥

descended from him. But apart from the fact that he was called a Miśra (a surname found in Mithila though not peculiar to it), and that he was a writer on Miṃamsa, there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā. His age is uncertain.

PRADYUMNA.

He commented upon Jyotiṣa-Ratnāvali by Sudhākara. He has paid tribute to Bhairava¹ Simha in his Jyotiṣa ratrāvāli, and it follows that he was either a contemporary of Bhairava Simha or he lived soon after his age. He may, therefore, be placed in the 1st half of the 16th century.

PRAJNĀKARA.

He was the son of Vidyākara and grandson of Miśra Anandakaraswāmi. He was the author of Subodhani Nalodayatika. He was a Maithila.² His time is not certain.

PREMANIDHI THAKKURA.

He was a writer on Smṛti. He was the author of Dharmm-ādharma-prabodhini, which consists of 12 chapters. He calls himself son of Indrapati.³ It appears that he completed his works in Samvat 1410 and that he lived under the Nizam Sahi Rule.⁴ The Nizam Sahi dynasty ruled towards the end of the 15th century and thus he may be placed at the end of the same century. Evidently the Samvat referred to by Premanidhi was Sakā and not Vikrama Samvat. (Saka 1410=1488 A.D.)

PURUṢOTTAMA DEVĀ.

He is traditionally known to have been Maithila, though his Maithila nationality is very doubtful and no internal or external evidence is available. He is the

¹ A copy of the Jy. Ratnāvali with a commentary exists in the Nepal Raj library at Khatmandoo. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. 1, page 492.

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 77b.

³ Aufrecht calls him and his father Maithili.

⁴ Premanidhi says that his family lived at Mahismati in Srinadi Ray Nizam Shaha-Visayas, i.e. in the Maratha Country under the Nizam Shahi kings.

author of the lexicon "Trikāndaśeṣa" composed in the 12th or 13th century A.D.¹ under king "Dhṛti Simha."² Trikaṇḍaśeṣa is the first Sanskr̥ta koṣa to name "Tirhut."

Other works popularly attributed to Puruṣottama Deva or Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva include: (1) Nāmamālika, a book on prayer, (2) Haraṇvali, (3) Mukti-cintāmaṇi and (4) Durgotsava³ and (5) Bhasavṛtti.⁴ But it is doubtful if the author of the works was identical with the author of Trikaṇḍaśeṣa or that he was a Maithila.

RAGHUDEVA MIŚRA (ŚĀRASWATA).

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Hariyamaya-mool and of Vatsya-gotra. He was son of Visnu Misra and a daughter's son of Acyuta Thakkura who was a son of Maheṣa Thakkura. He is said to have been a Naiyāyika and a good poet. He was the author of a work called Virudavali.⁵ Sultan Shahjahan being pleased with his learning conferred upon him the title of Saraswata and gave him many valuable prizes.⁶ He may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PAIṢṬĪTA RAGHUDEVA JHĀ.

He is known for his "Pafiji-prabandha" compiled under the orders of Rājā Hari Sirīha Deva and queen

¹ Macdougald's Sanskrit Literature, page 433, 1905.

² Cf Krishnamacarya's History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, 1st edition, page 179. In the Haraṇvali he calls himself contemporary of Janmejaya and Dhṛti Sīhha. It is not known who this Dhṛti Simha was and where he reigned. (Cf. Aufrecht, Vol i, p. 342 (a)).

³ Cf. page 10 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscript by H. P. Sastri, 1906-07 to 1910-11.

⁴ Cf. preface to Bhasavṛtti, Sṛiśa Candra Cakravarty, Rājshahi edition 1918.

ॐ श्रीविष्णोः भक्तः कुमुदिनी देवी कुमारं कुलालकारं सभाषयं गणपतिं गौरीमिरौ
सादिव ॥ दौहित्रोऽयम् उत्तमस्य जनिमः श्रीचारिताम्रवन्द्यः श्रेष्ठोऽयं रघुदेव बालक कविर्वेद
भूषणः ॥ १ ॥

विद्यावत्य सुखं महीपतिमय श्रीवुद्धिनाथं मनो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाभिदेव महिम्नं श्रीमोहन
मोहनम् ॥ मत्ता श्रीहरिदेव देव जगुषः श्रेष्ठं वयोभिर्भूषैः हस्तेभ्यो विद्यावल्लीमिह सदानन्दं
जुलैर्म्यस्तवान् ॥ २ ॥

⁶ Tradition.

I_vakṣmidevī. The occasion was a marriage ceremony of two Maithil Brahmins within forbidden limits. The 1st sloka of the " Panji-prabandha " gives his date (1216 Saka) and so he may be placed at the end of the 13th century ' A.D.

RĀJAŚEKHARA.

Rājaśekhara lived near Patna. His Prabandhakośa is a collection of half-historical tales and biographies in barbarous Sanskrit prose, the style resembling that of the Pancatantra. All his information was obtained from his teacher Tilakasūri, and the work was finished at Delhi in Samvat 1408 (1348 A.D.). His patron was Madanasimha, the son of Jayasimha, an intimate favourite of Muhammad Tughlak Shah.

He belonged to the 14th century and is traditionally said to have been a Maithila. But his Maithila nationality is seriously open to question and no satisfactory evidence is available on this point.

He is to be distinguished from his name-sake, Rājaśekhara, the author of the Sanskrit dramas Viddha-Sulabhañjika, Karpuramañjari, Bala-ramāyana, and Pracandapandava or Bala-bharata, and who lived about 900 A.D.²

PANḌITA RĀMA UPĀDHYĀYA (JHĀ).

He was a son of Paṇḍita Narapati Jhā. He was a very famous Paṇḍita in Mithila. It is traditionally said that he was one of Rājā Paṇḍitas of Maharāja Pratapa Simha who granted him several villages as Jagir. These Jagirs are said to have been granted to him during the period 1170 to 78 Faśli (year) corresponding to 1763-71 A.D.

शके श्रीहरिचिह्नदेव स्वपतेर्भूपार्क (१६१९) तुल्येजनिः
तस्माद्वन्द्यमिति द्विजगणैः पद्मी प्रवन्धः कृतः ।
तस्माद्वै द्विजवीजि यंश कलितं यद्विचक्षणं पुरा
तद्विप्राय समर्पितं कुकलिते शान्माय सर्वाधिने ॥
ब्राह्मणानां समुत्थितिं सद्दीजि कथनं तथा
करोति रघुदेवाख्याः पाण्डुः पंजीयितिस्यम् ॥

The account given of him is traditional and is backed up by the name in Mithilā Pafiji.

The work "Meghadūta" is ascribed to him.

As a contemporary of Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha,¹ he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century A.D.

RĀMABHADRA UPĀDHYĀYA.

His name has been mentioned as a Maithila Paṇḍita of great fame, but I have not come across his manuscripts in Mithila nor have I come across any manuscript or work of Ratisa Upadhyāya who is popularly believed to be his contemporary.

In fact there have been several writers called Rāma-bhadra, and it is difficult to say which of them was a Maithila, Aufrecht² mentions one Ramabhadra who was Guru of Murāri* Mīśra (author of Subhakarma Nirṇaya).

If Murāri Mīśra was a Maithila, this Rāmbhadra might have been a Maithil. As such he may be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

RAMADĀSA JHĀ.

He was author of "Anandavijaya Nāṭaka" (Drama) an unpublished work in possession of Paṇḍita Chet-nātha Jhā of Darbhanga. Ramadāsa Jhā calls himself a disciple of Govinda Jhā⁴ and a contemporary of Raja Sundara Thakkura.⁵ As a contemporary of Raja

¹ Cf. Pratāpa Simha.

² Cf. Aufrecht Vol. I, page 571 (a) ³ Cf. Murari Mīśra.

⁴ He is called author of two unpublished dramas, "Nala Charitra" and "Kṛṣṇa Caritra."

⁵ Cf. Ananda Vijaya,

मडी—इहं बभू कस्य देवतरोः फलं यव गन्धर्व, राजारव आर्योऽपि ईदृशी राजते ।

सूत्रधारः—इह हि कात्यायन गोत्रस्य कुजौही कुलमन्दनस्य,

यस्मिन् मन्त्रमन्त्रिरोपदृष्टक पठेमायस रत्नाङ्कुरा

मातन्मन्त्रियपूर्विकुरक्षमथो विख्यात संख्यावनाम् ।

वीगोविन्दधनेन तेन गुरुणा काश्यप पुण्याश्रया

चिन्तस्यामर साक्षिनी नवरसं रामस्य रम्यं फलम् ।

मडी—आर्यसुन्दरनरेणमहमपि भद्रं जानामि ।

सूत्रधार—क इव

Sundara Thakkura,¹ he may be placed in the first half of the 17th century A.D.

RĀMADATTA THAKKURA.

He is the author of two works, Vivāhādi-paddhati² and Dāna-paddhati treating of marriage ceremony and gifts. He is a son of Ganesvara³ and cousin of Candēśvara.⁴ As son of Ganeśvara, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 14th century.

RATNAPĀṭI.

He was son of Acyuta Thakkura, minister of Rājā Siva Simha and was father of Ravi (author of Kāvya-prakāśa Tikā). He is accredited with the authorship of Kāvyaadarpaṇa.

As his father was a minister of Rājā Siva Simha who lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D., he may be placed a generation later, i.e. in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

RAVI THAKKURA.

He was the author of "Madhumati"⁵ a commentary on the "Kāvya Prakāśa." His father was Ratnapāṇi and his grandfather was Acyuta who was a minister of Rājā Siva Simha.⁶ As Siva Simha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.,¹ Ravi may be placed two generations later, i.e. at the beginning of the 16th century A.D.

मटी—महं पञ्चलार्कस्य करीनर इति पठितः ।

तदीय शिष्यो महेशः सङ्गतेशानगतिमण्डितः ।

सङ्गधार—स यः इति कर पठितः ।

मटी—एतस्य करेः पुत्रः पूर्वः ।

¹ Cf. Sundara Thakkura.

² This work has been commented upon by Paṇḍita Parmeśvara Jhā.

³ Cf. genealogical table in the account of Candēśvara.

⁴ Cf. Candēśvara.

⁵ This should not be confounded with "Madhumati" a work by Narasimha Kavirāja—Cf. p. 92, Vol. III, Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, 1903.

⁶ Peterson's 3rd Report, p. 332, introd. verse 3:—

शिवसिंहसिद्धिस्तद्व्याप यो मणितो विदुषः

महाभुक्तः सङ्गधारः सुवि रत्नपट्टिरवम् ॥ [१] ॥

Ratnapāṇi was father of the author Ravi.

⁷ Cf. Siva Simha.

RUCIDATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

The following commentaries of his are extant, viz. (i) The Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa,¹ a commentary on Gaṇgeśa's work in Nyāya, (2) Tarkapāda, (3) Tarka-sāra, (4) The Nyāya-kusumañjali-prakāśa-makaranda, a sub-commentary of Varddhamaṇa's commentary on Udayana-cārya's Vaiśeṣika work, (5) Makaranda on Raghudeva's Padārtha Khaṇḍanavyākhyā.

Rucidatta's father was Devadatta and mother Renukā. He was brother of Saktidatta and Matidatta.² He was a pupil of Jayadeva.³ He is said to have been nicknamed "Bhoktu,"⁴

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 528 (a).
Parts of the Tattvacintāmaṇi-prakāśa:—
Upanayalakṣaṇa.
Upādhipurvapakṣagranthatika.
Tarkagrāhiṭhatika.
Tritiyacakravartilakṣaṇatika.
Dvitiyacakravartilakṣaṇatikā.
Dvitiyaśvalakṣarīṭhatika.
Pakṣatāpīrvapakṣagranthatika.
Pakṣatāsiddhāntagrāhiṭhatika.
Pratījalakṣaṇatika.
Pratyakṣavāda.
Pratyakṣadīpitaya.
Prathamāpragalbhalakṣaṇatika.
Badhānta.
Viniddhapūrvapakṣagranthatikā.
Viruddhasiddhāntagranthatikā.
Vyāptyanugamatikā.
Savyābhicārapūrvapakṣagranthatika.
Savyābhicārasiddhāntagrāhiṭhatika.
Sāmānyaniruktika.
Sāmanābhāvatikā.
Rucidattīyany.

² Ind. Off. Cat. p. 635, Nos. 1946-7. the end verse 2 :—

औदेवदत्त तन्मयो विमयोपमूढः श्रीरेणुकाविर स्तगर्भपुटोपजातः श्रीशक्तिदत्तमतिदत्त
श्रीश्रीदत्तः, श्रीश्रीश्री चकार वचिदत्तकृतप्रकाशम् ।

³ Saus. Coll. Cat. III, 544, the Tatta-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa, introd. verse 2 :—

वचिदत्तः शक्तिदत्तेन जयदेवाज्जगद्गुरोः ।
विद्यामयौ शब्दमयौ प्रकाशौ च प्रकाशते ॥

and the final colophon :—

इति श्रीश्रीश्री पुर कुल समुद्भूतमहामहोपाध्यायः श्रीवचिदत्तः ।
विरचिते तत्त्वविद्यामयि प्रकाशे प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

⁴ Cf. Bikaner Manuscript Library, at the Fort, Almirah No. 2, Manuscript N. 421, in the leaf 271, Śabdācintāmaṇi Prakāśa.

वचिदत्ता परमात्मा भग्न कृतिना विद्यामयश्च प्रकटीकृतः प्रकाशो विशदः विद्यामये उपरि
(H. P. Sastri's notes in manuscript dated 11-10-10).

He must be older than Saka 1292 or 1370 A.D. the date of an old manuscript of his *Tattvacintāmaṇi-Prakāśa-pratyakṣa-khanda*.¹ I have not seen this manuscript, but if his teacher Jayadeva belonged to the latter half of the 15th century A.D. there must be some mistake about this. As he was a pupil of Jayadeva,"¹ he may be placed in the 4th quarter of the 15th century.

RUCIPATI.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Khauale-bejauli-mool and of Kasyapagotra and lived at Vaijoligrama.³ He is known for his commentary on Anargha-raghava, etc.

He was father of Dhanapati and Harapati who flourished in the latter half of the 15th century.* He was a Paṇḍita with Maharaja Bhairava Simha *alias* Hari Nara-yaṇa and thus there is no uncertainty regarding his time. He has mentioned this fact at the beginning of his commentary on Anargharaghava. It was under Rājā Bhairava Simha's order that he undertook this commentary.⁵ He may thus be placed in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

RUDRADHARA UpĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Lakṣmidhara.

He was a famous writer on Smṛti. In the Vrata-paddhati, Rudradhara refers to the sayings of his brother both in the beginning and in the end. In the final colophon of the Suddhi-viveka, Rudradhara is called the son of Lakṣmidhara and younger brother of Haladhara, who is presumably the brother alluded to. Rudradhara calls

¹ Cf. Peterson's 6th Report, P. 75, N. 190. Also p. 268, J.A.S.B., Vol. XI, 1915.

² Cf. Jayadeva.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 523 (a)

⁴ Cf. Dhanapati.

⁵ Cf. the following sloka :—

जीवाक्षवंशजातः । मस्यादेशान्नदीशस्य । जीवक्षिपति रतिब्रह्मः । स्वटीकुर्वते सुरारि
बाधिबाधः ।

Also the colophon to be found at the end of every part of the commentary :—

इति समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपु कंस नाशयन् भव भक्ति परायन् जीवरिनाशयन्
पदसमस्तकृत महाराजाधिराज जीमन् भैरव चिन्देव प्रोक्ताक्षित वेजीजी ग्रामवाक्काय
जीवाक्षवंश प्रभव जीवक्षिपति मन्त्रोपाध्याय विरक्षितासामन्त्रै राघवटीकार्या प्रबन्धोऽङ्कः ।

himself vaguely as Śarmma, but by Govindananda in his Srāddha, and Suddhi-kaumudi he is given the title Upādhyāya.

His works are also quoted by Raghutmandana, Kamalākara and Nilakantha.¹

His works are:—

- (i) The Varṣa-kṛtya, dealing with a number of festivals and optional fasts, beginning with the Vrata of Behulā.
- (ii) The Vrata-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed in connection with Vratas.
- (iii) The Suddhi-viveka, on purification, in three paricchedas. It should be distinguished from the works of the same name by Śulapāṇi and by Srinathacāryyacurāmaṇi.
- (iv) The Srāddha-viveka, dealing with the funeral rites, in four paricchedas, should be distinguished from the work of the same name by Śulapāṇi, which the author himself has quoted as Gauṛiṇya.

Rudradhara is quoted several times in the Suddhi Prayascitta, Tithi, Kṛtya and Sama-srāddha-tattvas.² So he must be older than the beginning of the sixteenth century. He quotes the Suddhi-pradīpa and the Srāddha-pradīpa, works of Saiikara Misra, though the latter may be the work of Varddhamāna. So his time must be later than the third quarter of the fifteenth century. His time thus falls roughly in the 4th quarter of the same century.³

SAUKANATHA MISRA.

He was a pupil of Prabhakara Guru⁴ and is quoted by Citsukha in Mānasānayaṇaprasādinī. He is a distinguished writer and is author of:—

¹ Cf. Aufrecht, p. 530 (a), Vol. I.

² Cf. ditto.

³ Cf. p. 405 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, Nos. 10 and 11 for November and December, 1915.

⁴ Cf. the 1st sloka, Prakaranapancika (Benares) edition 1904 :—

साध्यायविधि वाक्यार्थविचारे प्रयत्नायमे ।

प्रभाकर गुरोर्हेतु मीमांसारम्भ सिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

Nyāyāratna,
Prakaraṇapancikā.
Prašastapādabhāṣyavyākhyā.
Sabarabhāṣyatikā.

The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithila and even point to some families connected with him, but apart from the fact that his surname was a Misra¹ (a surname not peculiar to Mithilā) there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā. His age has not yet been fixed.

SĀMKARA MISRA.

He is author of "Smṛti Sudhākara." He is to be distinguished from Samkara Misra,² son of Bhavanatha MiSra.

The Alwar Catalogue (N. 1540) shows "Smṛtisudhākara" by Samkara."

His Maithila nationality is asserted by himself and he praises king Akbar in the concluding Verses.⁴ So he may be assigned to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

ŚĀNKARA MISRA.⁵

He was son of Bhavanātha and nephew of Jivanātha. He wrote both on Smṛti and on Darśana, chiefly Vaiśeṣikā. His extant philosophical works are :—

¹ Cf. the final colophon of Prakaraṇapancikā p. 231 (Benares) edition 1904 :—

इति औपनिषद्वाक्यमिदं विरचितार्याः.....समाप्ता च प्रकरणं पञ्चिका ।

² Cf. Sankara Misra, p. 1.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 236 (a).

⁴ Introduction verses :—

मैथिली चरचरेपुरंजितो मैत्रवेश्वर शिष्योपसर्जितः वाग्मती हरिदुरीक्षताम्रः कश्चिदसि
विषयोमहत्तरः यस्मिन्ने हिमाद्रिः कुशिकपुत्री यत्र पूर्वस्याम् ॥ चिद्वनदी यद्वायाम्—पश्चिम
सीमापि गण्डकी यत्र ।

and 5 verses in praise of Akbar and 3 verses in praise of Todarmall.

जयति शिति मखलम् चक्रवर हृपतो मतो महेन्द्र । नास् । इत्यादि

मंची चक्रवर हृपतो डोडरमकश्चिरम् जयति-इत्यादि ।

⁵ The following sloka by poet Gangadatta in Bhṛṅgadūta, may be quoted (it describes Śankara's village).

सीमांसायाः नवचरसाये सुवीमाय कौ चेत् ।

क्षिते क्षिते क्षिमपि कविताःकर्मणि कौतुके वा ॥

तत्र धम्म तुल्यजन्म चतुःपाठिकाभिज्ञात्वात् ।

शोभाशक्तिप्रिय हरिश्च ग्राम रत्नं परीयाः ॥

- (i) The *Ātma-tattva-viveka-kalpa-latā*, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's polemical treatise.
- (ii) The *Ananda-vardhaṇa*, pleasure-increaser, a commentary on Sriharṣa's Vedantic *Khaṇḍana-khāṇḍa-khāḍya* which is referred to in *Pragalbha-cāryya's* commentary thereon.
- (iii) The *Tattva-cinta-maṇi-mayukṣa*, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's famous work in *Nyāya*.
- (iv) The *Tri-sutri-nibandha-vyākhyā*, a sub-commentary on Udayanācāryya's *tika* on the first three sūtras of Gautama's *Nyāya-sūtra*. It professes to be a supplement to the *vyākhyā* of the authors of *Prakāśa* (Rucidatta), *Darpaṇa* (Māheśa) and *Udyota* (Vahinipati).
- (v) The *Nyāya-līlavati-kanṭh-abharaṇa*, a commentary on the authoritative *Vaiśeṣika* work of Vallabhacāryya.
- (vi) The *Bheda-prakāśa* or *Bheda-ratna-prakāśā*, a criticism of the non-dualistic *Vedānta*, the only original work in philosophy of *Saṅkara* as yet found. It is criticised in its turn in the *Samkṣepa-śarīraka* of *Sarvajñātmanā* (ii. i).
- (vii) The *Vaiśeṣika-sūtrapaskāra*, a commentary on the *Kanāda-sūtras*, in ten *adhyāyas*, each with two *Ahnika*s.¹
- (viii) *Kanādarahasya*.
- (ix) *Khaṇḍana-khanda-khadyatīkā*.
- (x) The *Chandogahnikoddhāra*²
- (xi) The *Prāyascitta-pradīpa*³ and
- (xii) The *Srāddha-pradīpa*.⁴

} All on rituals.

The following works are also attributed to him⁵—

(1) *Sri Kṛṣṇa Vinoda Nāṭaka*, (2) *Manobhāva Parabhāva Nāṭaka*, (3) *Rasārnava*, (4) *Vaiśeṣika-sūtrapaskāra*, (5) *Chandogahnikoddhāra*, (6) *Vādi-vinoda*, (7) *Āmoda* on *Kusumāñjali*, and (8) *Samānya Niruktikrodinya*.

He wrote also, apparently in his younger days a small comedy on the marriage of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, the *Gauri*—

¹ It is the popular commentary on the original *Sūtras*, and has been printed in the *Bibl. Ind.* edition.

² Cf. R. Mitra, *Notices*, Vol. VI, p. 9, No. 1989.

Do. Vol. V, p. 286, No. 1965.

⁴ Do. Vol. VII, p. 191, No. 2430.

⁵ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 625.

digambara-prahasnam, which was played at the instance of his father.¹

He wrote on Nyāya Vaiśeṣika and Smṛti. The beginning and the last of some of his verses bear out his authorship.

The Nepal Darbar Library contains a copy of the Nyāya-varttikā-Tātaparyyatikā made by a Gaudiya Ambasta (=vaidya) named Vasudeva at the Chaupadi (college) of Saṅkara Miśra in the village of Sarsapa (—modern Sarisava) in the Saka year 1415=: 1488 A.D.¹ Also he was the guru of Varddhamāna Upaddhyaya, and³ as such, he may be placed in the second half of the 15th century.

He must be older than 1462 A.D. in which year a manuscript of his work, Bheda-prakāśa was copied as it is dated the Samvata year 1519.⁴

Many Maithila *Vidvāns* speak of him as “*संकरः संकरः साक्षात्*” and generally say that he belonged to a very high family.^h

SARBORUTRIBEDIN..

He was a lawyer of Mithila. He compiled “Vivāda-Sārāṇava” at the request of Sir W. Jones and may be assigned to the 19th century A.D.

SINHA BHUPĀLA.

He was a contemporary of King Pratapa Rudra of the 14th century. His Raṣāṇava Sudhākara is a short treatise on poetics. Mallinātha invariably quotes from his work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the Sangita-ratnākara-vyākhyā, a treatise on music.⁶

He is identified with some Mithila ruler of the 14th century, but the question is much disputed.⁷

¹ Cf. H. Sastri Notices, Vol. I 11, p. 52, No. 83.

² Cf. p. 49, Vol. I, Nepal Catalogue by H. P. Sastri.

³ Cf. Varddhamānanopādhyaya.

⁴ The Bheda-prakāśa, Samvata 1519 (Hall).

⁵ Saṅkara Miśra is said to have belonged to a family closely related to the Maḥarāja Bahadur of Darbhanga.

⁶ Page 166 of the History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishnamācāryya, 1st edition.

⁷ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 415(a) where Bhupala has been identified with Bhojarāja; Aufrecht attributes, however, Sangita Sudhakar-Samgitaratnakarikā to Simha Bhūpāla (Aufrecht) Vol. I, p. 686 (b). This seems to be the same work as Samgitaratnākara Vyākhyā(?)

SIVADITYA MISRA.

He is also called Sivacāryya.¹ He is the author of Saptapadārthi, a work on Baisesika (Nyāya). He is quoted by Gangesvara in Tattva-cinta-mani, and by Harsa in Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhaṭṭya..

The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithilā but apart from the fact that he bore the surname Miśra and that he was a writer on Nyāya, the home of which is Mithilā, there is nothing to connect him with Mithilā. On the other hand, his work was well known in Southern India, where it was commented on by Madhava Saraswati (16th century A.D.) who has clearly stated that he was a man of Southern India and lived the bank of the river Kṛṣṇa.²

As he was a predecessor of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya who lived in the 12th century A.D., he cannot date later than the second half of the 11th century A.D.

SRDATTOPADHYAYA.

He is one of the most important Smṛti writers in Mithilā on Ācara, i.e. the religious duties of Vajasaneyin (i.e. according to Sukla Yayur Veda). His works are : (1) Ācāryya Ādarsa (i.e. Ācara of a Vajasaneyin,³ (2) Chandog-ahnika (i.e. daily ācara according to Sama Veda)/ (3)

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit introd. to Saptapadārtha by Tailāṅga Rama Sastri, Benares edition, 1893 A.D.

² Do. do. p. 6.

वीराङ्गदेशो ऽखिलदेशवर्षः सदाकरो दक्षिणभूमिनिष्ठः । विराजते सङ्गमिरीन्द्रसानी
वचाशि मेक्यं सदावलेखः ॥ १ ॥ तद्देश जप्ता यतिरेकदृष्टौ सरस्वतीमल्लक माधवाङ्गः । सो
ऽयं शिवादित्य इतरेकार्षीद् व्याख्यानानि वालुपुत्र प्रहस्य ॥ १ ॥

माधवाङ्गयतीन्द्रे कल्पतौरनिवासिना । सता सप्तद्वार्यास्तु त्रैलोक्यं नितभाषिणी ॥ २ ॥

³ Among the nibandhas, the Ācar-ādarsa, quotes :—

The Kalpa-taru (1).	Smṛti-maharnava (r).
Kalpa-taru-kara (3).	Harihara (10).
Kāma-dhenu (5).	Halāyudha nibandha (4).
Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (2).	he quotes his own Chandog-ahnika once.

It is named in the Suddhi-viveka of Rudradhara.

⁴ The Chandog-ahnika is quoted in Sṛḍattopadhyaya's own Ācar-ādarsa. and mention³ the following nibandhas and nibandha-writers:—

Kalpa-taru (4).	Chandoga-paddhati (1).
Kalpa-taru-kāra (2).	Bhupāla (1).
Kāma-dhenu (7).	Mitākṣarā (1).
Karmma-pradipa (10).	Ratna-karaṇḍika (1).
Gopāla (1).	Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (3).

Pitr-bhakti (i.e. funeral ceremonies according to Yayura Veda),¹ (4) Śraddha-kalpa (funeral ceremonies according to Sama Veda), and (5) Samayapradipa (i.e. a treatise on the virtues of fast),² (6) Vratasara and (7) Avasthyadha-napaddhati.

Śraddha's identity has not as yet been established but he is treated by the Maithilas as having been an authoritative Maithila Smṛti writer. He has also made a separate reference to several Bengal writers in his works. These and other considerations place him in Mithilā.

His works are quoted by Kamalākara, Divākara, Acārārka, Devanathā, Raghunandana, Ratnapaṇi, Rudradhara and Vacaspati Miśra. Aufrecht calls him Maithila.³

His posterior limit is fixed by the quotations from his works in the Ratnākara and by the mention of his name therein.⁴ So he must be older than 1314 A.D. His upper limit is arrived at by his naming Harihara Miśra

Śraddha-kalpa (1).

Smṛti-manjusa, dakṣiṇadesiya.

Smṛti-maharṇava (1).

(Smṛti-) maharṇava-prakāśa (3).

It is named in the Pitr-bhakti-tarāṅginī of Vacaspati Miśra, the gṛhastha-ratnākara of Candēśvara, the Ganga-vakyaṅgali of Vidyāpati, and the Garigā-bhakti-tarāṅginī of Gaṇapati. Sankara Miśra wrote a supplement to it, the Chaudog-āhnik-oddhara.

The Pitr-bhakti was written after consulting the Kātiya kalpa with Karka's Bhāṣya, and the opinions of Bhūpāla and Gopāla (nibandhakāras). It is mentioned in the Śraddha cintāmaṇi of Vacaspati Miśra, and in the Śraddha-viveka of Rudradhara as old (pracinā). It quotes :—

Karka (1).

Karka-bhāṣya (2).

Kalpa-taru (4).

Kalpa-taru-kāya (5).

Kāma-dhenu (5).

Gopāla (1).

Chāndoga-śraddha-kalpa (1).

Bhūpāla (1).

Mitākṣara (1).

Ratna-karandikā (1).

Rājā (? Vhojadeva) (3).

Sobhākara (1).

Smṛti-mañjarī (2).

Smṛti-manjusa (1).

(Smṛti) maharṇava-prakāśa (1).

Halāyudhiya Śraddh-adhyāya (3).

² The Samaya-pradipa, a standard work on Vratas. It was often quoted, i.e. in the Kṛtyaratnākara of Candēśvara (12 times), the Pitr-bhaktitarāṅginī of Vacaspati Miśra, the Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara (11 times) the Malamāsa and the Bkādāśi tattvas of Raghunandana. It quotes :—

Kalpa-taru (5).

Kalpa-taru-kāra (1).

Karma-pradipa (1).

Kāma-dhenu (1).

Jitāmītra (1).

Bhūpāla (2).

Yogiśvara (3).

Rājā (r).

Śraddha-kalpa (2).

Śraddhy-adhyāya (1).

Harihara (4).

The Gauras, Gaura-grantha, Gaura-Smṛti and Gauranibandha have been several times referred to.

³ Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. 1, p. 668.

⁴ Cf. p. 381 of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for Nov.

and quoting from Harihara's Bhāṣyas. Harihara is often mentioned in Hemadri's *Āturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa) and is therefore older than the 4th quarter of the 13th century. In his Bhāṣyas Harihara names the Kalpa-tatu-kāra (1st half of the 12th century) and certain later commentators of *Paraskara-grhya-sūtra*, such as Vāśudeva Dikṣita and Reṇu Dikṣita. So at any rate Harihara cannot be later than the 3rd quarter of the 13th century. Then Śrīdatta may be placed in the last decade of the same century, as a contemporary of Hemadri.¹

In his grammatical *Paribhāṣa*, the well-known founder of the Supadma School, Padmanābha Datta, calls himself "Sridatt-atmaja-sununā." If this Sridatta be identical with the Smṛti-writer then two generations intervened. Padmanābha Datta wrote the *Prasodara-vṛtti* in 1375 A.D.¹

Consequently Śrīdatta cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 14th century.³

SRIDATTA MISRA.

Another writer on Smṛti. His extant works are:—

- (1) *Ekā-agni-dāna-paddhati*, dealing with gifts or *Dāna* ;
- (2) *Puraścaraṇa-paddhati*, dealing with the ceremonies introductory to the performance of certain rites ;
- (3) *Avasthyā-dhāna-paddhati*, dealing with the es-

and December, 1915. It is, however, traditionally said that Candēśvara Maṭhā, author of *Ratnākara* flourished during the time of Maharaja Harasimha Deva (of Karnata dynasty) and Bhavasimha Deva (Oinwara Maithila Brahmana Raja) and Śrīdatta flourished at the time of Devasimha, son of aforesaid Bhavasimha Deva.

¹ Page 381 of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, for November and December, 1915.

² It may be stated that Sridattopadhyaya was the elder brother of Rudradhar Upadhyaya, a famous writer on *Smart-nibandha*; such as *Śraddha-viveka*, *Suddhi-viveka*, *Vrat paddhati*, etc. This appears from the colophon in *Vratapaddhati* as quoted below:—

एष श्रीमद्भाट्ट चरचो जीतः समय प्रदीपा धनसारी यन्त्राः ।

³ Dr. Har Prasad Sāstri in his report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1901-02 to 1905-06), page 6, writes:—

"Sridatta, a Maithila Brahmana, who flourished during the reign of Devasimha, wrote a *paddhati* which is to be found in the Nepal Catalogue. The same Sridatta wrote a work on *Śraddha*, entitled *Pitrbhakti*, which has been acquired."

tablishment of domestic fire according to Vedic rites;

(4) *Pitṛbhakti*, a work on *Śrāddha*.

Sridatta was the son of Nageśvara Miśra and bore the title of *Avasthika*.¹

He was a contemporary of Rājā Deva Simha.²

Sridatta had a younger brother Narasimha, whose son, Madhusudana, wrote the astrological work *Jyotiṣa-pradīpa-ankura*.³

It appears from the final colophon in the Nepal Manuscript that the *Ekāgni-dāna paddhati* was copied in the La. Sam. 299 corresponding to 1418 A.D. Thus Sridatta Miśra may be placed in the 1st half of 15th century.⁴

This conclusion as to his date is also confirmed by the facts : (1) that Rājā Dhirasimha (whose contemporary Sridatta was) died in La. Sam. 293 or, 413 A.D.; and (2) that Sridatta's nephew Madhusudana wrote *Jyotiṣa-pradīpānkura* during the lifetime of Rājā Dhira Simha who surely lived in La. Sam. 321, i.e. 1441 A.D. Thus Dhira-

¹ Cf. Nepal MSS. Notices, p. 129, final colophon :—

इति महासहोपाध्याय मिश्र श्रीनगेश्वराग्रजा वसथिक + + + + (महासहोपा) ध्याय
श्रीश्रीरत्नपद्मवैकाग्रिबिधि महादानविधानं पूर्णम् । समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः (शुभमस्तु) स्वसं १८६
पौष शुद्धि ८ चन्द्रे महासहोपाध्याय श्रीनरः (सिंहशर्मा १) महासुभा वातासनुज्ञासमाप्य
स्वस्वर्गं वासमासाद्य श्रीधनेश्वरेण लिखितैर्वा पुस्तोति ।

² Cf. Nepal MSS. Notices, p. 129, introd. verse :—

सम्यक् तातनगेश्वराद् वसुगुणाद् वैशेषिकांश्चिक्तीम्

वेदव्याकरणाधीत्य निखिलं काव्यादिकं व्योतिषम् ॥

दातुः संसदि सन्मत्तो नरपतेः श्रीदेवसिंहस्य स ।

श्रीदत्तो वितनोति पदति मिमामेकाग्रि दानोचिताम् ॥

³ Cf. India Office Catalogue, p. 1066 (No. 3004) where the end verses deal with the names of Madhusudana's relations, on which the following family chart is based :—

Nageśvara Miśra (of Mandava-grāma)

Sridatta Miśra

Narasimha Sarmma = Ratnadevi

Govinda

Narahar

Madhusudana

Vāmadeva

⁴ Cf. H. P. Sastri Notices, p. 129, Nepal MSS.

simha-belongs in any case to the 1st half of the 15th century.

SRI NIVĀSA MIŚRA.

He was a preceptor of Padmanābha Miśra, the author of *Supadmavyākaraṇa*.¹ He is known as the author of the book "Adbhuta Śāgara" found in Mithilā and attributed to Sri Nivāsa Miśra though there is another Adbhuta-sāgara attributed to Ballala Sena (Aufrecht, vol. 3).

Sri Nivāsa Miśra's time has not as yet been settled and all that can be said is that his name appears in Maithila Pañji and that popular tradition assigns him to the 14th century. It is sometimes doubted if the author of Adbhuta-sāgara was a Maithila. Aufrecht has attributed "Adbhuta-sāgara-Sara" apparently a commentary on "Adbhutasāgara" to one Sripati.² If Padmanābha Miśra was a Maithila, Sri Nivāsa Miśra might have been a Maithila. The surname of Miśra shows that they were Maithilas rather than Bengalis.

SUBHANKARA THAKKURA.

He is identified with Subhankara Thakkura, the successor of Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj, and is accredited with the authorship of (1) *Tithinirṇaya*; and (2) *Srihasta Muktaṭvali*. He may be assigned to the end of the 16th century.

SUCARITA MIŚRA.

He is the author of "Kāśika" a commentary on the *Sloka-varttika* of Bhaṭṭa Kumārilla. This is quite different from the work of the same name by Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa, which is a commentary on the grammatical work *Paribhaṣendu Sekhara*. In the colophon, the author calls himself *Upadhyaya*³ and this makes his Maithila nationality very probable, especially as Maithila traditions regard him as Maithila.

¹ Cf. the sloka in the *Supadma Vyākaraṇa* :—

मन्त्रा नीवीमिवाऽस प्रबल जन्मनः शङ्कु संचारकात्मम्

² Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. III, page 139(b)

³ इत्युपाध्याय सुचरितमिश्रकवी काशिकायाम् वेदाधिकारकम् समाप्तम् ॥

A copy of this work was made in Vikrama Samvata 1633 ¹=1576 A.D. So he must have lived earlier than 1576 A.D. and may be assigned to the 1st half of the 16th century A.D.

SUDHĀKARA.

He is known as the author of the Astrological work 'Ratnāvali.' It appears from the Ratnāvali that he was a Maithila Brahmana of Khauale-moola.²

A commentary³ on Ratnāvali is ascribed to Pradyumna* who flourished in the 1st half of 16th century and who was a pupil of Sudhākara. He flourished during the time of Bhairava Simha.⁵ Thus it is certain that our author flourished at the beginning of the 16th century.

UDAYANĀCĀRYA.

The greatest follower of Vacaspati Misra in Mithila in the Navya Nyāya school was Udayanācārya who wrote his Kirnāvali. in the śakā year 906⁶ or about 984 A.D. His famous works, in which he has attacked the Jainas and the Buddhists and others, are : (1) Ātma-tattva-viveka or Baudha-dhikkāra; (2) Nyāya-Kuśumāñjali; and (3) Lakṣanāvali.

हर नेत्राणि वड भूमिभित्ति विज्ञान भ्रुमजः
शकान्त + + + इषे इक्ष्णे नागतिषा वडः
काशिका पुस्तकसु काश्याम् भट्टनाथ वडुमा
सपाठार्थम् पटुधिया रघुनाथेन पूरितम् ॥

² Cf. Ratnāvali

खीचाले वल्लः बोधयं मिथ्या वुद्धाया खीचाल कुमुदा करम् ।
प्रसूतीति शुक्लवत्तमं ज्योतिषे त्री सुधाकरः ।

Cf. also the sloka at the commencement of the "Samayasuddhi," Dwaita Nirṇaya (Vacaspati):—

बोधयन्निवया वुद्ध्या खीचाल कुमुदाकरम् ।
प्रसूतीति शुक्लवत्तमं ज्योतिषे त्री सुधाकरः ।
त्रीपत्यादि निवन्नेभ्यः किञ्चिदालस्य लिख्यते ।
मिश्रणां व्यवहाराय सन्तः कुर्वन्तु सप्ततिम् ॥

³ Cf. Manuscript of this work to be found in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga.

⁴ Cf. Pradyumna.

⁵ Cf. Bhairava Simha.

⁶ Cf. the last but one verse of the Lakṣanāvali

तर्कान्तराङ्ग प्रसिद्धितीतिषु शकान्तः
वर्षेभूदयनशक्ते सुवीधा सप्तशतसौम् ॥

The following works are also attributed to him :—¹

(i) Acāryamatarahaṣya vaiśa ; (2) Kaṇadāsutrabhāṣya; (3) Kirṇavali (Gunakirṇavali, Dravyakirṇavali),² Nyaya-kuṣumāiijali; (5) Nyāyavarttikatātparyapariśuddhi, and Bodhasiddhi.

Udayana's works are more popular in Mithilā than even in Bengal or any other part of the country and that is particularly why he has been taken to be a Maithila. I have not come across any reference to or quotation from his work to show that he admitted himself to be a Maithila. He holds the same position in the Navya Vaiśeṣika schools as Sankara holds in the Vedānta.³

It may not be amiss to say that Udayana is known throughout India as having been one of the greatest adversaries of the Buddhist faith.

His time is certain as he himself says at the end of the Lakṣṇāvali that he lived in the sākā year 906, i.e. 984 A.D.

UMĀPATI. UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his book Parijāta-haraṇa, a drama in mixed Maithila and Sanskrit. The Parijāta-haraṇa is a drama of the *nipaka* class. Nārada presented a pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa which he gave to Rukmiṇi. Satyabhāma was enraged and Kṛṣṇa sent to Indra for some more, which he refused to give. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhāma was propitiated. The plot is well constructed and the characters are well developed. Arjuna, as an assistant to Kṛṣṇa, plays an important part. The descriptions are imaginative and the contrast between the wives of Kṛṣṇa is successfully brought out.

According to Dr. Grierson, he was an inhabitant of village Koilaka in the Bhaur Parganah of the Darbhanga district. He was a courtier to the Rājaputa Prince of Mithilā, 6th in descent from Nanyadeva, named Harisim-

¹ Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Leipzig 1891, Vol. 1, p. 65.

² It is traditionally asserted by several Maithila Panditas that he lived in village Kariaun in the Samastipur sub-division and the place where he used to teach, is still locally pointed out. His descendants in the village are still called Acāryya.

Another tradition assigns him to Mahwa, about 29 miles to the north of Madhepur in Bhagalpur, and his descendants are pointed out in village Karama close by.

hadeva who is famous in Mithilā as the originator of the Panji or the genealogical records of members of the Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and other castes and who did much the same for Tirhut as Ballālasena had done a century previously for Bengal. Accordingly Dr. Grierson thinks that Umāpati Upādhyāya flourished between 1304 to 1324 A.D.¹ I have heard from several sources in Mithila that Umāpati Upādhyāya was a contemporary of Pandita Gokula Nātha Upādhyāya who flourished in Mahārāja Rāghava vSimha's time (1701-1739). He was a Paṇḍita of Rājā Harihara of Mekmani in Nepal. It rests however on tradition. This brings him from the 14th to the 1st quarter of the 18th century A.D.⁴

(OLD) VXCASPATI MIŚRA.

Vācaspati Miśra was the greatest commentator on Navya-Nyāya and was a Maithilā.—It is said of him traditionally “शंकर वाचस्पत्योः शंकर वाचस्पतीन्दृष्टौ” of Shankai and Vacaspati both are equal.

His most famous work is the Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparyya-tikā, in five adhyāyas, which fully expounds the *sūtras* of Gautama and which specially answers the objections raised by the scholars of the Buddhistic and the Jaina schools. His works are full of theistic and untheistic

¹ Cf. pages 20-98, Volume III, part I of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society where an account of the Parijataharapa has been published by Dr. Grierson.

² Cf. "The Date of Umāpati" by Dr. O. Grierson, pages 552-554, Vol. III, part IV of Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1917.

This independent Chieftain Hariharais traditionally assigned to Makamani, off the B. and N.W. Railway Station Bhojpur, in the Saptari Pargana, in Nepal Tarai and is said, at the beginning of the Parijataharapa, to have vanquished Yavanas (Muslim):—

यस्यास्य पूर्वचन्द्रः स्वयमममृतं दत्तय श्रीस लक्ष्मीः दोः क्षमः पारिजातोद्भुतलक्षः
सङ्करकाङ्कः सोमतेजोऽग्निरोर्वः पद भजनपरा राजराज्यलक्ष्मिः पारावारी गुणानामयस्तुल्य-
गुणः पातुवो मेधिलेभः ॥ १ ॥

यस्य चादिष्टोऽस्मि यवनवन्द्योऽस्मदराज्यवर्षालेन विन्देदगतस्तुर्वेद पथप्रकाशक प्रता-
पेन भगवतः श्रीविष्णोर्दशमावतारेण विन्दूषति श्री हरिहरदेवेन यथा उभापत्युपाध्याय विरचितं
नवपारिजात संग्रहमभिधीय वीररसावेशं यस्यपणु भवन्तो भूपालमण्डलस्य । तद नौयतां
मंगलम् ।

Cf. Parijataharapa edited by Pandita Cetanatha Jha, Mithilā Mihira Press (1917), Darbhanga.

discussions. Some of his other works are: (1) Nyāya kaṇikā; (2) Tatva samikṣā; (3) Tatva-bindu; (4) Sāmkhya tatva-kāumudī; (5) Yoga-Bhāṣya Vivṛtti; (6) Vedānta sārīrikabhāṣya bhamati; (7) Nyaya-suci-nibandha; (8) Tatva Śārada; (9) Nyāya tattva-avaloka; (10) Nyāya-sūtroddhara; (11) Nyaya Ratnatlka; (12) Brahma-tattva sangitodipini; (13) Yuktīdīpikā; (14) Vacaspatya ānd; (15) Vedānta tattva Kaumudī.¹

Macdonell in his "Sanskrit Literature," page 393 attributes a commentary on the Samkhya kārīkā to Vācaspati Miśra who according to him lived in the 12th century A.D. As Vācaspati Miśra's date is fixed by his own statement that he lived about the ninth century A.D. obviously this was another writer and should not be confounded with the author of the Nyāya-vārttika tattva-tatparyya-tika, who is generally known as the *brddha* (old) Vācaspati Miśra. But as an alternative, it may be assumed that the writer of the commentary on the Samkhya kārīkā was identical with our author and belonged to the ninth century A.D.,

The panegyric embodied in the stone tablet at the Anauta Vaśudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa throws a good deal of light on the state of learning and state of society in Bengal at the end of the tenth century A.D. The panegyric was written by a young scholar named Vācaspati Miśra, who is supposed to have bloomed in later life as the commentator of all the six systems of Hindu Philosophy.²

It is not certain whether Vācaspati Miśra of the Bhuvaneśvara temple had any connection with our author, Vācaspati Miśra.

Vācaspati Miśra was followed by Jayanta. His age is not exactly determined yet.

One Rāghavananda, disciple of Ādya-Bhāgvata who was disciple of Viśveśvara has written a commentary on the "Samkhya Tattva-Kaumudī" but it is not known if he was a Maithila.³ Amalananda, southern Indian writer, wrote a commentary called Vedānta Kalpa Taru on Vacas-

¹ Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum Vols : I, I I I.

² Cf. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1919, p. 176.

³ Cf p. 13 of Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

pati, is Bhāṣya Bhāmāti and flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D.¹

He lived in the Samvat Vikramāditya 898 corresponding to A.D. 841 in which year his Nyāya-Sūci-Nibandhu was completed.

“न्याय सूचीनिबन्धोऽसावकारि सुधियां मुदे ।
त्रैबाण्यस्यमिदियेण यस्तद्वत् सुवत्सरे ॥”

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

He was a distinguished writer on Smṛti, and an employee of the Mithilā king. He calls himself son of the poet Bhavēśa in the Vilva-pancaka² family and of Bhār-dwajagotra.³ He calls himself Upadhyaya in some of his colophons.⁴ He calls Vacaspati⁵ and Sankara as his Gura-vah. It appears that Gaṇḍaka Miśra was his brother.⁶

His well known works are :—

- (i) The Gaṅgā-kṛtya-Viveka, a discussion of the texts on the rites to be performed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges ;
- (ii) The Gayā-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed at Gaya ;
- (iii) The Gaya-vidhi-viveka, or a discussion of the rules for performing the Śraddha at Gayā ;
- (iv) The Daṇḍa-viveka, an elaborate discussion of the

1 Cf. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVIII, 89 ; also Transaction of the ninth Congress of the Orientalists, i, 423.

2 Cf. Smṛti-tattvairṇa and Paribhasa-Viveka.

3 Cf. Gaṅgā kṛtya viveka.

In the final colophon of the Daṇḍa-viveka he is called Dharmmādhikāraṇika or judge, and in the Smṛtitattvamṛta he is called Mahā-dharmmādhikari or chief judge.

Local tradition asserts that his mother's name was Garuri. He lived in village Nari-bhadauna. One of his tanks called Mathi-ahi is still found in village Asi in Darbhanga and there is a temple of Viṣṇu and Garura on the bank of the tank. The images of Viṣṇu and Garura were found by the excavation in the year 1281 Fasli corresponding to 1874 A.D. during the famine period.

There is a village called Dekuli near Laheriasarai Kutchery in which there is an image called " God Siva Varddhamaneśwara " established by him.

5 Abhinava Vacaspati Miśra, who lived during the time of Ramabhadra must, however, have been his contemporary. Abhinava Vacaspati Miśra has referred to Varddhamāna's Smṛti-paribhasa in the Śraddha-cintāmaṇi and the Kṛtya Mahārṇava and has also mentioned him in the Dwaitanirṇaya. They had mutual respect for each other.

6 Cf. the Daṇḍa-viveka (As. Soc. MS., p. 1) introductory verse 6:—

अद्याम् संस्कृतमित्रः संकर वाचस्पती च मे गुरुः ।
निश्चिह्न निबंध समाप्त प्रयासमेनं ममानु जामनु ॥

- texts treating of punishment in the civil and criminal law, in seven paricchedas;
- (v) The Dvaita-viveka, a discussion of the doubtful points of smṛti;
 - (vi) The Paribhāṣā-viveka, a discussion of various smṛtic matters including definitions of technical terms;
 - (vii) The Srāddha-pradipa or lamp of funeral ceremonies;
 - (viii) The Smṛti-tattvamṛta or Smṛti-tattva-viveka, a general digest of smṛti with discussion;
 - (ix) The (Smṛti) Tattva-amṛta-sār-oddhāra, or the extract of the essence of his own Tattvāmṛta (No. 8);
 - (x) The Smṛti-paribhāṣā, on the definition of Smṛtic-technical terms, with discussion of the appropriate times and other matters; and
 - (xi) Jalāsayādi-vastu-vidhi, śānti-paustic-viveka, etc., etc.
 - (xii) Nātnā Sastrārtha Nirṇaya.

He flourished in the time of Mithilā rulers Bhairava (cf. Danda-viveka) and Rama Bhadra (cf. his *Gāṅga-Kṛtya-viveka* and *Tatvāmṛta Sār-oddhāra*).¹ It appears that a manuscript of his *Gāṅga-kṛtya-viveka* was written in the year La. Sam. 376, i.e. 1496 A.D. So he may be placed between 1450 A.D. and 1550. This Varddhamana must be distinguished from Varddhamana, son of Gangeśopādhyāya who lived in the 13th century.

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

Varddhamāna has spoken of GaṅgeSwara as his father and preceptor as will appear from Lilavati Prakasa. He wrote on Nyāya:—

- (i) The Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa, a commentary on

¹ This Varddhamānopādhyāya should be distinguished from the Naiyāyika of the same name, son of Gangesopādhyāya who flourished in the 13th century. For this reason Raghunandan often calls the Smṛti-writer Navya-Varddhamāna (the modern Varddhamāna).

his father's work, to be distinguished from a work of the same name by Rucidatta:¹

- (ii) The Nyāyanibandha-prakaśā, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's Nyāya-varttika-tātparyya-pariSudahi;
- (iii) The Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa-prakaśā, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa, quoted in his own No. vi, and in Jayadeva's Āloka;
- (iv) The Prameya-nibandha-prakaśā, which may be the same as the Prameya-tattva-bodha, quoted as his by Rucidatta in the Nyāya-kusum-añjali-prakāśa-makaranda²;
- (v) The Kirṇāvalī-prakāśā, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's work, in two sections,—Dravya and Guṇa;
- (vi) The Nyāya-kusum-añjali-prakaśā, a commentary on Udayana's famous polemical work; quoted by Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācāryya in his Kusuni-añijali-tlkā and commented upon by Rucidatta;
- (vii) The Nyāya-Hlāvatī-prakāśā, a commentary on Vallabhācāryya's work—quoted in Jayadeva's Āloka;
- (viii) The Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya-prakaśā, a commentary on Sriharṣa's famous work, referred to in Pragalbhācāryya's commentary (the Khandanod-dhāra).*

Varddhamana Mahopādhyāya is named in the Sarvadar-sanasangraha of Mādhavācāryya, under No. xiii, Pāṇinidarsana. So he must be older than the 2nd half of the 14th century. Also he must be older than Jayadeva, who commented on two of his Vaiśeṣika works. Jayadeva's time cannot be earlier than the 1st half of the 15th century.⁴ He speaks of Varddhamāna reverently as "Mahāmahopā-dhyāya-caraṇah"; and so a fair interval must have elapsed between the two.

There is, however, a manuscript of the Kusumanjali Prakāśa by Varddhamāna in the Government collections in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, MS. No. 794 and is written in two different hands, of which the latter is a restoration

¹ For a MS. cf. the Benares College Catalogue, 193.

² The Bib. Ind. ed. the Kusumanjali Prakāśa I, p. 384.

³ Sans. Coll. 111, 199, No. 314.

⁴ Cf. Jayadeva.

dated Saka 1342=A.D. 1420, the earlier portions being written in script at least 70 to 100 years older, because the figure 3 is represented therein as Bengalee. Professor Bendall says that the use of for is found between 1300 and 1360 A.D.; cf. plate in his Cambridge Catalogue. This will place the manuscript about 1340 A.D. and show that Vardhamana must have lived in the 13th century A.D.

VAKGAMAṆI.

Sangitabhāṣkara is a commentary on the music art. It was composed by Jagajjyotirmalla with the help of a Maithila Pandita Vangamani. The same royal author composed a work on music entitled Saṅgita Sarasāṅgraha. Brahmā is said to be the primordial founder of the art of music, dancing and dramaturgy and he gave it to Bharata who composed a large work in hundred thousand slokas. The Rājā says that it is not known whether this work still exists or not, but that he consulted the short work of Bharata,¹ and of Bipradasa and all other works that came within his purview.²

As a contemporary of Jagajjyotirmalla, he may be placed in the 1st half of the 17th century³ A.D.

VAMSA MANI.

Gita-digambara is a drama written in imitation of the inimitable Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. It was written by Vamśamaṇi, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa whose father was Rāmacandra. The author lived in Nepal and wrote this work shortly after the performance of the gift of Tulāpuruṣa by Pratāpamalladeva about the beginning of the 17th century.⁴

VĀŚUDEVA MIŚRA.

He wrote a commentary on the Tattva-cintā-maṇi of Gangesa.⁵

¹ Chapters in the Agnipurana are meant, I believe.

² Cf. H. P. Sastri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900, page 11.

³ Jagajjyotirmalla was a Nepal king of the 15th century. Cf. Duff's Chronology of India, 1899, page 262. But Bendall assigns him to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D. Cf. p. 30 of Bendall's History of Nepal, in H. P. Sastri's Catalogue, Vol. I.

⁴ H. P. Sastri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900, page 18. Also Aufrecht Volume III, p. 33 (b).

⁵ The Cinta-mani-tika (Ind. Off. Cat., page 632, No. 1939), introd. verse 2 :—

In the final colophon he is described as nephew of Paksaghara Msra, and is given the title Nyaya-siddhanta-sarabhijna, expert in the essence of logical conclusions. He wrote his work for the understanding of those who found fault with the words of his guru Jayadeva. As nephew of Jayadeva¹ his time falls in the 4th quarter of the 15th century,

VIDYĀKARA MIŚRA.

He was a Maithila and is accredited with the authorship of Rākṣasa-kāvyaṭikā. He is assigned to the 19th century A.D.

VIDYAPATI THAKKURA.²

He is known as the most versatile and distinguished scholar of Mithilā. He has written on almost all branches of learning. He lived under the patronage of the then ruling family of Mithilā, i.e. that of Kameśvara and has attributed most of his works to the members of his family.³ Vidyapati is traditionally said to have be-

जयदेव गुरोर्वाचि ये केचिदोष दर्शिनः ।

प्रबोधाय स्या तेषां दीप्तिर्भूयोऽभिदीप्यते ॥

and the final colophon of the Anumāna-khaṇḍa :—

इति त्रौन्याथसिद्धान्तसारभिक्षमिव वर्षपल्लवरमिवधातुषु न्यायसिद्धान्तसारभिक्षवाद्युदेव मिव
विरचितायां चिन्तामणि टीकायाः ।

1 Cf. Jayadeva.

2 For one who wants to study Vidyāpati thoroughly, Vidyāpati's Padāvali by Nagendra Nātha Gupta published at the instance of the late Mr. Saroda Carana Mitra (printed at the Calcutta Kuntalin Press, 1316 F. edition), is recommended.

3 The works with the names of the royal member against each, are chronologically arranged :—

- (i) The Kirtti-lata, mixed Sanskrit and Maithili poem in praise of Kirtti-sirhha (and Virasimha).
- (ii) The Bhu-parikrama-grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-desā, by order of Devasimha (names his son Sivasithha).
- (iii) The Puruṣa-parikṣā, moral tales, by order of Sivasimha (expanded from No. ii).
- (iv) The Kirtti-patakā, an amatory poem in Maithili, in the time of Sivasimha.
- (v) The Padāvali, Maithili songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the work by which, Vidyāpati is best known, and on which his fame rests. A large number of the songs has at the end the names of Sivasithha and his queens; and a few of Devasimha and his queen. Occasional verses mention Bhogisvara, Arjunasimha, Amarasimha, Raghavasirhha, and Rudrashhha.
- (vi) The Likhanāvāṭ, on letter-writing, attributed to Rāja Purāditya who killed Arjuna (Sirhha).
- (vii) The Ganga-yakṣāvali on the religious rites in connection with the Ganges, attributed to Viśvasadevi, queen of Padmasimha.

longed to the family of Ganesvara Misra¹ but he does not say so in any of his works and in fact he has not given any information regarding his family connection.

His songs are most widely known and sung not only in Mithilā but also in Bengal.

We must recognize the great services rendered by Dr. Grierson to the cause of Mithilā literature and especially to the popularization of the works of Vidyāpati Thakkura. It was he who first collected the most popular songs of Vidyāpati and published them under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society. He has commented on the traditions relating to Vidyāpati in the Indian Antiquary and Journals of the Bengal Asiatic Society. But it cannot be said, as subsequent discoveries have shown, that Dr. Grierson succeeded in obtaining all the songs of Vidyāpati.

- The extent of his works shows that he must have lived to a good old age. The following is a list of his works³:—

- (i) The Ganga-vakyāvali,⁴ dealing with various rites and duties to be observed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges (a work on Smṛti).

(viii) The Saiva-sarvasva-sara, on the essence of the Saiva-worship, attributed to Viśvasadevi.

(ix) The Dana-vakyāvali, on the religious gifts and their ceremonies, attributed to Dhīramatidevi, queen of Narasirhadeva.

(x) The Durgā-bhakti-tarafigini, on the pramāta and the prayoga of Durgā worship, composed under the patronage of Dhīrasithha, whose brothers Bhairavendra and Candrasimha are also named.

¹ Cf. Ganesvara Misra.

² They were widely sung in Tfrhut in King Akbar's time in A.D. 1556 to 1605 ; cf. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I I, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta, 1910 edition.

³ The following are to be found in the Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts:—

(1) Kīrti-pataka, (2) Purusa-par.ksa, (3) Likhana-vali, (4) Bibhaga-sagara, (5) Dana-vakyāvali, (6) Gayāpatala, (7) Gaṅgā-viveka, (8) Saiva-sarvasvasāra, (9) Ganga-vakyāvali, (10) Jyotiṣa-darpana, (11) Varṣa-kṛtyādi, (12) Padyāvali, and (13) Bibhagasāra.

The following śloka from his Bibhaga-sāra and his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini may be quoted with advantage:—

विश्वकाम मयकदीयतमयः प्रौढ प्रतापोदयः ।

संप्रासादय लब्ध वैरि विजय कीर्त्यामलोकनयः ॥

मर्यादा मिलयः प्रकाश विमयः प्रजा प्रकर्षाययः ।

बीमकूपति धीर सिंह विजयी राजत्वसीदक्रियः ॥

* The Gaṅgā-vakyāvali collects together quotations on the subject from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Chāṇḍoga-parīṣiṣṭa, the Maitrāyaṇīya-parīṣiṣṭa.

- (2) The Dana-vakydvali,¹ treating of the various kinds of religious gifts and of their ceremonies (a work on Smṛti).
- (3) The Varṣa-kṛtya,² dealing with the fasts- and festivals during the year (a work on Smṛti).
- (4) The Vibhāga-sāra, the essence of partitions, on inheritance and partition (a work on Smṛti).
- (5) The Kirti-latā, mixed Sanskrit and Maithili poem in praise of Kirtti-simha (and Vira Simha).
- (6) The Bhu-parikrama grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-deśa. It describes important places between Naimiṣāraṇya modern Nimkhar in the Sitapur district (U.P.) and Mithila and is a sort of a Gazeteer.
- (7) The Puruṣa-parikṣā, moral tales by order of Siva-Simha.
- (8) The Kirti-patāka, an amatory poem in Prākṛta and Maithili.
- (9) The Padāvali, Maithili songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.
- (10) The Likhnaṁvali, on letter-writing.
- (11) The Saiva-Sarvasva-śara, on the essence of the Saiva worship, attributed to Viśvāsadevi.
- (12) The Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, on the Pramāna and the Prayoga of Durgā worship.

That Vidyāpati was exceedingly learned can never be disputed. His *Raj taraṅgiṇī* contains a song by one

Yogi-Yajñavalkya, Puṇas, Smṛti-kāras and others, among which may be mentioned the following:—

Kalpa-taru (3).	Darpana(i).
Kalpa-taru-kāra (2)	Pārijāta (1).
Kalpa-druma-kāra (1).	Bhoja-rāja (2).
Kalottara (1).	Mitākṣarā (1).
Gaṇeśvera Miśra (2).	Rāja mātṛtaṇḍa (1).
Gaṇgeya (6).	(Smṛti mahārṇava).
Chandog-ahnika (1).	prakasa(1).
	Smṛti-samuccaya (2).

It mentions Saptagraha as Dakṣiṇa-Prayaḡa and as Mukta-veni, and is herein followed by Vācāspati Miśra (Tirtha-cintamani), Gaṇapati (Gaṅgā-bhaktitarauḡiṇi) and Raghunandana (Prāyascitta-tattva). It is quoted by Gaṇapati in the Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, by Srinatha in the Kṛtya-tattva-ārṇava, and by Raghunandana in several of his tattvas, while the author (kara) is named by Goviudananda in the Varṣa-kriyā and the Suddhi-kaumudī.

1 It mentions the Kalpa-taru (1), the Dana-sāgara (1), Bhupāla (1), Bhojaraja (1), the Ratnakara (3), Lakṣmidhara (1), and the Sāgara (8). It is quoted **once** by Raghunandana in the Vivāha tattva.

The Varṣa kṛtya has been quoted in Raghunandana's Mālamasa tattva

Candra Kalā who was Vidyāpati's daughter-in-law as indicated by the colophon of the commentator Lochana.

“इति श्री विद्यापति पुत्र वक्ताः”

It shows what an illustrious family it was.

In the very year of his accession to the *gaddi* Rājā Siva Siṃha is said to have granted sanad of village Bispi to Vidyāpati Thakkura. This deed of gift is inscribed on a copperplate (preserved at Darbhanga). Dr. Grierson thought that this was not the original, i.e. that it was forged. The fact, however, remains that a Brāhmaṇa family called that of Vidyāpati held possession of this village for a long time until the year 1257 (Fasli) when they were dispossessed by a Settlement officer who considered the deed unreliable. This shows that Vidyāpati must have belonged to the locality where the family in possession was settled, i.e. Bispi.

It is traditionally believed that Vidyāpati met Pakṣadhara Miśra more than once. It is said that after having entertained a large number of Brāhmanaṣas in his house, Vidyāpati saw an old man sitting in the corner. This drew from him the remark :—

प्राचूणो बृहवत्कोशे, सूक्ष्मात्मोपलक्षितः ।

i.e. seated in a corner of the house like a small insect, the guest could not be seen on account of his shortness.

Pakṣadhara Miśra is said to have retorted by saying :—

नहि स्थूल धियः पुंसः, सूक्ष्मे वृष्टिः प्रजायते ।

i.e. obtuse-headed man cannot look into delicate or subtle matters.

Vidyāpati at once recognised the presence of Pakṣadhara Miśra and entertained him.

In Bengal, Vidyāpati has been immortalized by Vaiṣṇava Dāśa by his work Pada-kalpa-taru. Vidyāpati was known as having been a Bengalee and a contemporary of Caṇḍidāsa and even now Caṇḍidāsa and Vidyāpati, whose compositions are contained in the Kalpa-taru are admitted to have been the first poets in the Bengali literature and even now it is sometimes believed in Bengal that Vidyāpati was a Bengalee. But the fact remains that

while Vidyāpati used Brajbhāṣā, Caṇḍidaśa's compositions are free from such admixtures. It is not denied that there is not appreciable difference between Vidyāpati's language and the old Bengalee. It is equally undeniable that Vidyāpati's song has been sung in Bengal for the last five centuries. All these go, however, to establish the influence of Vidyāpati over the old Bengali literature and the ineffable affinity between the Maithili and the original Bengal dialects. It is also known that Vaiṣṇavik poets freely imitated the language and style of Vidyāpati. But the fact remains that Vidyāpati's language is used up to this day by Maithili poets and writers though in a little modified form whereas Bengal broke with Vidyāpati's language and style long ago. It has also been ascertained that Vidyāpati's compositions have shown different masculine and feminine forms of verbs as applicable to masculine and feminine nouns or nominatives. This is found to this day in Maithili dialects. As the late Mr. Saroda Caraṇa Mittra has shown, most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets of Bengal have built upon the foundation stone laid by Vidyāpati, i.e. they have freely used Vidyāpati's ideas and expressions. But the fact that so many of the epithets and expressions contained in Kalpa-taru can be explained only on reference to the Maithili literature, shows the direction from which its author drew his inspiration in spite of the fact that in Vidyāpati's time the Maithili alphabetic characters were identical with the Bengali alphabetic characters and even to this day there is a striking resemblance between the two.¹

Arguments adduced in favour of Vidyāpati's Maithili nationality by the late Babu Raj Kṛṣṇa Mukharjee in the "Bang Darśana" of Jyesta 1282, still hold good and may be summarised below :—

- (1) Vidyāpati has mentioned the Mithila Rājās Siva Siṃha, Rūpa Nārāyaṇa and Sivasimha's wife Lakṣmīdevi in so many of his songs.
- (2) Vidyāpati is found in the Maithili Pāṇji.
- (3) There are more interesting stories to be heard

¹ I need hardly enter into a discussion to illustrate my point. I can only refer those interested in the subject to the momentous work on Vidyāpati by Mr. Nagendra Natha Gupta and Mr. Saroda Caraṇa Mittra (Calcutta, 1316 F edition).

regarding Vidyāpati's life, death and work in Mithilā than in Bengal.

- (4) The deed of gift inscribed on copperplate in favour of Vidyāpati by Raja Siva Simha in respect of village Bispi in Mithilā (Darbhanga district) enabled a Brahmin family, said to have been descended from him to remain in possession of the village for centuries until ousted by the Settlement Authority who assessed it to Government Revenue.
- (5) The copy of Bhāṅgawata written by Vidyāpati himself is still to be found in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

It may also be mentioned that several books written by Vidyāpati such as *Puruṣaparikṣā* and *Durgā Bhakti-taraṅgini*, etc., are not to be found in use beyond Mithilā. These books mention the contemporary ruling family much in the same way as it is described in the Mithilā Pafiji. Vidyāpati's songs prevalent in Mithilā bear striking resemblance to the songs prevalent in Bengal and attributed to Vidyāpati.

His influence on the life and literature of Bengal is evident from the fact that even Caitanya, the greatest Vaiṣṇavik reformer used to recite the songs of the Maithilā Vidyāpati in the streets of Nawadwipa where he was born. Most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets and followers of Sri Caitanya have imitated the language and sentiments of Vidyāpati and Vidyāpati is even to this day known as the first poet of the Bengalee literature. The diction of the songs of Vidyāpati, which are known and sung in every part of Bengal, bears a striking resemblance to old Bengalee. His manuscripts do not differ from the written characters of the old Bengalee.

Though his songs appear to be love songs, it can be safely asserted that Vidyāpati's songs are full of philosophy and that there is nothing blasphemous or lewd or immoral in them. It must be admitted on all hands that they are all holy compositions which Caitanya himself used to sing. In fact it was the great reformer Caitanya who really immortalized Vidyāpati's songs.¹

¹ The following passage relating to Vidyāpati from Dr. Grierson may be quoted:—

The manuscript of the *Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka*, copied by the order of Vidyāpati, bears the date La. Sam. 291, i.e. 1410 A.D. The manuscript of *Bhāgawata Purāṇa* copied by Vidyāpati himself bears the date La. Sam. 309, i.e. 1428.

Vidyāpati accordingly may be placed at the beginning of the 15th century.²

It is settled by one of Vidyāpati's compositions contained in his collection of songs written on palm leaves³ (in characters resembling old Bengalee) which were preserved along with the *Bhāgawata*, in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district, that Rājā Deva Simha died in La. Sam. 293, Saka year 1324, month of Caitra; Kṛṣṇa-Śakti, on a Thursday and that Sivasimha ascended the throne on that date. Thus there is no difficulty as regards the settlement of Vidyāpati's time,⁴ as he was undoubtedly a contemporary of Sivasimha. Vidyāpati's reference to the various ruling princes of Mithila during his time also helps us to fix his date with some amount of certainty. He has mentioned Kirti Simha⁵ who lived towards the close of the 14th century. He has also referred to Dhira

"I have grouped the songs into classes, according to the subjects of which they treat; one class for instance, treating of the first yearnings of the soul after God, another of the full possession of the soul by love for God, another for the estrangement of the soul, and so on. To understand the allegory, it may be taken as a general rule that Rādhā represents the soul, the messenger or duti, the evangelist or else the mediator, and Kṛṣṇa of course the deity" *স্বাক্ষরিতঃ* "The glowing stanzas of Vidyāpati are read by the devout Hindu with as little of the baser part of human sensuousness as the Song of Solomon is by the Christian priest" *স্বাক্ষরিতঃ* "They (Vidyāpati's poems) became great favourites of the more modern Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal—Caitanya, and through him, songs purporting to be by Vidyāpati have become as well known in Bengal households as the Bible is in an English one (page 54 of Vidyāpati's *Padāvali* by Nāgendra Nātha Gupta printed at Calcutta, 1316 F. edition).

¹ The village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district holds a copy of his *Bhāgawata* written by Vidyāpati himself. In the colophon of this copy occurs, "বিদ্যাপদের্জিবিদ্যিনি।"

² Cf. *Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company* by W. H. Carey, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1907 edition, p. 305, where it has been stated that Vidyāpati flourished about the year 1389 A.D.

³ This palm leaf book though not transcribed by Vidyāpati himself must have been written either in his lifetime or soon after him. This is evidenced by its old appearance. It is very valuable as it contains songs prevalent both in Bengal and Mithila.

⁴ Cf. p. 4 of preface of Vidyāpati's *Padāvali* by Narendranātha Datta Calcutta, 1316 F. edition some of his songs such as:—

"দুৰ্জিবি বিদ্যাপনি গাও
কিৰি শিবচিহ্নি বাও।"

⁵ Cf. Kirti Simha.

Simha' who surely lived about 1440 A.D. Thus Vidyapati surely lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

VISNUDATTA JHA.

He is said to have been the nephew of Paṇḍita Nara-pati Jhā of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. Paṇḍita Parameswara Jha, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who comes of that family, quotes some slokas which show that; Maharaja Pratapa Simha granted him Jagir of village Simara in the Sitamarhi Subdivision in the Muzaffarpur district on Jyēṣṭha sudi Dasami, 1171, corresponding to 1765 A.D. It is also said that the original sanada of the grant is still in possession of Paṇḍita Sri Narayana Jha of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

Certain ślokas are quoted by his descendants in his village which show that he got some villages (such as Simarā, etc., in Sitamarhi Subdivision in Muzaffarpur) from Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha of Darbhanga. I have not yet been able to get an authentic list of his literary efforts. A commentary on "Anargha Rāghava" is ascribed to him. He may be placed in the latter half of the 18th century.

¹ Cf. Dliira Simha.

APPENDIX B.

CLASSIFICATION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF MITHILA

CHAPTER I.

THE SAINTLY SCHOLARS OF MITHILA.

In the preceding pages, an account of the individual modern Sanskrit writers of Mithila has been given. But though these writers do not seem to go back to earlier than the 8th or the 9th century A.D. and though no manuscript appears to exist as dating earlier than the 11th century A.D., it must not for a moment be forgotten that the civilization of Mithila goes back to hoary antiquity and the works of the modern Sanskrit writers, which fall under certain recognised groups, are mainly based on their ancient prototypes. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to classify the works and to trace them to their ancient originals.

Mithila is said to be the home of Navya Nyāya which is an amalgamation of the two (out of six)¹ systems of Hindu Philosophy, viz. Nyāya (i.e. logic) and Vaiśeṣikā (i.e. knowledge of substance). It is said that Gautama, the author of Nyaya-sūtra, and Vatsyayana Pakṣilaswamin²

Sages and ancient Scholars of Mithila.

1 Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, pp. 84 and 85, where the six systems are described as :—

(i) Sāṅkhya; (ii) Yoga; (iii) Vedānta; (iv) Mīmāṃsā; (v) Vaiśeṣika; and (vi) Nyāya.

2 Vatsyayana, the author of "Nyaya-sūtras" has been identified with Vatsyayana, the author of Kāmasūtra, a book on amours—Cf. Note on the supposed identity of Vatsyayana and Kautilya, by Mr. R. Sarma Sastri in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol VI, pp. 210-216; also cf. Vatsyayana, the author of the Nyaya Vāṣya, by Pandit Satishchandra Vidyabhusan, Indian Ant., 1915, April, p. 82.

Neither in the "Nyaya-sūtra" nor in the "Kāmasūtra" does he say where he composed his work. He mentions (in the Kāmasūtra) "Nāgar" and "Nāgarikyaḥ".

(i) तयाविधा रचसि प्रकाशको नागरिकाः । Benares ed. p. 127.

(ii) न तु स्वयमोपरिष्ठकभाषरन्ति नागरकाः । Benares ed. p. 295.

and his commentator Jayaniangala without any justification understands "Nāgar" to mean Pataliputra (modern Patna). But in fact the author of Kāmasūtra

(the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, the commentary on Nyāya-sūtra), the originators of this system, lived in Mithila but this cannot be said as yet to have been conclusively established.

The Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāma came to the place of Gautama after crossing the rivers Sone and Ganges and visiting Raja Sumati of Baisāli and before reaching Janakapura, and that he liberated the soul of Gautama's wife, Ahilya who had been turned into a stone near Gautama's place. The traditional situation of this place is the Tirtha (i.e. holy place) of Ahilyari (i.e. Ahilyasthāna, i.e. Ahilya's place) near Kamtaula in Darbhanga District. It may therefore be taken especially on Balmiki's authority that Gautama lived in Mithila and was a Maithila.'

But we do not know whether Gautama, the author of the 'Nyāya-sūtra' was identical with the Gautama of Balmiki Rāmāyaṇa. There was a Gautama who wrote the Gautama Dharmasāstra which can hardly date from later than the 5th century B.C."

Also it is well known that "Gautamas" are mentioned in the "Brāhmaṇa" (Cir. 500 B.C.;) as spiritual teachers.⁴

Also the Sākya of Kapilavastu (Cir. 500 B.C.) among whom Buddha⁶ was born, were called "Gautamas."

Though the early date (500 B.C.) for Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra, is not recognised by all who have made a special study of the subject, it is admitted that Dingnāga who has interpreted the Nyaya system in a Buddhist sense has been mentioned by the famous Samskṛta only meagre mention of places in Eastern India and shows his familiarity only with Western India in detail. His "Nagara" must therefore be in Western India and an ancient city called "Nagara" has been identified with ruins scattered over an area of nearly 45 sq. miles in extent in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bund).

Cf. the Report on Archaeological Survey of India, by Cunningham, Vol. VI, pp. 161-2

¹ आशीर्वादादुरी नास्ती निश्चिन्ताया विराजिता । नन्वा विराजते नित्यं नौतमो नाम नापयः । अहल्यानामनन्तौ पतिव्रता प्रियम्बदा । सर्वं लक्षणं सम्पूर्णा शैलया सर्वाङ्गं सुन्दरी ।

² Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 260.

³ Cf. page 202 of Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917 edition.

⁴ Cf. page 215 of do. do.

⁵ Cf. do. do. do.

kr̥ta poet Kāli Dāsa in his famous work "MeghadGta." Now Kāli Dāsa is said to have lived not later than the 6th century A.D. and it may be safely assumed that Dingnāga was a contemporary of Kāli Dāsa if he did not live before Kāli Dāsa's time, and in any case it is certain that the "Nyāya-sātra" and its author Gautama existed some considerable time before Kāli Dāsa wrote his "Meghadūta" in the 6th century A.D.¹

All this shows that though it is not certain when Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra lived and whether he was a native of Mithila, it is most probable that he existed about 500 B.C.² and that he worked for a major portion of his life in Mithila which has always been the home of "Nyāya" philosophy.

It is generally recognised that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā are dry and unimaginative, and consist of business-like expositions of what can be known, either of the world which surrounds us or of the world within us, that is, of our faculties or powers of perceiving, conceiving, or reasoning on one side, and the objects which they present to us, on the other. It should be remembered that, like the Sāthkhyā and Yoga, and to a certain extent like the Pūrva and Uttara Mimamsa, the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika also have been treated as forming but one discipline. We possess indeed a separate body of Nyāya-sūtras and another of Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, and these with their reputed authors, Gautama and Kanada, have long been accepted as the original sources whence these two streams of the ancient philosophy of India proceeded.

It should always be borne in mind that the Sūtras ascribed to Gautama and Kanada presuppose a long previous development of philosophical thought and instead of regarding the two as independent streams, it seems far

1 Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, page 364

Also cf. Prof. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan in journal of Buddhist Text Society IV, Parts I I I and IV, page 16.

Also cf. pp. 211 to 214 of "Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XV;" Yan Chwang Vol. I I, Thomas Waters, R.A.S. 1905.

Also Weber's Ind. lit. p. 209, Note 245.

2 Cf. The arguments advanced by Mahādeo Rājārāma Bodas, the Tarkasamgraha of Annambhatta, with the author's Dipikā and Govardhana's Nyayabodhini, prepared by the late Rao Bahadur Yasavanta Vasadeo Athalya and published with critical and explanatory notes, Bombay, 1897.

more likely that there existed at first an as yet undifferentiated body of half philosophical, half popular thought, bearing on things that can be known, the *Padārthas*, i.e. *omne scibile*, and on the means of acquiring such knowledge, from which at a later time, according to the preponderance of either the one or the other subject, the two systems of *Vaiśeṣikā* and *Nyāya* branched off. These two systems shared of course many things in common, and hence we can well understand that at a later time they should have been drawn together again and treated as one.¹

It may be noted here that the *Vaiśeṣikā* system of Kanāda is generally placed between the 1st century A.D. and the 6th century A.D.

This is however certain that *Navya Nyāya* or the amalgamation of the two systems of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣikā* became prominent from the 12th or the 13th century A.D., the date of *Udayanācārya*.

NOTES ON NYAYA AND VAISESIKA SYSTEMS.

It may look out of place here to give a detailed account of the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣikā* systems in a work like this, but the importance of the system for Mithila and the possible interest of some readers may excuse an attempt.

The "Vaisesika" and the "Nyaya," form a closely connected pair, since a strict classification of ideas, as well as the explanation of the origin of the world from atoms, is common to both. The *Vaiśeṣika* is described in the *Brāhmaṇa sūtras* as undeserving of attention, because it had no adherents. This was certainly not the case in later times, when this system became very popular. It received its name from the category of "particularity" (*viśeṣa*) on which great stress is laid in its theory of atoms. The memory of its founder is only preserved in his nickname Kanāda (also Kanabhuj or Kana-bhakṣa), which means "atom-eater."

The main importance of the system lies in the logical

¹ Cf. the collected works of F. Max Muller. The six systems of Indian Philosophy, pages 362-363.

categories which it set up and under which it classed all phenomena. The six which it originally set up are substance, quality, motion, generality, particularity, and inherence. They are rigorously defined and further subdivided. The most interesting is that of inherence or inseparable connection (*samavaya*), which, being clearly distinguished from that of accident or separable connection (*samyoga*), is described as the relation between a thing and its properties, the whole and its parts, genus and species, motion and the object in motion. Later was added a seventh, that of non-existence (*abhava*), which, by affording special facilities for the display of subtlety has had a momentous influence on Indian logic. This category was further subdivided into prior and posterior non-existence (which we should respectively call future and past non-existence), mutual non-existence (as between a jar and cloth), absolute non-existence (as fire in water).

Though largely concerned with these categories, the Vaiśeṣika system aimed at attaining a comprehensive philosophic view in connection with them. Thus while dealing with the category of "substance" it develops its theory of the origin of the world from atoms. The consideration of the category of "quality" similarly leads to its treatment of psychology, which is remarkable and has analogies with that of the Sāṅkhya. Soul is here regarded as without beginning or end, and all-pervading, subject to the limitations of neither time nor space. Intimately connected with soul is "mind" (*manas*), the internal organ of thought, which alone enables the soul to know not only external objects but its own qualities. As this organ is, in contrast with the soul, an atom, it can only comprehend a single object at any given moment. This explains why the soul cannot be conscious of all objects simultaneously.

^J It does not contain much that is peculiar to it, even the theory of *Anus* or atoms, generally cited as its peculiar character, is evidently known to the Nyāya, though it is more fully developed by the Vaiśeṣikas. It begins with the usual promise of teaching something from which springs elevation or the *sumtum bonum*, and that something Kanada calls Dharma or merit. From a particular kind of merit springs, according to Kanada, true knowledge of certain Padarthas, or categories, and from this once more the *sumtum bonum*. These categories or predicaments were believed to contain an enumeration of all things capable of being named, i.e. of being known. Cf. pp. 440-41 of Max Muller's "Collected Works, of the six systems of Indian Philosophy."

The Nyāya¹ system in its present form is only a development and complement of that of Kanāda, its metaphysics, and psychology being the same. Its specific character consists in its being a very detailed and acute exposition of formal logic. As such it has remained the foundation of philosophical studies in India down to the present day. Besides dealing fully with the means of knowledge, which it states to be perception, inference, analogy, and trustworthy evidence, it treats exhaustively of syllogisms and fallacies. It is interesting to note that the Indian mind here independently arrived at an exposition of the syllogism as the form of deductive reasoning. The text book of this system is the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. The importance here attached to logic appears from the very first aphorism, which enumerates sixteen logic notions with the remark that salvation depends on a correct knowledge of their nature.

Neither the Vaiśeṣika nor the Nyāya-sūtras originally accepted the existence of God; and though both schools later became theistic, they never went so far as to assume

I Though Nyaya has always been translated by logic, we must not imagine that the Nyāya-sūtras are anything like our modern treatises on formal logic. There is, no doubt, a greater amount of space allowed to logical questions in these than in any of the other systems of Indian Philosophy, but originally the name of Nyaya would have been quite as applicable to the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, which is actually called Nyaya in such works, for instance, as Sayana's Nyāyamālā-vistāra, published by Goldstucker. Nor is logic the sole or chief end of Gautama's philosophy. Its chief end, like that of the other Darsanas, is salvation, the *sumnum bonum* which is promised to all. This *sumnum bonum* is called by Gautama Nihṣreyasa, literally that which has nothing better, the *nonplus ultra* of blessedness. This blessedness, according to the ancient commentator Vatsyāyana, is described as consisting in renunciation with regard to all the pleasures of this life, and in the non-acceptance of, or indifference to any rewards in the life to come; as being in fact what Brahman is, without fear, without desire, without decay, and without death. Even this Brahmanhood must not be an object of desire, for such desire would at once produce a kind of bondage, and prevent that perfect freedom from all fear or hope, which is to follow by itself, but should not be yearned for. This perfect state of freedom, or resignation, can, according to Gautama, be realised in one way only, namely, by knowledge, and in this case, by a knowledge of the sixteen great topics of the Nyaya-philosophy.

The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, though they also aim at salvation, are satisfied with pointing out the means of it as consisting in correct knowledge, such as can only be obtained from a clear apprehension of the sixteen topics treated by Gautama, or the six or seven categories put forward by Kanāda. These two philosophies, agreeing as they do among themselves, seem to differ very characteristically from all the others in so far as they admit of nothing invisible or transcendent (Avyakta), whether corresponding to Brahman or to Prakṛti. They are satisfied with teaching that the soul is different from the body, and they think that, if this belief in the body as our own is once surrendered, our sufferings, which always reach us through the body, will cease by themselves. (Cf. collected works of Max Muller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, page 363, 1915 edition.)

a creator of matter. Their theology is first found developed in ndayanacaryya's *Kusumanjali* which was written about 1200 A.D., and in works which deal with the two systems conjointly. Here God is regarded as a "special" soul, which differs from all other individual, eternal souls in its exemption from all qualities connected with transmigration, and the possession of the power and knowledge qualifying it to be a regulator of the universe.'

The Mithila writers on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika beginning with Udayaṇācāryya date from the 12th century A.D. and have been dealt with separately.¹

But Mithila has been famous not only for Nyāya but also for Smṛti.² Smṛti literally means Mithila famous for Smṛti. memory and is the system that embodies traditions derived from ancient sages regarding religious and civil usage⁴ and its author Yajñavalkya (who flourished at the court of king Janaka much earlier than the 6th century B.C.)⁵

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in which so much has been said about Yajñavalkya, is admitted by Macdonell and other European scholars to be as old as, if not older, than the 5th century B.C.⁶

The existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is however assigned to the period between the 1st and 3rd century A.D.⁷

¹ Macdonelli's Sanskrit Literature, pages 403-05. ² Cf. Appendix A.

³ The Hindus have divided the whole of their ancient literature into two parts, which really mean two periods, Srutarn, what was heard, and was not the work of men or any personal being, human or divine; and Smṛtam, what was remembered, and has always been treated as the work of an individual whether man or god. Srutarn or 'Sruti' came afterwards to mean what has been revealed, exactly as we understand that word, while Smṛtam or Smṛti comprised all that was recognised as possessing human authority only, so that if there ever was a conflict between the two, Smṛti or tradition might at once be overruled by what was called Sruti or revelation.

Smṛti is allied with the Mimāṃsa system of Hindu philosophy.

Brahiha-Mimāṃsā (or Pūrva-Mimāṃsā of Bādārāyaṇa) or the Vedāi'ta recognises salvation as due to knowledge of the Brahman, which knowledge produces at once the recognition of oneself as in reality Brahman (Brahmavid Brahman eva Bhavati), "He who knows Brahman is Brahman indeed".

The other Mimāṃsā, that of Jaimini (Uttara-Mimāṃsā) diverges widely from that of Bādārāyaṇa. It lays its chief stress on works (Karma) and their right performance, and holds that salvation may be obtained through the performance of such works, if only they are performed without any desire of rewards, whether on earth or in heaven.

Thus it is clear that the Mimāṃsā of Jaimini is Smṛtic. ⁵

⁴ Cf. Macdonelli's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 35.

⁶ Cf. Macdonelli's Sanskrit Literature, 1905, pages 202-216.

⁷ do. do. do. page 429.

Cf. Part I,

In this view it will be admitted on all hands that the existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is an adaptation of its original which must be assigned to the 5th century B.C.¹

There were two periods in Mithilā when writers on Smṛti especially flourished, the first, at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., i.e. about 1325 A.D. when Hari-simha of Simrāon led his invasion to Nepal; and the second, with the advent of the Srotiya dynasty founded by Kāineśa in the same century. The first period is represented by Candēśvara's great compilation called the Ratnākara; and the second by a host of writers—Vacaspati, Vardhamana, Misaru Misra and others. Candēśvara is represented in this collection by five works, viz. Danavakyaṇī, Grhastharatnākara, Kālanirnaya, Trikaṇḍikā-sutravyākhyā, and Kṛtyaratnākara, dated 322 I.a. Sam. To the second period belong Sraddhacintamani by Vacaspati Miśra, Vardhamana's Paribhaṣa and fragments of Sugatisopāna by Ganeśvara and Svarga-sopāna by Kṛṣṇa.²

The works of the individual Nyaya, Vaiśeṣika and Smṛti writers have been dealt with separately.³

The Maithila writers have also distinguished themselves by their work on : —

- (i) Administration or politics;
- (ii) Music;
- (iii) Duta Kāvya, etc., etc.

Just about the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Mithilā at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., Candēśvara, the minister of Bhavēśa, one of the early Karnatic kings, wrote a work (Niti-ratnākara) on politics covering the whole ground of administration military, civil, judicial and so on.⁴

There is a commentary on music in the Nepal Library

¹ Cf. pages 48 and 49 of Jolley's " Outlines of a history of the Hindu law," Calcutta, 1885.

² Page 4 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts 1901-02 to 1905-06.

³ Cf. appendix A.

⁴ Cf. page 3 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.

named "San'gitabhaṣkara" which is said to have been composed by Jagajjyotirmalla with the help of a Maithilā Paṇḍita Varhga-
 Maithilā commentaries on music. maṇi in the 17th century A.D.'

Gitadigambara is a drama written in the 17th century in imitation of the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, by Vamisaṁaṇi, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa, who lived in Nepal.¹

The works written in imitation of Kālidāsa's Megha-
 Imitation of Gitagovinda in Mithilā. dūta are known as Dūta Kāvya. The Bengalees have excelled in this form of poetry and have led the Maithilas to imitate their example. Gangananda Kavindra, a Maithila Brahmana of the 17th century and author of " Bhrriga Duta" sends the black bee as a messenger to the heroine from a lover darker than the new cloud, weak and emaciated by anxiety for the object of his love.

CHAPTER II.

MITHILĀ THE HOME OF NYĀYA AND SMṚTI.

Mithilā, the land of Nyāya and Smṛti, passed on the torch of learning in these branches to Bengal. The traditional story still prevails how Pakṣadhara Miśra in the 14th century and probably his predecessors in Mithilā used to teach students from Bengāl and that though the then Maithila Paṇḍitas would not allow the outsiders to take any notes of the learning imparted by them, yet the Bengālee learners used to commit to memory all that was taught and thus carried the valuable teachings to different parts of Bengāl, specially to Nadiā. The story of how Bāśudeva by the power of his memory brought the Nyāya philosophy from Mithilā to Nawadvipa (Nadiā) is well known. Baiudeva's learning was not confined to Nyāya or logic; he taught his pupils Smṛti and tantras and his

¹ Cf. page 11 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.
² Cf. page 18 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by H. P. Sastri.
³ Cf. page 19 do. do. do. do.

pupil Raghutāṭba is said to have held his own in argument against Mithilā's great Panditas. All these go to bear testimony to the influence which Mithilā once exercised on Bengal.

APPENDIX C.

BRĀHMAṆA MARRIAGE IN MITHILĀ.

Of the approved forms of Hindu marriages,¹ the "Ārṣa" form of marriage is prevalent in Mithilā and is celebrated in accordance with the Vedic and Sastric *man-tras* (hymns) accompanied by numerous ceremonies, the most important of which have been briefly described in the following paragraphs:—

Early History of Marriage in Mithilā.—In ancient times when the Maithilā Brahmanas² could not go from village to village in search of bride or bridegroom for their sons or daughters for fear of being interrupted in their daily performance of the *agni-hotra* ceremonies (i.e. the ceremony consisting in the offerings of oblations to consecrated fire), they founded a Dharma Kṣetra in the village of Sauratha in the district of Darbhanga. They also established a "Council of Marriage" and wrote a

¹ *General definition of Marriage.*—According to the Hindu Sastras marriage is the acceptance by the bridegroom of the bride, constituting her his wife. It is more a religious than a secular institution and is the last of the ten sacraments or purifying ceremonies.

Ideal of Marriage.—The Hindu ideal of marriage is that it is a holy union for the performance of religious duties. It is therefore strictly enjoined by the Hindu Sastras that the idea of sexual pleasure must not be associated with the holy nuptial rite and where, however, such pleasure is the predominant idea in the mind of a party to it, it must be condemned as a purely selfish and secular marriage and as being unworthy of a person having a sense of spiritual responsibility.

Accordingly the sages enjoined the marriage of girls before the signs of puberty make their appearance. There were also other reasons which actuated the sages to enjoin such a rule on the Hindu community. They were (i) to admit the girl into the family of the bridegroom at an age when her mind and character are yet unformed so that she may become assimilated and engrafted, as it were, to it in the same way as a member born in it; and (ii) to secure the chastity of females which is the foundation of the happiness of a Hindu home.

Forms of Marriage.—The Hindu sages divided marriages into eight kinds, viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prajapatya, Gandharva, Asura, Rākṣasa and Paisāca. Of these, the first four are the approved kinds of marriage, as the male issue of these confers special spiritual benefit on the ancestors, and the last four belong to the condemned and censured class.

For an account of Hindu system of marriages, see pages 35 to 39 of Elphinstone's History of India, London, 1874 edition.

These notes apply to almost all the four sections of the Maithilā Brahmanas, viz. Srottriya, Yojfiā, Panji Baddha, and Sadhārāṇa (Jaibāra).

For a detailed account of these marriages, see an article communicated by Maharaja Sir Rāmeśwara Simha of Darbhanga, pages 515-542 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, part iv, December, 1917.

"Pañji Sāitra" dealing with prohibited degrees for marriage. When there was a talk about a marriage, the parties to it first went to the "Pañji Kara" to consult him about prohibited degrees and if the latter gave his consent to the proposed marriage and issued a written order for the same, the marriage was solemnized. But if on a reference to the "Pañji Sastra" he found any relationship existing within the 7th degree between the boy and the damsel, he would select some one else with whom the marriage might be legally celebrated. This practice still continues in Mithila and no marriage takes place without consulting the "Pañji Karas."

It should also be remarked here that a person called "Ghataka" also sits on the "Council of Marriage" and settles the terms of marriage between the parties.

Ceremonies.—I need not enter, in detail, into the numerous ceremonies that are generally observed in marriages in Mithila. But I would mention those ceremonies only that are essential for the completion of a marriage.

On receipt of the Pañji Kara's written order for the marriage, the bride's father takes the bridegroom's right hand in his own and thus a moral contract of betrothal is then deemed to be established. Then on the date fixed for marriage, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house with his friends and relatives and the marriage is performed there with great pomp.

The following ceremonies are generally observed at the time of a marriage in Mithila :—

Ceremony of Chumāon or Kissing.—When on the day of marriage, the bridegroom is about to start from his house for that of the bride, his female relatives perform the ceremony of *chumāon* (or kissing) attended with other local ceremonies which are not to be found in any book on marriage. It must be noted here that on the day of marriage both the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Ainā kapañ.—When the bridegroom reaches the house of the bride, the female inmates of the latter's house send through a special messenger some betel leaves (*pan*) and nuts (*supari*) kept in a small flat dish (*chipi*) to the bridegroom who takes out one of the betel leaves putting in its stead some silver and copper coins.

The next important ceremony is **that of "Matrika Puja"** which is performed by the bride's father to invoke the blessings of the sixteen "Mātrikās" (mothers).

After performing a few other minor ceremonies the bridegroom is made to take his stand in the *mandapa* facing eastward. The *Yajamana* (the bride's father—literally, the grantor) then addresses him in loving tones, gives him a *hiththar* (or seat) to sit on and asks him to sit in the *mandapa* facing northward. When he is comfortably seated there, the bride is brought there from her house and is decked with new clothes and ornaments presented by the bridegroom. The latter also puts on new clothes. The *Yajamana* then takes hold of one end of the *Cddara* worn by them and ties these together. This ceremony is called *ganthbandhana*.

Another important ceremony is that of *kanyādāna* or the gift of the bride to the bridegroom. When the ceremony of *ganthbandhana* is over the *Yajamana* places the left hand of the bride over the right hand of the bridegroom and says, "I give such and such a girl adorned with ornaments on such and such a day, month, *pakṣa*, to such and such a man of such and such *gotra* and *pariwarā* (family) for the attainment of a particular region of heaven." Then he gives two cows or two gold moharas to the bridegroom as *Dakṣiṇci* (fee). On the 4th day the ceremony of *chathiivthi* is performed and the marriage is then consummated. This over the bridegroom leaves the bride's house with the bride on the same day the marriage is consummated or on the 5th, 7th or 9th day from the day of the marriage. Otherwise the bride comes to the bridegroom's house at the end of one, three or five years.

Polygamy.—The Hindu law permits a man to have more wives than one at the same time, and this practice is perhaps nowhere more popular than in Mithila. There it was the practice to have twenty, thirty and even forty wives at the same time, but now monogamy is the general rule, though there are still instances which show that the old custom of having a number of wives has not altogether disappeared from the country.

APPENDIX D.

MAITHILĪ DIALECT.

It is difficult to say how old is the Maithilī dialect, but it is certain that both the dialect and its written characters existed in distinct forms in the early first half of the 14th century A.D. when Jyotirisvara Kavi Sekharacaryya² wrote his Varnanaratnakara and Dhurta Samagama. Vidyapati who lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D. has made this dialect immortal by his compositions, especially the songs, Kfirtilata, Kīrtipataka, and the dramas Gauri Swayambara, Rukmiṇī Swayambara attributed to him. Thus it is certain that this dialect is at least 600 years old. But it must be remembered that the written characters of Maithilī in which Jyotirīswara and Vidyapati wrote (though they differ considerably from the Devanagari characters and even from the present-day written characters of Maithilī a little) bear a striking resemblance to the ancient written characters of Bengal. In fact, the latter are generally known as "Tiruta" (Tirhut ?) in Bengal, and there can be little doubt that the ancient Bengalee characters which show considerable difference from the modern Bengalee characters, were borrowed from Mithilā or had a common origin with the Maithilī characters. It is also admitted that the ancient Maithilī dialect as used by Vidyapati and Jyotirīswara, have much in common with the ancient Bengalee—though differences⁴ are evident in spelling, formation of verbs and pronunciations. Though the ancient Maithilī writers have used some expressions which are distinctly Maithilī (i.e. not found in Bengalee) and though Vidyapati is said to have resorted not infrequently to "Vraja Boli" (i.e. the dialect used in Vraja or the locality including Muttra and

¹ That is the dialect spoken in North Bihar in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Darbhanga, North Monghyr and North Bhagalpur and Purneah.

² Cf. Jyotirīswara Kavisekharatācāryya.

³ Cf. Sāhitya Viśayaka Prastāva, Prathāma Bhāga by Paṇḍita Rāmāgati Nyāyaratna.

⁴ Cf. the introduction to Vidyapati by Kali Prasanna Kavyavisarada, 1910, Calcutta edition.

Brindabana sacred to the memory of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā), yet it cannot be denied that resemblance between ancient Maithili and ancient Bengalee is considerable. This must be obvious to those who have compared the compositions of Vidyapati (Maithili) and Candīdasa (Bengalee) who are believed to have been contemporaries. It may thus be reasonably assumed that both ancient Bengalee and ancient Maithili sprang from a common stock. But though this common stock has been regarded to be Samskr̥ta and its off-shoot Prākṛta, a theory which applies as much to Bengalee and Maithili as to any other set of Indian dialects, showing some resemblance to and admixture of Samskr̥ta words, it must be admitted that it is not easy to hit exactly upon the common origin. It has been suggested that a near approach is made to this common fountain-head when we know that (1) the Sena kings of Gauḍa (modern Nava-dwīpa or Nuddeah in Bengal) divided their kingdom into five parts¹ including Mithilā; (2) that king Lakṣmaṇa Sena inaugurated an era of his own (called Lakṣmaṇa Sena Samvata or era) about the year 1119 A.D., which though dropped in Bengal, is used to this day in Mithilā; and (3) that there was a local or provincial dialect called "Gaudī" (as mentioned in the Kāvyaḍarsā) which must have flourished during the Sena period and which has left its impress on the literature of the time. It may be regarded as most probable that "Maithili" had some connection with this Gaudī, especially as so many of the learned men of Mithilā flourished under the Sena kings. But whether Gaudī itself was indebted to Maithili for its written characters as well as its vocabulary (as claimed by many Maithilis) is doubtful, though the use of the Maithilī characters by the Bengalee writers of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, adoptions of Maithili words, expressions, and style of compositions (especially those of Vidyapati) by the Vaiṣṇavic poets of Bengal in those centuries, point to the fact that the Maithili dialect is much older than, and must have helped the growth of "Bengalee." This view is further confirmed by the tradition which is generally admitted that students from Bengal used to flock to Mithilā to learn from Pakṣadhara² Misra who lived

¹ They were Rarha, Barendra, Bangā, Bagari, and Mithilā.

² Cf. Jayadeva or Pakṣadhgra.

in the first half of the 15th century A.D. and is believed to have been a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura.¹

Whatever may be its exact origin, it is now generally believed that the Maithilī is one of the old dialects which saw the light on the disruption of the Prakṛta (consequent, as many believe, on the dismemberment of Harṣa's empire about the middle of the 7th century A.D. and as a result of foreign incursions which followed this dismemberment) which in itself was a corruption of the Samskr̥ta and that it is more than 600 years old.

It is not easy to trace the gradual stages of development through which the Maithilī has passed. We know however, that Rājās Maheśa Thakkura and Mahinātha Thakkura who belonged to the 16th or early 17th century A.D., are accredited popularly with the authorship of some religious songs heard in Mithilā. Locana, author of *Raja Tarangini* and *Naiṣada Kābya*, is said to have been patronised by Mahinatha Thakkura. One of the prominent Maithilī writers in the 17th century A.D. is Ramadaśa who wrote the *Ananda Vijaya Nataka*—a drama in mixed Maithilī and Prakṛta. And to the early 18th century A.D. belongs Harinātha Upadhyaya, author of the "*Parijata Haraṇa Nataka*" in mixed Maithilī and Prakṛta.

The 18th and the 19th centuries saw a crop of writers (in the Maithilī dialect) including Nandipati, author of the dramas *Kṛṣṇa Kelimālā* and *Kādamkelimālā*, Rāmapati, Keśava, Čakrapāṇi, Caturbbuja, Jayananda, Sarasapati, Modanavayana, Govinda Dāsa, Gaṇanātha (translator of *Adiparva Mahabharata*), Hari Kimkara, Lakṣmīnātha, Rāmadāsa, Lālākavi (author of *Gauḍipariṇaya Nataka* and several other compositions), Raghunandan Dāsa (author of *Uttara Rāmacarita* and *Mithilā Nataka*), Lāladāsa (author of *Durgasaptasati*), Bhanjan, Kavi, Bhanukavi (author of *Parvati Haraṇa Nataka*), Bhavauath Misra (author of *Maithilī Kosa*, a lexicon) and a host of others.

Manbodha Miśra wrote his *Harivamśa*, Kṛṣṇa Janma, and *Songs and Gaiigādāśa* translated a part of the *Mahabharata*. Harṣanātha Jhā who wrote *Uṣa Haraṇa Nataka* and some other works, and Paṇḍita Candā who wrote his *Maithilī Ramayana* and several other works, received

¹ Cf. Vidyāpati Thakkuṛa.

patronage from the late Mahārājā, Lakṣmīśwara Simha of Darbhanga in the second half of the 19th century A.D. The Maithilī grammatical treatises by Dr. Grierson, Hali Jha and Dīnbandhu Jha are useful works. To Dr. Grierson belongs the credit of having done so much for the Maithilī by his grammatical and philological investigations. Mi-thilā Sabda Prakāśa is a very useful work on Maithilā Vocabulary. Among rhetorical works in the Maithilā dialect, may be mentioned Candravarna, Alamkaravinyasa, and Candomālā, etc. In fact, there have been too many writers in the Maithilī dialect especially of songs, *ir*. the 19th century—though most of them of not much value. Among these may be mentioned the songs of Lakṣmīnātha and Lakṣmīpati heard in Darbhanga and North Bhagalpore districts.

Even to-day a good many writers (such as Paṇḍitas Parmeśwara Jha and Ceta Nātha Jha) are busy with their Maithilī compositions.

This dialect has a bright future before it and it is to be hoped that authors will be forthcoming who will write works of really valuable and useful character from literary as well as from practical stand-point.

APPENDIX E.

BETTIAH.

The Bettiah Estate was carved out towards the end of the 16th century by one Ugra Sena Simha whose son Gaja Sirhha received the title of Rājā from emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58). Muhammadan historians have called the Rajas of Bettiah independent rulers.¹ In Riyazu-s-salatin, the Rājā is described as a turbulent chief whose territory had never been entered by the army of the Nazims and who had never acknowledged the dominion of any of the Subadars. Ali Vardi Khan led an expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1729 and brought him under subjection." In 1748, the Rājā of Bettiah entered into alliance with the Afghan Chiefs of Darbhanga. But

i Babar mentions Ziparan (Champaran) a separate revenue unit or sircar (Tuzaqi Babari, Elliot's Vol. IV, page 262). The Ain-i-Akbari also mentions Champaran as a separate sirkar (Jarret's Translation, Vol. II—"The Ten Years' Settlement").

At an earlier date, the Persian Wakiat-i-Mushtaki by Shaikh Razkula Mastoid gives an account of Champaran. Mian Hussain Farmuli, Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran and his general Mughala Kirani, attacked and looted the Rājā of Champaran about the year 1490 (Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, pages 546-47.)

At the engagement at Hajipur in Akbar's time, about 1580, Raja Kachiti or Gajpati is mentioned as an ally of the emperor (Tabakat-i-Akbari, Elliot's Vol. V, page 377—also pages 167-68 of Lowe's Translation of Al Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition).

Then again, it is related that Gajpati, a zaminder of the neighbourhood of Hajipur revolted about 1582 and had to be suppressed by Shahbaj Khan under Akbar's orders (pages 244-45 and 293 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition)

Who could this Gajpati or Kachiti be? Was he the Rājā of Champaran and founder of the Bettiah family?

There is little doubt that Gajpati was a zamindar of Champaran.

Again Raja Udi Karana, the zamindar of Champaran is said to have held the Imperial forces near Hajipur after the year 1590 (pages 36 and 49 of Akbar-Nama of Abul Fazal, Elliot Vol. VI, 1875 edition).

It will thus appear that sircar of Champaran was in ancient times under one ruler. But the question UQW arises who these Rajas of Champaran were and who are represented in blood by the Rājās of Bettiah.

This we know that Champaran or even Mithila was once ruled by the Rājās of Simraon. An account of this Simmon family has been given in the main body.

But was Ugra Sena Sirihha or his son Gaja Simha descended from Simraon family? If not he actually replaced Simraon family and must have kept his capital there for sometime. We know that Rājā Mahiudhā Thakkura of Darbhanga, who flourished about the year 1668, is traditionally said to have fought with Rājā Gaja Sirihha of Simraon.

Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730 (Shair-ul-Mutakharim and Riyazu's Salatin, p. 296 translated by M. Abdul Salam, 1904 edition).

when the Afghans were defeated by Ali Vardi Khan, he offered a Nazar of three lacs to the Subadar in order to pacify him.¹ In 1759 Caillaud advanced against the fort of Bettiah, and compelled the Rājā to submit.* In 1762 another expedition was sent against him by Mir Kasim Ali Khan³ and his fort was again captured; and in 1766 a third expedition under Sir Robert Barker was necessary to establish British authority. In 1763 Rājā Jugala Keśwara Simha, who was son of the daughter of Rājā Dhurupa Sithha, succeeded him.

This Rājā soon came into conflict with the East India Company. He fell into arrears of revenue, and in the words of the Judges of the *Diwany Adalat* "rebelled and fought with the forces of the British Government, was defeated and fled to Bundelkhand for safety, and his *Rajgi* was seized upon and brought under the direct management of the Company," The attempt to manage the estate proved, however, a complete failure; and the Company, finding that its revenue grew less and less, persuaded Jugala Keśwara Sirhha to return. Then they settled with him *paraganas* Majhawā and Simrāon, the remainder of the district being given to his cousins, Sri Kisuna Sirhha and Abdhut Simha. They were grandsons of Gaja Sirhha and became founders of the Sheohar (in the Muzaffarpur district) and of the Madhuban (in the Champaran district) families.

The same two *paraganas* of Majhawā and Simrāon were settled with Bīra Keśwara Sithha, the son of Jugala Keśwara Simha, at the Decennial Settlement in 1791, and still constitute the greater part of the Bettiah Rājā estate. Bira Keśwara Simha played a prominent part in the dispute which led to the Nepalese war, and was succeeded in 1816 by Ananda Keśwara Simha, on whom Lord William Bentinck conferred the title of Maharaja Bahadur as a

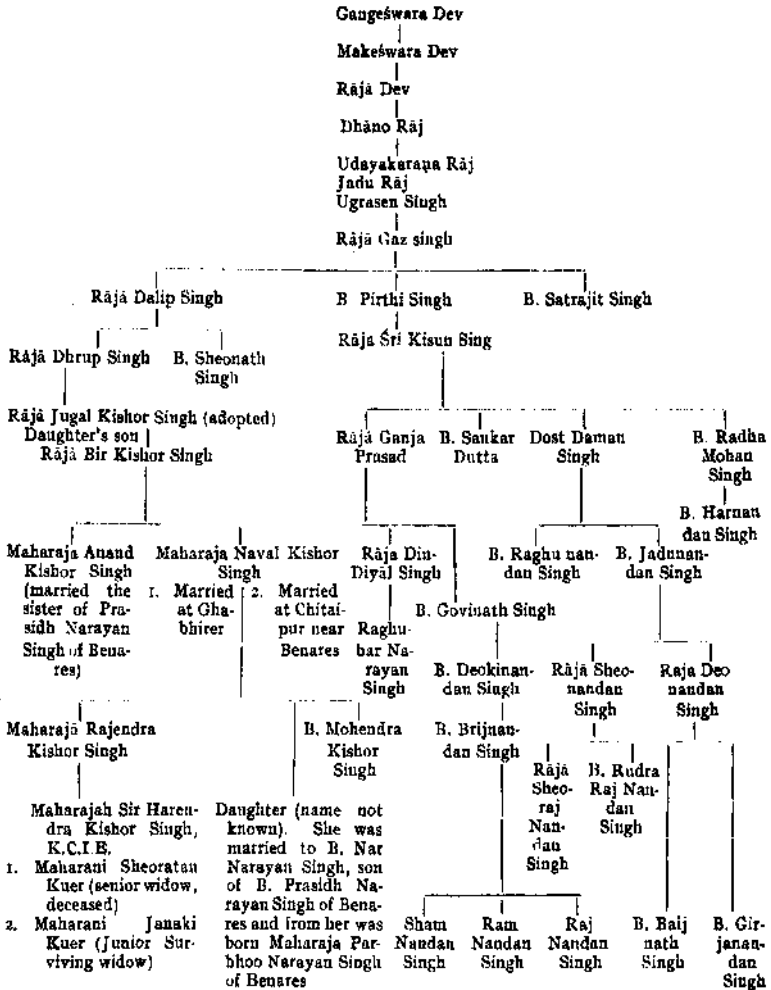
¹ Rājā of Bettiah is mentioned prominently for giving protection to some rebellious Pathan families about the year 1750 during the viceroyalty of AU Vardi Khan (Shair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's Translation, Vol. II, page 58, 1902 edition).

² About the year 1760, a force commanded by Major Caillaud and Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar Khan, fell upon Bettiah and subdued it (Raymond's translation, Vol. II, 1902 edition, of Shair-ul-Mutakharim and Broom's History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army).

³ The Shair-ul-Mutakharim also says that Mir Kasim sent a successful expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1762.

reward for services rendered. On the death of his successor, Newal Keswara Simha, in 1855, the estate passed to Rajendra Keswara Simha, who in the words of the Lieutenant-Governor, gave at the time of the Mutiny "praiseworthy aid and support to Government during the whole progress of the rebellion." The title of Maharaja Bahadur was also given to this Raja and to his son, Harendra Keswara Sirhha, the last Maharaja of Bettiah, who was subsequently made a K.C.I.E. and died in 1893. He left no children and was succeeded by his Senior widow, who died in 1896. The estate which has been under the management of the Court of Wards, since 1897, is at present held by the Maharaja's junior widow.¹

1 Genealogical tree of the Bettiah family.



It will be interesting to note the terminal similarity between the names of some of the earlier members of the Kameswara family and of those of the Bettiah family. Many of these names end in 'Isiwara'. Also it is remarkable that both these families are said to have come to Mithila from Naimisharanya in the IIP. Vidyapati has stated the Kameswara family's connection with Naimisharanya in 'Bhuparikramana' and the Bettiah family still maintains the tradition. Both families are said to have started with their capital at Sugaon and it appears that the Bettiah family had at one time some connection with Simaraon as Raja Mahinatha Thakkura of Darbhanga is said to have fought with Raja Gaj Simha 6f Simaraon. Another common feature is that both the families adopted the surname of Simha at an early period.

Bettiah has always been the headquarters of the Rajas or Mahārājās of Bettiah.'

¹ Father Tieffen thaler, the great Jesuit Missionary and author of *Descriptio Indiae*, one of the first Gazetteers of India, which was published in 1786, described it as " a populous city defended by a great castle surrounded by walls and fortified by towers; near it are the temple and convent, where dwell the missionaries of the Franciscan order." The castle referred to by Tieffenthaler appears to have been erected by Dhurup Singh, Rājā of Bettiah, and remains of the fortifications are still traceable. The name Bettiah (properly Betia) is said to be derived from the fact that the place was once famous for its cane (*bent*) jungle. Even now cane of a superior quality is found on the banks of the Chandrawat and other streams.

APPENDIX F.

DARBHANGA RĀJA.

The name Darbhanga is said to be derived from "dar-i-bangal" or the door of Bengal, but this is probably etymologically impossible and is certainly meaningless, for the division between Bengal and Bihar has always lain much further east.¹

Another derivation of the word Darbhanga which has been offered is that it is made up of the words "dām" (wood) and "bhanga" (breaker) meaning a city on the spot after cutting the jungles or it may mean the shrine of a goddess built after cutting jungles.²

The "Ain-i-Akbari"³ (Cir. 1590 A.D.) mentions Darbhanga as the name of a Mahal in Sircar Tirhut in King Akbar's time.

From published records⁴ and from popular traditions prevalent in the country it appears that the family of the

¹ Cf. Mr. Kerr's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District during the year 1896 to 1903.

² It appears that up to about 1530 A.D. Darbhanga District formed part of the great Hindu Kingdom of Mithila, but soon after that date, it came, like other districts of Bihar, under the sway of the Muhammadan rulers and formed portion of Sirkar Tirhut which belonged to the Northern division of the then Suba or Province of Bihar.

The absence of any reference to the district in the early vedic literature and other records of the country, such as Buddhistic scriptures and the history of the Pal and Sena dynasties, renders it highly impossible to gather even scanty information with regard to it. The Balamki's Ramayana, however, contains a few references from which we are able to indentify some villages in Benipatti thana in the district. Chief among these villages or localities is Chiuta where it is believed, Ahilya, the wife of Gautama Rsi, lived and where she was turned into stone by Her husband's zealous curses, and restored to life by Rama, the hero of the Ramayana and Lord of Ayodhya. Thus whatever information concerning the district one can glean from such sacred books, it can unhesitatingly be admitted that it had been a vast jungle and an extensive uncultivated tract for a long period before the 12th or 13th century.

³ Cf. p. 156, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica, edition. Calcutta, 1910.

⁴ A brief account of the origin and history of the Darbhanga Raj will be found in the 2nd Part of the "Ghose's Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars, etc. Mr. Kerr in his Settlement Report in the Darbhanga District (1896-1903), pages 1, 2 and 19 and Mr. Stevenson-Moore in his Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899), pages 44-49 have also dwelt at some length on the subject. Cf. also the Purneah Settlement Report (1901-1908) by Byrne, Calcutta edition, 1908, Appendix VI, pp. xlv-llii, which contains all relevant extracts from the Court of Wards papers relating to the Darbhanga Raj.

Mahārājās of Darbhanga is descended from one MaheSa Thakkura, a Brāhmaṇa who is said to have come from Mandala in the District of Jabbalpur in the Central Provinces about the beginning of the 16th century. MaheSa Thakkura was a man of great learning and erudition, and his vast knowledge of Sanskr̥t, Science, and Art made the great Mughal Emperor Akbar confer upon him the grant of what is now the well-known Darbhanga Rāj.¹

After receiving the grant of Mithilā from Emperor Akbar he settled down with his family at Bhaura in the Darbhanga District where he and his sons continued to teach Sanskr̥ta.

An account of the literary eminence of Maheśa Thakkura who, it is traditionally stated, was a student of Paksadhara Misra and brother of Bhagiratha Thakkura, alias Megha Thakkura, has been given in its proper place. He was a Priest Minister of the Rājā of Bastar and his ancestor Gosain Saiikarṣaṇa Upadhyāya had received the grant of Khandava in the Central Provinces near Jabbalpur and from that date his descendants were called Thakkuras on account of their possession of landed property like so many other petty chiefs of Rajaputānā and Kathiawar. His family is, therefore, popularly known as the Khandawala or Khandwālakula family.

Maheśa Thakkura's capital was at Bhaura.²

Another version is that, one of his students Raghunandana by name, was very intelligent. According to a popular tradition preserved in the family, he was deputed by Maheśa Thakkura to explain some mythical stories to the Mahārāni of Bastar, but some how or other he incurred the Maharani's displeasure and was turned out of Bastar Estate. Just then Paṇḍita Maheśa Thakkura received a circular letter addressed to all famous Paṇḍits in

Cf. also Hunter's Statistical Account, 1877, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, pp. 208-214.

Also cf. Mithila Darpana by Ras Bihari Lai, Darbhanga, edition, 1915.

Also cf. Tarikbul-Fitrat known as Ain-i-Tirhut by Babu Bihari Lai, Vakil, Darbhanga, edition 1883.

¹ The traditional saying is that he got all the lands within the following boundaries, i.e. "Az-gang-ta-Sang: Az-kos-taghose" i.e. from the Ganges to the mountains (i.e. Nepal) and from Kosi (river Kosi) to the whole of Tirhut as popularly known. This couplet is also found in the Purneah Settlement Report (1901-08), Calcutta, edition 1908, by Byrne, App. VI, p. xlv.

² Bhaura is mentioned as mahal under Sircar Tirhut in Suba Bihar during the reign of King Akbar (cf. Ain-I-Akbari, Vol. I I, page 156, Calcutta, 1910 edition).

the country by King Akbar requesting them to take part in his theological disputation at Delhi. Raghunandana proceeded to represent his teacher Maheśa Thakkura at the Delhi Court and by his vast learning and intellectual power beat down, among others, a very famous and learned Mullah of the Emperor's Court. Thereupon the celebrated King Akbar bestowed on the great Hindu scholar (Raghudanada Jha), as a mark of the Imperial recognition of his high merits, the huge zamindari of Sircar Tirhut. Raghunandana then returned to Tirhut and very disinterestedly made over the Farman to his Guru, Maheśa Thakkura, in gratitude for the instructions he had received from him. Maheśa Thakkura, however, declined to accept it unless it was endorsed in his favour by the Emperor himself. Accordingly Maheśa Thakkura accompanied by his pupil Raghunandana went to Delhi and got the grant transferred to his name after succeeding in a religious discussion with the Ullmas (learned Maulavis) of the Emperor's Court. Raja Mana Simha of Jayapur is traditionally said to be chiefly instrumental in effecting this transfer.¹

And another story is that Maheśa Thakkura went to Delhi where he was introduced by Rājā Māna Sing² whom he impressed very well, to Akbar who was pleased with his versatile genius and learning.³ Mahesa Thakkura told the Emperor that as the Kameswara dynasty of Brahmin rulers in Mithilā was extinct, he might be installed in authority. Akbar thereupon conferred the Mithilā Rāj on Maheśa Thakkura who returned to Mithilā and began to rule the country; but a scion of Kameswara dynasty went to Delhi and implored the Emperor to restore the

¹ The following verse widely known in Tirhut gives the Śākā year of the grant of Farmān for Mithilā to Maheśa Thakkura :—

नव यद् वेदं यदुधराः, इक मे चाकबर राज ।

पण्डित सुबुध महेश को, किन्हो मिथिला नाह ॥

² The following śloka in praise of Rājā Mān Singh by Mahesa Thakkura is heard from Pandits in Mithilā :—

उपवीक्ष्यसि वरमक्षरसो खप मानसिंह तव हान यशः । सूर शशिनीक्षि कुसुम स्रवया
ममनाथ भूरि यतमानतमाः ॥ १ ॥

³ Cf. the following śloka sung by Mahesa Thakkura in praise of Akbar :—

“सूरः एकादशैका तुष्टिमिरिसुता नामिममाददाताः प्रशान्तमुच्यते ऽभी कलह मकरद
कुर्वते दुर्विनीताः । सदाशुभानराकान्तिविमलकथशः पूरकपूर मोरिनीजी अज्ञाकुदीन मसिह
इह दिशोनीर मोरी करीषि ॥ १ ॥

Mithiā Raj to him and at last succeeded in getting the Emperor to settle with him the uncultivated lands in Mithiā on the assumption that Maheśa Thakkura had got his sway only over the cultivated lands. The Oinwar¹ came back to Mithiā and created trouble in almost every part of it for separation of the uncultivated from the cultivated lands. Maheśa Thakkura who was more a scholar than a ruler got disgusted with the whole thing and relinquished the Mithiā Raj, and proceeded to "Bastar" to work as a priest Minister with the Rājā of Bastar. He was accompanied by a very intelligent student Raghunandana who happened to incur the displeasure of the Rāni of Bastar and who decided after consulting Maheśa Thakkura to proceed to Delhi where he would join in theological disputation in the Emperor's Court and also try to get back the undivided possession of Mithiā to Maheśa Thakkura whose devoted disciple he was. He² succeeded and returned to Bastar, accompanied by Imperial escorts, to surprise the Rāni³ and to be welcomed by Maheśa Thakkura. Maheśa Thakkura eventually returned to Tirhut, took possession of the Mithiā Rāj and made amicable settlement with the descendants of the Oinwar family.

And yet another tradition states that the founder of this family was a Srotriya Brahmana, Gāṅgadhara Jha, who lived in the nth century A.D. in the village Gangawali in the Darbhanga District. It is said that his great-grandson, Saṅkarṣaṇa, acquired fame as a great Paṇḍita in Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be regarded as a 'Swami' (spiritual leader). He acquired the village Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be called a Thakkura like the princes of Kathiawar. It is believed that Candra Thakkura, who was seventh in descent from Sankarṣana Thakkura had four learned sons

¹ i e. descendant of Kameswar who was called Oinwar.

² It is not known what became of Raghurmandan after his return to Bastar but it is believed traditionally that his family settled partly in the Central Provinces and partly in Mithiā.

³ The following sloka expressive of the Rāni's surprise and humiliation is heard from Mithiā Panditas :—

प्राप्तर्भाषति पद्मिनी परिहृष्टे विचक्र ननः शंकाया दिक् अज्ञं अकितं सुप्रेम चतुरे अज्ञि
ननुहीयते । नोनहलार भूमहेन्द्र वदनाम्नोज प्रसादोदधादायाते रघुमन्दने नम सडा वण्डारवः
बुधते ॥ १ ॥

named Megha, Thegha, Dāmodara and MaheSa Thakkuras, who established a Sanskrit School at Bhaura (in the Darbhanga District) and used to teach students from all parts of the country including Bengal. They started on travel with Maheśa Thakkura's learned pupil Raghunandana and came to be honoured by the Chiefs of Khandawa, Mandala, Ratnapura and Bastara in the Central Provinces. Their name is intimately associated with Rānī Durgavati of Maṇḍala (or Gorha) whom one of them initiated into the sacred lore and under whose advice she (though Gauḍakṣatṛī by caste) was married to one Jadorao (a Naga-bānśikṣatṛī) who subsequently became disciple of one of the brothers. Tradition says that Rānīdurgavati incurred their displeasure by her disparaging remarks about their favourite pupil Raghunandana and consequently they left her place. Tradition is also responsible for the statement that they returned to Rānīdurgavati with a large number of elephants presented by the Rājā of Bastara and Rānīdurgavati came out of her palace to receive and honour them, especially as she felt humbled on account of her having taunted them (when they were leaving her) saying how many elephants would they bring from elsewhere. The brothers are said to have been invited to Akbar's court at Delhi, where they distinguished themselves in disputation. Akbar presented them with the sanad granting the principality of Mithilā which was their native land.

Tradition states that Maheśa Thakkura and his brothers were reluctant to accept the grant from a Non-Hindu king but Maheśa's pupil Raghunandana took up the sanad and subsequently presented it to him as *Gurudakṣiṇā* (present to a teacher or preceptor). But Megha, Thegha and Damodara Thakkuras are said to have repaired to Bastar, Mandala and Ratnapura in the Central Provinces where they were granted large jagirs and annuities and MaheSa Thakkura alone settled down in Tirhut and got possession of the country after some fight with the former ruler (traditionally called Darbhāṅgī Khan).

1 Perishta (translated by Briggs) describes Rānī Durgavati of Garha's fight with Akbar's general in the course of which she lost her life. Cf Herishta's History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, translated by Briggs, Vol. II, pp 217 and 218.

He is said to have brought the image of deity Karkali from near Jabbalpur and to have established it at Darbhanga.

Thus it is believed generally that Maheśa Thakkura got his Rāja from Akbar and it is said that an old inscription confirms this belief and assigns the event to 1556 A.D.¹

According to tradition Maheśa Thakkura died in 1569 A.D. leaving behind him four sons, the eldest Rāma Candra Thakkura having died unmarried in his father's life time. On the death of Maheśa Thakkura his second son, Gopāla Thakkura succeeded him as eldest surviving son 1569-1581. The most important event traditionally known of Gopāla Thakkura's time was his conquest of the Pernmāra Rajaputas of Bhaur which they eventually evacuated.² Another important event of Gopāla Thakkura's time was the settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Raja Todar Mall in or about the year 1580.³ Gopāla Thakkura soon retired to Benares and was succeeded by his brother, Paramananda Thakkura, the fourth son of Maheśa Thakkura. Shortly after Paramananda Thakkura also died without issue and was succeeded by his younger brother Subhankara Thakkura, the fifth and last son of Maheśa Thakkura. In his time the seat of the family was changed from Bhavr to Bhawarah near Madhubani. He is

¹ It is said that there is the following inscription on a piece of stone in the Dhanuyakūpa (well) near Janakapura in the Nepal territory. Cf. introduction to Vācaspati Miśra's Khāṇdanoddhāra, Benares edition (Medical Hall Press), 1909:—

१

“आसीन् पण्डितमण्डलाप्रगणितो भूषणस्य स्वपुत्रः ।

जानः स्वपुत्रस्यकुले गिरिसुताभक्तो महेशः कृतो ॥

शके रत्नपुरं सन्तुति मही । १५४८ संवत्सित जायते ।

बादेवी क्षपया य क्षेत्र निधिसा देशः समलोर्जितः” ॥

रहे और कबी प्रबल, वसत और निज और ।

छर समर विजयी बड़े, सब कबी सिर और ॥

अपुन मेध जीषास मिथि, मारी कबी राज ।

निज सुत से भागी तबै, राजी मैहर राज ॥

बहुत दिवसके बाद सो, राजि आये पसार ।

युद्ध करन निधिलेश की, सेना अपरम्पार ॥

This and others mentioned hereafter are old couplets heard in Tirhut the author of which is not known.

² Cf. page 352 of Ain-I-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami translated by H. Blochmann, Vol. I Calcutta 1873 edition and also page 50 of Riyazu-S-Salatīn M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

traditionally known as step brother of Gopāla Thakkura. Tradition calls him very chivalrous and brave.¹ He is said to have founded the town of Subhankapur near Darbhanga.

After Subhaiikara Thakkura came Puruṣottama Thakkura, his eldest son (1617-1641).

Tradition, in shape of well-known Pammar (ballad) sung in Tirhut says that Puruṣottama Thakkura was invited by the Imperial Revenue Collector who came round to collect tribute, at Killaghat in Darbhanga, and then treacherously murdered. His body was burnt according to Hindu rites, and then his widow went to Delhi and made complaint to His Majesty the Emperor Jahangir, and as result thereof, the Governor, who murdered her husband, was condemned to death. She ascended the funeral pyre with her husband's *sandals* at the bank of the Jamunā at Nigambodha ghat at Delhi and thus became *sati*. It is also traditionally stated that Puruṣottama Thakkura's step brother Narayana Thakkura succeeded him but this statement is not borne out by literature.²

Sundara Thakkura, the seventh son of Subhaiikara Thakkura, succeeded Puruṣottama Thakkura (1641-1668). He is traditionally known to have been very handsome³.

Sundara Thakkura was succeeded by his eldest son Mahinātha Thakkura (1668-1690). He is traditionally said to have engaged in a fight with Rājā Gaja Simha of Simraon⁴ and is said to have put down the inhabitants of

कलयति कर करवाप्त कराल सुपैति विभूषण सरि महिलायाः ।

कवयति भवति भवति भवभूति रभूति रमौवच सीपि कलायाः ॥

वितरति वसुधसुधा सुर सपति लसति कलासकला कमलायाः ।

तयि शुभमस्तु शुभकर ठकुर भवति विभूषणसिंह मिथिलायाः ॥

* Cf. Genealogical table attached to case *Mahārāja Kumāra Basudeva Sirmha, Appellant, versus Mahārāja Rudra Sirmha Bahadur, Respondent*, on page 271 of the Report of Cases determined in the Court of *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*, Vol: VII, containing the reports from 1841 to 1848, Printed at Bhawanipur by Śrī Nātha Banarjee and Brothers Book-sellers and Publishers, 1875 edition.

चारित्र्य विनष्टि सुन्दर लोचन सुन्दर ठकुर सुन्दरता ।

मदनेन समि विभिन्ना तुलिका कलिता मिथिलैक पुरन्दरता ।

तव चक्षु बला कुल सखन भूप सदाभितरस्तु मुकुन्दरता ।

जैने मन्त्रे निके बमला पर वारिधि मयन मन्दरता ॥

धाय मिथिला के सहिनाथसिंह महाराज राज के भण्ड ते मुजाबों पर चढ़ि गयो ॥ १ ॥
वेरा करि दौड़ि दरवाजे ने दरेरा, लगे बकलामे मुखी लीं आगे आगसी लहरि गयो ॥ २ ॥

Moranga north-east of Purnea. Mahināth Thakkura is said to have been a good patron of Maithili literature and is said to have encouraged Lochan Kavi who wrote *Rāj Tarangini* which describes the social conditions of the time and also *Naiṣadha Kāvya*, copies of which exist in the Darbhanga Raj Library.

This Simraon may have been a seat of the Rājā of Bettiah.¹

Mahinātha Thakkura was succeeded by his brother Narapati Thakkura (1690-1700). Narapati Thakkura died in 1700 and was succeeded by his eldest son. Raghava Simha who remained in possession of the Raj till 1739 and was the first Rājā of the line who adopted the surname of Simha instead of Thakkura. He is said to have engaged in a sanguinary battle with Raja Dhruba Simha of Bettiah.² His wife is traditionally known to have burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

About 1720 A.D. Ali Vardi Khan, the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conferred the title of Rājā on Raghava Simha. Raghava Simha is said to have acquired the mukarrari lease of Sirkar Tirhut at one lakh of rupees annually, as fresh settlement of the old grant. He also paid an annual *nazrānā* (*salāmi*) of 50,000 rupees to Raja Dharanidhara, the Nawab's Dewan and remained in quiet possession and enjoyment of that Sirkar till, at the instigation of Ekanātha Thakkura, nephew of Raja Raghava Simha and great-grand-son of Subhāṅkara Thakkura (by his second son Narayana Thakkura who died in his father's life time), and hearing from him of all the Raja's (Raghava Simha's) enormous profits,

दोड़ दोड़ पैदल कंगुरन में चढ़ि जागै सेऊकी लहरिसो सानि ताक भरि मयो ॥ ३ ॥
कक दास कक नरकस तलवार डारिलौलौ गजसिंह खोलि खिड़की दै निकलि गयो ॥ ४ ॥

¹ For an account of Simraon dynasty Cf. Part III and for that of Bettiah Appendix E.

²

नमज्ज खड भुवसिंह तोहि उपर यम चढौ ।
मिथिलापति सोवैर अवस दिन दिन तोहि बढौ ॥
ते कपूत कुल अधिक यत्नो राघव रूप राजा ।
चरि दल दलम सम्राट भौस भारत जिनि माजा ॥
कवि कहत रामरे दुड़ सुनु जेहि दल प्रचण्ड भैरो रघुन ।
उदरे ने फौज जायदति को जब सरदार जाँ तेमा नहत ॥

It is said that Sardar Khan was a servant of Rājā Raghava Simha.

Ali Vardi Khan seized his property amounting to ten or twelve lakhs and carried all his family as prisoners to Patna. The Rājā at first fled, but at last surrendered himself and was ordered back to Tirhut as a Revenue Collector and a grant of *sadui*¹ (2 per cent on the collections) was given to him on condition that he should do justice and relieve distress; that he should put the country in a flourishing state and keep it so; that he should supply the raiyats with the necessaries for cultivation, and be equally answerable to Government for the revenue collected through his dependents as for those immediately under his own superintendence.²

Tradition says that Rājā Rāghava Simha fought a battle with a Rājā called Bhūpa Sirhha, who was residing in Pargana Pachmahala in Nepal Tarai. Nepal had many petty chieftains in those days. Bhūpa Sirhha was killed in the battle.

But the most important event of Rājā Rāghava Simha's time as traditionally known and as preserved in the poems of Lāi Kavi (and heard in Tirhut) was his fight with the usurper Biru Kurmi who was previously his servant (Khansama)³ Raghava Sirhha appointed him revenue collector of Mahāl Dharamapur (in the Purnea District) which was granted to Raja Raghava Simha.⁴ After

¹ An explanation of the word "Sadui" mentioned above seems necessary in this place. The word is derived from *sad* or *sat* (hundred) and *dui* (two) and means two per cent.

According to some, *sadui* is the same as *dasturant* or collection charges—Cf. pages 44-45 of Stevenson-Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899) Calcutta, 1801 edition.

² Cf. page 44 of Mr. Stevenson-Moore's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899), 1901 edition.

बीर नगर बीरसाह का रहे कौशिका तीर ।

— — — — —

बीर नगर बीरसाह का रहे कौशिका तीर ।

³ The present Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameswara Simha has got a sanad of Dharampur granted to him by the Maharaja of Nepal. This is a well known tradition prevalent through out the district that the original grantee was Raja Raghava Simha.

I have come across some private documents or sanads granted by owners of the Darbhanga Raj to their successors beginning with Mahinath Thakkura down to Partap Singh, purporting to show that the Raj of Tirhut, Pargana Dharampur, and all the Malikana Dusturi belonged to Darbhanga Raj.

But this account is in conflict with the deposition of Durajan Siriha, son of Bira Simha, the Rājā of Biranagara alias Dharamapur by Nawab Zafar Khan during the time of Emperor AURANZEB (cf. page 36 of Riyazu-s-salatin by M, Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

The account of Dharampur Pargana given in the Gazetteer of Purnea, 1911, page 186, by L. S.S.o. Malley, is interesting: —

a few years Biru declared himself independent and ceased to remit collections to him. Thereupon Rājā Rāghava Simha had to send a large force to Purnea to subdue him. He was subdued after the fight and the tradition has it that the Darbhanga family does not employ Kurmis as servants on account of Biru, a Kurmi having turned disloyal to his master Rāghava Simha.

Rāghava Simha died in 1739 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Rājā Viṣṇu Simha (1739-1743). On the latter's death in 1743, his brother Narendra Simha (2nd son of Rājā Rāghava Simha) ascended the *gaddi*. It was during his time that Tirhut was subjected for a third time in 1750 to the revision of assessment by Ali Vardi Khan.¹ The most important event of his time was that Ali Vardi Khan's forces came heavily upon this Rājā on account of his habitual delay in payment of tribute and harassed him.²

Tradition states that he was helped in this contest with Ali Vardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, by the Narhan

" A parganā in the west of the district with an area of about 964 square miles. It is the property of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and is said to have been acquired by his ancestor Mahes'Thakkura in the following manner. Mahes Thakkura was priest of the Rajas of Tirhut, and, when they were conquered by the Emperor of Delhi, sent his pupil Raghunandan Thakkur to—Akbar's court. He gained Akbar's favour by his skill in pol^lamies and a lucky prophecy. He foretold a storm in which a tree, under which Akbar's tent was pitched, would be destroyed. The tent was removed, and some hours afterwards the tree was rent by lightning. Akbar there upon conferred upon Raghunandan the whole of Tirhut, or at least an income of two per cent of its revenues, which at his request, was transferred to his master, Mahesa Thakkura."

It may be noted here incidentally that the Statement that Mahesā Thakkura was a priest of the Rājās of Tirhut, is not supported by any local traditions prevalent in Tirhut, all of which call him a priest of the Rājā of Bastar in the CP.

Cf Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, Vol: II.

² Being aided by the Afghans, Ali Vardi advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bettiah and BhawarHh, who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Subahdars. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty amounting to several *laks* in specie and other effects, and settling with the Rajahs the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiers also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased (Cf. page 296 of Riyazu-s-salating by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

Bhaurah or Bhawarah is mentioned as the name of a Mahal in Sirkar Tirhut in the Ain-i-Akbari (Cir. 1590) Cf. p. 156 of the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol: II, translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1910.

The remains of an old fort and tank built by Rāghava Simha are still pointed out at Bhowarah—pp. 55 and 210, Hunter's statistical account of Bengal, 1877, Tirhut and Champaran.

family.¹ Tradition is also responsible for the statement that Narendra Simha also helped the Subedar of Bengal and Bihar against Mustafa Khan, an Afgan leader, who had rebelled against him.

The poet Lāi Kavi of Magrauni in the district of Darbhanga in his poem has described the battle of Kandarpī ghāt fought by Rājā Narendra Simha against the the forces, 5000 in number, sent by Raja Ramanarayana, Subedār of Patna, headed by Bhikhari Mahathā, who was accompanied by Salabat Rai at a place called Kandarpī ghat on Balam river in the district of Darbhanga. This force was sent to take *khas* possession of Tirhut from Rājā Narendra Sirhha but the latter was victorious, as the force with its commander was routed.²

१. ऐसे सदा ओर घोर जंग सुलतानी चौध भुक्त बर जंग संवर करिन्द हैं । चौलिया मन्दास नाम दार पूछे बार बार य दोउ कौन लखत करि बारय परिन्द हैं ॥ साधे सुजान जेनुहीन अहमद खां आगे हो खरक करन कविचन्द हैं । एतो दोमवार केशो साह को अजीत भाव आगे राघव सिंह के मवल नरिन्द हैं ॥ किचकिले जोगीनी पैतास करतास है है मखत करवास कर कालिका सकाति हैं । भक्ति भक्ति उठे खरक चौह खोयन की खरि खरि वैरि वधु अहर खोजि खाती हैं ॥ एके खावे पाँच रोखी राघव मन्हीप लखवीर कवि बाढी रोस जाकी रंग राती हैं ॥ गजि राम गेर खां की कैसी जौन भाती जैसे जाह को निरखि कै नकोड़ा फिर जाती हैं ॥

२ The following are the widely sung ballads relating to this fight.

रामनारायण भूप ते कही सुखसिंह जाय ।
 हाकिम को मिथिलेश ने दिन्हो अहल उठाय ।
 सौर करो निरञ्जन को नाके रचो उठाय ।
 जौनदार मन्दास भवे संग सखाय तराय ।
 वखत सिंह कुल उदरन रोहमस दिखपूर ।
 चौभान भानु भानू सुकुल एक एक ते खर ।
 खाही सभ तैनाथ करि फौजे पाँच हजार ।
 दिगमूल समुख योगिनी मन्दास उतरे पार ।
 सभै पैठि बान्धयो कन्धर जड़ावा, पूछे राख में दूर केते भवाड़ा ॥
 खबरदार ने खबर करि न्य से कछु मुखाय ।
 पाँच हजार सवार लै मन्दास पञ्चै थाय ।
 किछाळ ते कूच करि कर में मन्हा कमल ।
 मन्दास उतरा दिथो हरिना के मैदान ॥
 रामपटौ ते कूच करि पड़ौ अचानक जाय ।
 तब डंका भूपति सुन्यो ताजिम पञ्चै थाय ॥
 जाफर खां के दूजे हाथा राय ।

On the death of Rājā Narendra Simha in 1770, though his widow Rāni Padmāwati retained some sort of influence till 1778, the Rāj in fact devolved upon Pratāpa Simha, the adopted son of Rājā Narendra Simha and eldest son of Eknātha Thākkura, cousin of Rājā Narendra Simha. Rājā Pratāpa Siihha removed his family residence from Bhawarah near Madhubani to Jhañjhārpur about the year 1782.¹

Pratāp Simha died in 1785 and was succeeded by his step-brother and heir Mādhava (alias Mādho) Siihha." He removed his residence to Darbhanga. It was during the time of Madhava Simha that steps for a permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were taken by Lord Cornwallis about the year 1790. Raia Madhava

रंका दै नखशी चके चढ़े खेत पर जाय ।
महाया पेश खेलाय के काऊ देखायो बाढ ।
चढ़ी सवारी पार रैं गंग दुआर के घाट ।
खै फिर मैदान बाढ़ि कौजदार भागि गौ ।
भयो फतेह भूप का हुकन बन्ध बाणि गौ ।
लूटि लूटि लाथो सबनि क्षिपुर् लपेटे बांग ।
लाल सुकवि यहि भांति भौ समर भिखारी भंग ॥

¹ The circumstances under which the transfer took place is described in some old poems:—

दीक्षा :— स्वयं फणिन फणान पर खड्गन पांछि पसारि ।
मौलखि सब पूजत भये खड्गन बान निहारि ॥ १ ॥
पूजत भय मरेख तब सुनु भोति सब लोग ।
खड्गन फणि पर शोभहिं याको कौन संधोग ॥ २ ॥

कविता :— कहत जगे हैं तब मंनि प्रबल लोग सुनियं सिधियेश जो योतिप
नं प्रभाव हैं ॥ १ ॥ सरस हैं भूमि याको जीति न सकन कोउ वास
करिजे के यह बिधि के निषाभि हैं ॥ २ ॥ सुनि के खानन्द डर उसगे
अहाह बडि बोले महराज ने सरस भरे बाणि हैं ॥ ३ ॥ ऊकुम
हमारो यह आखिर अहान करो भौरा को बाढ़ि यहा दरभङ्गा
राजधानी हैं ॥ ४ ॥

दीक्षा :— राजधानी दरभङ्गा भय सकल गुणान खानि ।
भौरा बाढ़ि भूप तब सखत सब के जानि ॥ १ ॥

² Madhava Simha had four wives : by the first he had no issue ; by the second he had two sons, Kisuna Simha who had died without issue in his father's lifetime, and Chattra Simha; by the third he had also two sons, Kirata Simha and Govinda Simha ; and by the fourth only one son named Ramapata Simha.

It appears that the Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi addressed Madhu Simha as a Raja in a Farman and it may be assumed that the title of Raja or Maharaja has become hereditary by prescription-Ghose's Indian chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars etc., Part II, 1881 edition.

Siṃha declined to accept the terms proposed by the collector and the Board on the ground that due allowance was not made for his "malikana" and "dasturant." He claimed either "Malikana" or "dasturant" all over Sirkar Tirhut. Now malikana means allowance to a dispossessed proprietor, i.e. one whose estate has been settled or farmed with some body else, and dasturant means an allowance due to a dispossessed mukarraridar. Rājā Mādhava Siṃha claimed that the Rājship of the whole of Tirhut was conferred upon his ancestors by the Delhi Emperors along with the Sadui, i.e. 2 per cent of the revenue collected by him. Rājā Mādhava Siṃha apparently claimed that though he was not in actual possession of the whole of Tirhut, still there was a time when every part of Tirhut was either his absolute property or his mukarrari and so he was entitled either to malikana or dasturant. The component articles of dasturant as claimed by Rājā Mādhava Siṃha were three rupees upon each village yielding Rs. 100/—and upwards, one anna in every rupee of the revenue and two rupees per cent on the mufassal jamā, all of which were conditional (Bashartea Malguzari and Khair Khah Sirkar on account of revenue and loyalty to Government). The Rājā had besides the Nizamat dasturant a fixed dasturant from all lands not paying rent to Government amounting to Rs. 15,000/—or 16,000/—. The collector did not acknowledge his claim and settled the estates in fairness with others on account of the Rājā's recusancy but eventually in the year 1807 under the orders of the Government of India the settlement of the present Darbhanga Rājā was concluded with Rājā Mādhava Siṃha on an annual rental of Rs. 152,053/—, excluding Rs. 41,282/- on account of his malikana and dasturant.¹

Rājā Mādhava Siṃha died in 1807 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son. Rājā Chattra Siṃha, who rendered good services to Government at the time of the Nepal war in 1814-15 A.D. He was the first to receive

¹ Page 19 of Kerr's Settlement Report of the Darbhanga District (1896-1903), Calcutta, 1904 edition.

For a comprehensive account of settlement with Madhavā Siṃha and his dasturant which showed his right of some sort over whole Tirhut cf. pages 446,480-82 500 etc. of Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol : II by Firminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

the title of Mahārājā from Lord Moiro (Marquess of Hastings)', which has since been granted by Government as a personal distinction to each successive proprietor of the estate and has been conferred on the present Māhārājā Sir Rameśwara Simha as a hereditary title.

In the month of may 1811 while Mahārājā Chattra Simha was the proprietor of the estate, Kirata Simha, his brother (3rd son of Rājā Mādhava Simha) set up a claim and instituted a suit against him in the Patna Provincial Court of Tirhut to recover from him a third part of the ancestral property. On June 22, 1814, the claim of Kirata Simha was dismissed. Then he appealed to the Sadar Dewany Adālat, but before the case was tried, Kirata entered into a compromise with his brother and withdrew the appeal on the ground of invalidity of his claim. Thus ended the first attempt of one of the members of the Rāja family to break the impartible character of this ancient Rāj/

Mahārāja Chattra Simha died on the 3rd of April, 1839, leaving two sons Rudra Simha and Bāśudeva Simha. A few days before his death, the Maharaja in pursuance of the family usage executed a deed of gift by which he assigned the Raj to his eldest son, Rudra Simha, the younger son Baśudeva Simha receiving a few villages for his maintenance and support as Bābu. When Rudra Simha took possession of the Rāj, Bāśudeva Simha claimed a moiety of it alleging that the disposition of the property ought not to be regulated by the *knlāchāra* or family custom, but by the Hindu Law. He accordingly

¹ Marquess of Hastings writes. " After a durbar which I held at Calcutta, a rajah said to the public secretary. * This man knows what to say to us. You ought always to have a great sirdar at the head of the Government,—was of the weaver caste, and he could, not flatter us with any thing he said ! I this day (the 13th August, 1814) bestowed Khilauts on the Maharajah Mitra Jeet Singh and the Maharajah of Tirhut. The latter is of the older family, but I gave a precedence to the other on account of his personal character. I desired him to understand that my investing him with the dress of honour was not merely for his attachment to the British Government, but proceeded from my knowledge that he had made all the ryots under him comfortable and happy, a tenor of conduct which I wish to distinguish by that public applause. After the durwar, a dwarf was produced. He was seventeen years of age; about the ordinary height of a child five years old, but of lighter make. His head was small, and his countenance good. There was nothing of that want of proportion which usually characterises dwarfs—The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings. 1907 edition. Maharaja Mitra Jeet Singh aforesaid was the Maharaja of Tikari in Magadh. Maharaja Maheshwara Simha is also said to have been addressed as Maharaja of Tirhut at the time of the conferment of his Khilat in 1891.

² Moore's Indian Appeal, Vol. VI, page 168.

brought a suit in the Court of the sessions Judge of Patna against Maharaja Rudra Sirhha on 22nd September, 1840, in which the estimated value of the property in suit both real and personal was stated to be Rs. 24, 46, 658-1-13-21 (company's rupees). In 1839 GaṇeSa datta Sirhha, son of Govinda Siṁha, fourth son of Rājā Mādhava Siṁha and brother of Mahārāja Chattra Siṁha, had also instituted a suit against his uncle Kirata Siṁha and cousins, Mahārāja Rudra Siṁha and Bāśudeva Siṁha. In the former the Sessions Judge held that Rudra Siṁha was entitled to the Raj and that Basudeva Siṁha was only entitled to maintenance on the ground that the succession to the family property is regulated by the family custom; that the eldest son succeeds to the Rāj, the younger sons obtaining sufficient landed property for their maintenance; and that the Rāj pays the Government revenue direct for them and they re-imburse it, the lands being assigned on condition that failing male issue, they revert to the Rāj. The latter was also decided by the same Judge and dismissed on the same grounds. There was an appeal in both suits, first to the Sadar Court and then to the Privy Council; but the decision of the Lower Court was upheld in both the Courts. Their Lordships of the Privy Council held that in conformity with the long established usage of the family the title and estate had uniformly devolved entire for many generations and hence it was impartible. This decision which has settled once for all that the estate is impartible and that inheritance to it is regulated by primogeniture, has been instrumental in preserving the estate in its integrity and in making its proprietor the greatest land owner in Bihar.¹

Maharaja Rudra Siṁha died in 1850 and was succeeded by his eldest son Maharaja Maheswara Sittiha who held the estate till 1860.

Mahārāja Maheswara Siṁha died in October, 1860, leaving two infant sons, the eldest being LakṣmeSwara Siṁha. Mahārāja LakṣmiSwara Siṁha was born on the 25th September, 1858, and was the 17th in descent from Mahesa Thakkura, the progenitor of this ancient Rājā family. The Mahārāja himself and his extensive

Cf. O' Malley's District Gazetteer of Darbhanga 1907 edition, pages 144-145.

estates were at once placed under the charge of the Court of Ward which, during nearly 19 years, directed the education of the young chief, and most satisfactorily managed his extensive estate. Mahārāja Lakṣmīswara Śimha was first sent to the Ward's Institute at Benares and placed under the tutition of Mr. Chester Macnaghten, but he was eventually brought back to Darbhanga where he was under the tutorship of Mr. Alexander. The valuable results of the system of education followed with regard to the young Maharaja Lakṣmīswara Śimha, are strongly testified to by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Steuart Bayley, who, as the head of the Court of Wards in Behar had ample opportunities of forming an opinion, which, in the course of his address at the Maharaja's installation Darbar at Bankipore in 1830, he expressed in most encouraging terms..'

The immediate effect of the litigation referred to above, combined with mismanagement, was to involve the estate in serious difficulties; so that when Mahārāja Maheswara Sirīha died in 1860 and the Court of Wards took charge of it for his minor son, it was 70 lakhs, in debt and the revenue was only 19 lakhs. Under the management of the court of Wards, the finauces of the estate recovered, and 20 years later, when it was made over to the late Maharaja Lakṣmeswara Śimha it was in a flourishing condition.²

Maharaja Laksmiswara Simha occupied the foremost place in the public life of Bengal and Bihar and was several times elected as a Member to the Imperial Council. He served as a Member of the Royal Opium Commission and was successively made a K.C.I.E.. G.C.LE. He was a President of the British India Association of Calcutta. He was the founder-President of the Bihar Landholders' Association and is still remembered for his manifold acts

¹The occasion of my asking you to meet me here to-day is one which has a special interest for me. I have, for many years, had the pleasure of knowing the young Maharaja of Darbhanga, and, at one time there was not a day in which his affairs did not occupy some portion of my time and of my thoughts. I have watched his education from boyhood, and his development into a man, whose abilities, manners, accomplishments and personal character eminently fit him for the high position he has to fill—and to whose future I may look forward as well calculated to reflect credit on the Court of Wards and on those gentlemen to whom his education has been entrusted." Part II of Ghose's *Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars Etc.*, 1881 edition.

²Pages 144-45 of O'Malley's *District Gazatteer of Darbhanga*, 1907 edition.

of munificence. He died in the year 1898 and was succeeded by his brother the present Mahārāja Sir Rāmeśwara Siṃha.

The present Mahārājā has had a liberal education and a chequered career. He became a member of the Statutory Civil Service at an early age.

He was for some time Assistant Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga and Saran and Joint Magistrate at Bhagalpur and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He was decorated with the title Raja Bahadur before he succeeded to the Darbhanga Raj. He takes keen interest in matters of public utility and was elected several times as a member of the Imperial Council by the non official members of the Bengal Council and twice as a President of the British Indian Association. He is also President of several Associations, Sabhas and Societies including the "all India Landholders' Association" and is the hereditary head of the entire Maithila Community in North Bihar. All intricate and disputed questions appertaining to the social and religious life of the Maithila Community go to him for decision and ruling which are final, and the power of excommunication from the community rests with him. This leadership in the case of the Maharajas of Darbhanga is recognised for the last 300 years. He is the life President of the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala, the All-India Religious Association of Hindus with which the leading Hindu Ruling Chiefs are also concerned. His relation with the leaders of the Muhammadan and other communities in India is such as to show that he enjoys the confidence and esteem of not only the Hindus by whom he is held in high respect throughout India but also of the Muhammadans and others. He worked as a member of the Police Commission in 1905 and distinguished himself by his zeal for the Hindu University by his extensive tours to collect donations from Indian Princes and others and by his own donation of rupees five lacs. He has worked for a full term of 5 years as a Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council and has won the esteem of all concerned official and non official. He has been decorated with K.C.I.E., K.B.E., by Government surely in recognition of his services. He was honoured with the hereditary title of

"Maharajadhiraj," and while conferring the title, Sir Edward Gait at his Patna Durbar in December, 1920, stated that the Maharaja was descended from ancestors possessed of absolute powers.

It may not be out of place to discuss the nature of the grant made by Emperor Akbar to Mahesa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. The question has been often asked whether Mahesa Thakkura was appointed merely a revenue Collector of Tirhut on a certain commission or whether he was granted entire control over the internal administration of Tirhut, subject, of course, to the payment of the Imperial revenue to the Emperor. I have already mentioned the traditional saying "as gang ta sang, as kosh ta ghosh" which means that Mahesa Thakkura got the grant of the whole country comprised within the boundaries from the Ganges on the South to the mountain on the North and from the Kosi on the East to the Gandak on the West. But it is quite possible when Sircar Tirhut was given to Mahesa Thakkura, other zamindars existed with a few villages given by grant either by the Pathan Emperors of Delhi or by their representatives in the province. There is little doubt that Mahesa Thakkura had the bulk of the Sircar Tirhut. There is a tradition that villages were settled with other proprietors or "Raj Vassals" under the permanent settlement in the district of Muzaffarpur and even Champaran, that formerly belonged to the Darbhanga Raj. Some grants of lands in these villages made by the Rajas of Darbhanga are still to be found to show that these villages belonged formerly to the Darbhanga Raj. I have heard this from several sources and have also seen some papers which corroborate this statement.

It is a pity that in spite of my best efforts I have not been able to see any sanad granted previously to Rājā Narendra Simha's time, and it is difficult to guess at the nature of the power exercised by the Rājā of Darbhanga from Mahesa Thakkura down to Raghava Sirhha. Regarding absence of records it is said that when the Raj was taken away by the Collector of Tirhut from Raja Madhava Simha and he had to run away, a number of old family documents were lost and also many valuable records were lost during the Court of Wards regime as

these records along with some ancient jewellery were taken away by some dismissed old servants.

There seems little doubt that MaheSa Thakkura took the place in Tirhut formerly occupied by Kameswara Thakkur family¹ and therefore the grant made by Akbar to MaheSa Thakkura must have been of the same nature as the grant of Tirhut made by Firoz Shah Toghlak in the beginning of the 14th century to KameSwara Thakkura, especially as the grant to MaheSa Thakkura was made not long after the dissolution of the KameSwara dynasty in Mithila. It was natural that a Brahmana should succeed a Brāhmaṇa, especially as the population then consisted mainly of Maithila Brāhmaṇas.

The Ain-i-Akhbari which was written by Abul Fazal during the life time of Emperor Akbar and which describes the state of things in India about the year 1690 does not mention the grant to MaheSa Thakkura, and the first historical mention of the Darbhanga Rāj is to be found either in Sair-ul-mutakharim or in the Riazul-salatin" both of which belong to the 18th century. These are urged as arguments against the assumption that the owners of the Darbhanga Rāj had absolute powers for the management of Tirhut vested in them. It is often said that they were mere revenue collectors or Jagirdars to start with, and that there was no semblance of Rajaship. But it may be argued with some force that if there is no mention of the Daibhanga Raj either in Akbar-Nama or Ain-i-Akbari or Jahangir-Nama etc. there is nothing on the other hand exactly to show how Tirhut was managed after the disruption of the KameSwara dynasty. We hear of Govenors of Tirhut, but we are not told if these Governors governed Tirhut without any intermediary Raja. It is also known that about the year 1661, i.e., about 54 years after Akbar's death, there was a special Fauzdar (military governor) of Darbhanga (Mirza Khan) who assisted Daud Khan, the Governor of Patna in invading Palamau.* But even this does not illuminate mat-

¹ Cf Account of the Kameswara dynasty in Mithila in part, I I I of this work.

² The Ain-i-Akbari gives an account of all the literary men of Akbar's time. It mentions some Bengali of literary fame but there is no mention of MaheSa Thakkura.

³ Page 39 of Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, Vol: I I I (M. C Sarkar and Son's edition).

ters much, for it leaves us to wonder who really exercised magisterial functions etc. about that time. The cumulative effect of all these considerations is that MaheSa Thakkura took the place of Kāmeśwara Thakkura after the dissolution of the latter's family about the year 1525. The quotation I have made previously from Riyazu-salatin would fully justify the inference that the Rājās of MaheSa Thakkura's family often proved recalcitrant in payment of revenue to the Imperial officers and they could do so with impunity. They did not even acknowledge their allegiance to the Government. This points to their knowledge of the absolute power vested in them, and shows that they were bound to the crown only so far as they had to pay the Imperial revenue and that they looked after all the internal affairs themselves. The conditions of administration laid down by Ali Vardi Khan for Raja Raghava Simha, already mentioned, such as doing justice, relieving distress, putting the country in a flourishing state and keeping it so mean unmistakably the ruling power and this is a strong evidence of the powers enjoyed by them. The previous pages record some of the important fights in which they took part. It would appear, however, that it was only at the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and his successor that the Nawabs of Murshidabad on whom Imperial authority had devolved owing to anarchy prevailing at that time that they tried their best to strip the Raja of Tirhut of their powers and privileges.

Unfortunately the copies of the Rubakārs relating to Darbhanga Rāj ' at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlements are not available or accessible, nor are several decisions of the Provincial courts at Patna bearing on the Darbhanga Rāj to be had.' But one fact is very conspicuous and it is that Maharājā of Darbhanga is the only Maharaja in Bihar who was called the Maharaja of a sircar (i.e. a district) i.e. of Tirhut³ excepting

¹ Papers mentioned in Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol. V I I , page 273 would be very valuable if found. I have not been able to find them.

² Cf. Moore's Indian Appeals, Vol: VI, pages 164, 168, and 18 .

³ The name Rājā of Tirhut has been applied to the Rājās of Darbhanga from the early periods. Reference may be had to page 479 of the Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol: II by Firminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

Also Cf. Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol: VII where the word Raja of Tirhut appears: also Cf. Moore's Indian appeals, Vol VI, p. 188. Reference may

perhaps the Rājā or Mahārājas of Bhojpur and Champaran.¹

The contention that the whole of Sarkar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura is borne out by the fact that the parganā of Dharampur so far as in the Purnea district, but included in the ancient boundaries of Tirhut has almost, from the beginning, been in the possession of the Darbhanga Raj, though I have not been able to trace the exact date when it came into the possession of the Raj.²

As far back as 1785, their Lordships of the Privy Council have called the Darbhanga Rāj a Principality and quite separate from the minor grants attached to it. They have also defined the Principality³ as a sovereignty or a subordinate sovereignty^{3^} which in its very nature excludes the idea of division in the sense in which that term is used.⁴ They also held that the Darbhanga Raj was an ancient Rāj with its own vassals or tenants and that its proprietors were rulers and that the whole of Sircar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura to whom all the Zamindars in Tirhut were responsible, but who was alone responsible to the Imperial Government.⁵ Further it appears that the Rājā of Darbhanga used to collect revenue from the then existing Zamindars who were under them and pay tribute direct to the Imperial Government on that account and further they gave lands as free-gifts to the priests relations, and others, some of which still exist as such. There is ample evidence of the above. Besides these two kinds of lands there were also some lands in their khās possession, of which they used to collect the charges direct from ryots. At the time of settlement only lands in their khās possession were settled with them and claims for the rest disallowed. All this confirms the idea that Maheśa Thakkura got his sanad as a ruling Chief from the Emperor Akbar,⁶ and the power of

also be had top. 26, Purneah Settlement Report (1908) by Byrne. A resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 1779, has been quoted, in which reference has been made to the Zamindar of Tirhut."

¹ Cf. appendix which gives an account of the Bettiah Raj.

² Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 178.

³ Do. Do. pages 188-192.

⁴ Do. Do. page 187.

⁵ Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 188.

⁶ It is now recognised, however, on all hands that the Maharaja of Darbhanga

a Chief was enjoyed for a long line by his successors in the Raj.

In fact, it will be clear from the foregoing that there was a time when the Rājās of Darbhanga were in possession of the whole of Sircar Tirhut (now divided into the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), either as farmers, Mokarraridars or as proprietors and that to start with, MaheS Thakur got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut.¹ In any case it is admitted on all hands that, at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlement about the year 1790 A.D., the whole of Sircar Tirhut was in some way or other in actual possession of Rājā Madhu or Madhava Simha of Darbhanga, though it is said that he was only a farmer in respect of the major portion of Sircar Tirhut.² But it is admitted that he was the Sadar Malguzar or Zamindar,³ i.e. he used to pay revenue for the whole of Sircar Tirhut to Government. It is also said that the Rājās of Tirhut, i.e. of Darbhanga, used to oblige their favourites and relatives by grants of land. But it is clear from correspondence about Rājā Madhu or Madhava Simha of Tirhut,⁴ i.e. Darbhanga, that while he asserted that he was the overlord of proprietors of the whole of Sircar Tirhut, the local revenue authorities of the time

is the head of the Srotriya sect of Maithila Brāhmanas in Tirhut. Ghose's Indian Chief, Rājās, Zarnindars etc. Part III mentions that (i) the title of Rāja was the hereditary title for this family (2) the whole of Tirhut was under the Raj for a certain jāma.

¹ This may seem to be in conflict with para. 2 of Mr. Kerr's Pinal Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District (1896-1903) where it is stated that Mahes Thakkur got the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. Traditions and every thing point to the fact that he got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and not only of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. It may be noted that in the same paragraph it is stated that Mahes Thakkur who is said to have come from Jabbalpur took service as a priest with the descendants of Raja Siva Simha who still exercised a nominal supremacy over Tirhut but as they collapsed before the advancing Muhammadan power, Mahes Thakur managed to get Akbar to confer upon him the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. The statement above, if correct, points to the fact that Mahes Thakkur was set in authority over the whole area (i.e. Sircar Tirhut) formerly in possession of Siva Simha (i.e. the Kameswar dynasty). Local traditions, however, in Tirhut call Mahesa Thakkur a priest of the Raja of Bastar and not of the Rajas of Tirhut, i.e. Kameswar family.

² Cf. pages 39-49 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Muzaffarpur (1892-1899) by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

³ Those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages or parganas were called Zimmadars or Zarnindars or Malguzars.

⁴ Cf. " Sahihu-i-Akbar " by Sarupchand, pp. 314-15, by Elliot Vol. VIII, London edition, 1877.

⁴ It is remarkable that in the revenue proceedings regarding the Decennial and Permanent Settlements, Madhu Simha has been referred to as a Raja of Tirhut.

appear to have lent themselves to the other extreme and denied that he was proprietor of any land at all in the whole of Sircar Tirhut. Raja Madhu Simha accepted settlement after his infructuous efforts extending over twenty years for recognition as proprietor of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and this very fact shows inherent belief or conviction regarding his rights over Sircar Tirhut though the whole of Sircar was not settled with Raja Madhu or Madhava Simha at the time of the Permanent Settlement, yet allowance for Malikanā or Dasturant made in his favour under the orders of the Government of India would go to show that the Government recognised that Marlu Simha had some plausible claim over the whole of the Sircar Tirhut. It is difficult now to ascertain without a close examination of all the proceedings of the then Collectors Messrs. Grand and Bathurst who conducted the negotiations for the Decennial Settlement, how it came to be held that he was only a farmer in respect of a major portion of Sircar Tirhut.

It will follow from the above that so far as Sircar Tirhut is concerned, the possessions of the Darbhanga Raj have decreased,¹ and not increased, in this Sircar.

It is often asked why Akbar made grant of Sircar Tirhut to Maheś Thakkur. But the reason is not difficult to understand. Akbar was a great lover of learning. There is nothing improbable in the tradition that Akbar presented Maheś Thakkur with Sircar Tirhut in token of his admiration for Maheś Thakkur's vast learning displayed at his Court. It is also known that one Maheś Thakkur wrote a Sanskrit history of a part of Akbar's reign.² It is probable that this writer of Sanskrit history of Akbar was the recipient of Sircar Tirhut at Akbar's hand. It should also be remembered that Maheś Thakkur came

¹ Cf. Appendix VI. Chap. XVI. p. L. of the Survey Settlement Report, Purneah. 1908, where it is stated about Pargana Haveli in the Purnea district:—"The huge property, covering an area of 2,000 sq. miles, was settled with Rāni Indrabati, daughter of Rājā Mādhō Singh of Darbhanga and wife of Rājā Indranarayana. It was given as her dowry on her marriage to Raja Indranarayana who died childless." The above shows that the former extent of the Darbhanga Raj was very vast.

² Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul," Oxford edit. 1917, page 486. It is said that the Sanskrit history, preserved in the India Office, London, appears to have been written by one Maheś Thakkura about the year 1650 A.D., but it is probable that the manuscript preserved in India office is only a copy of the original written during the lifetime of Akbar.

into prominence and received grant of Sircar Tirhut soon after the dismemberment of the Kāmeśwar dynasty of Brahmins in Tirhut about the year 1530 A.D.¹ and there is nothing improbable in the tradition that the authority vested in the learned Brāhmaṇa Maheśa Thakkur was of the same nature at that enjoyed by his predecessors of the Kameśwar dynasty.

Akbar's reputation as a liberal minded patron coupled with the fact that the Governor of Bihar, Hajipur and Bengal in those days was Raja Man Singh² of Jaipur, adds colour to the tradition that Maheś Thakkura was set in full authority in Tirhut with the help of Raja Mana Singha.

I have also heard it asserted that the Maharaja possesses a Farman from a Mugal Emperor by which his ancestor Raja Pratap Singh was honoured with the title of "Istekbal" which is interpreted to mean "possessed of absolute powers."⁰ Without seeing the Farman and examining the context one cannot say how far this interpretation can stand.

It may also be mentioned that there are two unpublished books to be found in the Darbhanga district viz. one by Gopal Jha and the other by one Sonā Kavi. In both these books (date uncertain) several accounts (some of these of a miraculous kind) have been given of Mahesha Thakur and his family and it has been asserted that he got independent powers from Emperor Akbar. But though the dates of these works are not beyond doubt they serve at least as traditions of the origin of the Darbhanga Raj.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society³ has discovered a judgment of a Mithila Hindu Court in Sanskrita dated Saka 1716 (A.D. 1794) i.e. it was written during the time of Raja Madhav Simha of Darbhanga. This judgment decides possession of two rival Brahman families in Mithila or Tirhut over a slave girl and is of unique importance as it contains all the elements of a judgment

¹ Cf. An account of the Kameswar dynasty.

² Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul" Oxford edition, 1917, page 241.

³ Cf. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's note in Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol: VI., Part II, June 1920; also 24 C. W. N. CXLIX.

required by the Hindu Sastras.¹ It has recently been inferred from the judgment that Raja Madhav Singh and his predecessors were possessed of absolute powers in in Tirhut. This inference in itself may not be very convincing but considered in light of all other facts relating to the Darbhanga Raj, it lends firm support to the belief regarding the absolute power once vested in this family.²

¹ Cf. Professor Jolly's note. 25 C W. N. Page CXLII

² For a detailed account of the stories prevalent regarding this family, see "Khandabala Kulavinoda," Darbhanga Raj Press, 1329 Fasli. It purports to publish a manuscript by one Gopal Jhaw said to have been a contemporary of Rāja Narendra Simha.

APPENDIX F.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES FOR INDIGO AND SUGAR MANUFACTURE IN THE TIRHUT DIVISION.

Indigo was a product of North Bihar long before the advent of the British,¹ but its cultivation on European

¹ There is abundant evidence in support of the belief that when Europeans first began to purchase and export the dye from India, it was procured from the Western presidency and shipped for the most part from Surat. It was carried by the Portuguese to Lisbon and sold by them to the dyers of Holland. It was the desire to secure a more certain supply of dye-stuff that led to the formation, in 1631, of the Dutch East India Company, and shortly after to the overthrow of the Portuguese supremacy in the East. The success of the Dutch merchants aroused the jealousy of Europe. The woad growers and merchants of Germany, France and England were threatened with ruin, and to protect them nearly every country passed edicts rendering the importation or use of indigo a criminal offence punishable by death.

In 1608 England learnt the art of indigo-dyeing, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth its use was permitted along with woad. Curiously enough this mixing of woad with indigo survives to the present day, and to meet this demand a small amount of the woad is grown here and there over Europe, and even in England. The opposition to indigo was, however, so strong that it was again, on the pretext of being poisonous, prohibited, and in 1660, Charles II, had to procure dyers from Belgium to once more teach the English the art of using the dye. The effect of the persistent export of the dye from India, conducted by the East India Company, had the effect of stimulating the Spanish, French, Portuguese and English colonists to make strenuous efforts to produce the dye in many countries outside India. And so successful were they that for a time they ruined the ancient Indian traffic. But McIlherson (*Hist. Europ. Comra. Ind.* 1812, 203) speaks of the East India Company having voluntarily given up the importation of indigo into England "in order to avoid a competition with the British Colonists in the West Indies and the southern provinces of North America. About the year 1747 most of the planters in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica, gave up the cultivation of indigo in consequence of the high duty imposed upon it; " "The planters of Carolina and Georgia were never able to bring their indigo to a quality equal to that of Guatemala or St. Domingo." But political difficulties occurred with America and France, and at the same time sugar and coffee had proved even more profitable in the West Indies than indigo. The impetus was thus given for a re-establishment of the Indian traffic and, as one of the many surprises of the industry, the province of Bengal was selected for this revival. It had no sooner been organized, however, than troubles next arose in Bengal itself through misunderstandings between the planters, their cultivators, and the Government, which may be said to have culminated in Lord Macaulay's famous Memorandum of 1837. This led to another migration of the industry from Lower and Eastern Bengal to Tirhut and the United Provinces. Here the troubles of the industry did not end, for, just as indigo had ruined "the Waid Herrn," so the researches of the chemical laboratories of Germany threatened the very existence of any natural vegetable dye. They first killed the madder dye of Europe, then the safflower, the lac and the dyes of India, and are now advancing rapidly with synthetic indigo, intent on the complete annihilation of the natural dye. Opinions differ on many aspects of the present vicissitude; meantime the exports from India have seriously declined, and salvation admittedly lies in the path of cheaper production both in cultivation and manufacture. These issues are being vigorously faced and some progress has been accomplished, but the future of the industry can scarcely

methods appears to have been started by Mr. F. Grand, the Collector, in 1782.' It is at least from that time that it begins to develop into an industry, and since then has very much increased in extent and importance.

In a report dated 4th February, 1788, the Collector gave a list of 12 Europeans, not in the Honorable Company's service, residing within the limits of the Collectorship of Tirhut, 10 of whom were said to have been in possession of indigo works.² The names of 6 of them were James Gentil, G. W. S. Schuman, James Gellan, manager of Peter de Rozario, a native Portuguese, John Miller, and Francis Rose. The last named forcibly set himself down in the midst of Raja Raj. Ballab's jagir in Tirhut and started indigo. In 1793, the Collector submitted a list of the indigo factories then in the district. Their number had increased to nine, and the records show that Mr. Neave, Judge of Tirhut, had to pay special attention to keeping them in order." They were as follows:—

help being described as of great uncertainty. The issue is not the advantage of new regulations of land tenure, but one exclusively of natural versus synthetic indigo—Pages 668-69 of "The Commercial Products of India," by Sir George Watt, 1908 edition.

Only three years after his appointment as Collector of Tirhut, Mr. Grand wrote in 1785 :—

"I introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, and erected three at my own expense."—(Cf. page 96 of the Muzaffarpur Gazetteer, Calcutta edition, 1907, by I., S. S. O. Malley.

For an account of indigo during the East India Company regime cf. pages 208-212 of Vol. I and pages 398-404 of Vol. II of the *Good Old Days* of Hon'ble John Company -by W. H. Curey, Calcutta, 1906 edition.

It appears that the first English Factory founded in this part of the country between 1650-1700 A.D. was at Siugia or Lalganj near Hajipur. It was a Saltpetre Factory. The Factory was established there though Singia was unhealthy, because it was close to Saltpetre and removed from the interference of the Nawab and his deputies at Patna, and still not far from Patna. The chief of the Bihar establishment lived at Singia—Cf pp. 53—4, Vol. I of the "Early Annals of the English in Bihar," by Wilson, 1895.

Also pp. 92, 122, 183, 290, 308, 320 and 368 of do. do.
Vol. III, 1917.

J Paras. 867 to 875 of Mr. Stevenson-Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899).

2 On the 24th December, 1792, the Collector received stringent orders to allow no European to hold lands, until he had first obtained the leave of the Governor General in Council; and in subsequent records we accordingly find numerous applications for this permission. No doubt, this rule was part of the Company's monopolizing policy; but it may be partly due to the new-comers having established their factories within the lands of the old ones, as in 1801 some planters petitioned Government to lay down rules which should prevent one factory from encroaching within another's *dehat*, as constant quarrels and litigations were taking place on account of this practice (page 99 of "A Statistical Account of Bengal" by W. W. Hunter, Vol. XIII, Trubner & Co., London, 1877 edition.

s All British subjects had to reside within 10 miles of some British settlement

No. of Works.	Name,	Name of the Proprietors.
I	Daudpur	William Orby. Hunter.
I	Saraya	
I	Dholi	
I	Athar	James Gentil.
I	Shahpur	Richardson Purves.
I	Kanti	Alexander Namell.
I	Motipur	
I	Deoria	Finch.
I	Banara	Lewis Kick, etc., G. M. L. S. Schuman.
9 works.		

In those times non-official Europeans were still under surveillance, and in the year 1799, a statement was furnished of the quantity of land held by them, for what purpose, from what period, and on what authority. It appears that the area under indigo in 1794 was only 767 bighas 14 kathas, or 670 acres, for the whole of Tirhut. Now there is no less than 33,988 acres indigo, or 5.26 per cent of the cultivated area in the district of Muzaffarpur alone. In 1804, the Collector submitted another statement of the lands held by Europeans in the district of Tirhut in the year 1803. He reported that there were 25 indigo concerns including the concerns of Daudpur, Saraya, Dholi, Athar, Shahpur, Kanti, Motipur, Deoria, Bhowarah, Muhammadpur, Belsar, Piparaghat, Dalsinghsarai, Jitwarpur, Tiwara, Kamtaul, Chitwara, Pupri and Shahpurundi, but the area under indigo was only 586 bighas, or 512 acres. Many concerns must no doubt have been just

unless they held a special license from the Governor-General or the East India Company and no one could reside beyond the time specified in the license. No British subject in those days could acquire land without permission. Accordingly in 1793, Judge Neave ordered a Frenchman named Double (Donbal) or Dombal? and one Thomas Parke who had settled at Saraiya and Singia respectively without such license, to quit Tirhut. He cautioned Mr. James Arnold of Dholi (who had beaten a brahmana) against all ill-usage of the natives." The same judge had to ask Mr. James Gentil, Indigo Planter of Ottar, to appear by vakeel and not to address him personally on any subject when he was a party concerned, as his opponent might justly complain that the Judge had received extra-judicial information when he had no opportunity of doing the same (pp. V. and VI "History of Bihar Indigo Factories" by Minden Wilson, Calcutta, 1908).

starting, and from that time onward the increase of indigo cultivation grows very rapid.

In October, 1810, the Collector, with reference to a project for giving planters credit at the public treasury, wrote a letter full of interest because it emphasises the advantages of the industry to the labouring classes who were even at that time presumably numerous and impoverished enough to attract official attention. He wrote :—

"I am the more readily induced to suggest a remittance through the indigo-planters from an idea that Government may at some future day if not immediately (as indigo is sometimes purchased on account of the Company), wish to encourage Europeans in every species of commerce and to facilitate their means of circulating ready cash among the industrious and labouring poor of their vicinity, for the people that the indigo-planters employ are mostly men of this description, that is, cultivators and labourers for daily and monthly hire. I understand that not less, at a rough estimate, than from 30 to 50 thousand souls receive their principal support from indigo factories of this district.

"That the Board may be able to form some idea of the benefit that the district derives from the number of indigo speculators, they have to observe that, let the speculator win or lose, acquire a princely fortune or die a pauper, the district is equally benefitted by his industry, and his struggles for prosperity do rarely succeed. Some of the planters, but I fear the majority of them, fail: however, whether the balance of their accounts are for or against them, the labouring poor and industrious cultivators of their neighbourhood ever reaped advantage from their enterprising and persevering ardour in this which (to gentlemen not in the service or who have no particular profession or employment) seems to be a most enticing and fascinating pursuit.

"I further beg leave to mention that there are about 25 factories dispersed about the district; that each factory is supposed to employ about 3, 4 or 50,000 persons—men, women and children in—the various and progressive branches of their business, as preparing the land, ploughing, sowing, weeding, collecting the seed for the ensuing year, bringing the plants to the vats, and the different

processes in the manufacturing of the drug till embarked for the Calcutta market, where it pays a duty and is finally packed up for Europe, and I understand that one year with another, there is seldom less than 10,000 maunds of indigo sent to Calcutta from this district.

"Permit me still further to mention that each factory on an average is said to disburse about from 25 to 30,000 rupees per annum in hard cash to labourers, raiyats and cultivators for some miles round their factories. This estimate shows that a sum possibly not less than 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees is annually circulated in zila Tirhut by a few enterprising European Indigo-planters and that too to people who are most in want of such constant and certain aid—cultivators, day-labourers, and their families,"

But in 1828 the pendulum had swung back, and the Collector suggested some restriction of the industry as desirable. He wrote:—

"Indigo cultivation has been increased so greatly in this district that I am of opinion, for the benefit of the district, some restrictions should be put upon it. From the misunderstanding which has prevailed and still prevails amongst the European planters, disputes with one another are of very frequent occurrence: disputes have, however, of late occurred through descendants of Europeans embarking in indigo cultivation, chiefly, if not entirely, on native agency. For the peace of the district and welfare of the established planters it therefore appears highly desirable that the Government restrictions regarding the erection of factories by Europeans should be extended to the descendants of Europeans, and power be vested in the Magistrate to prevent engagements for the cultivation of indigo plant by other than the proprietor or proprietors of one established factory."

The Revenue Survey found in 1850, 86 factories in the district of Tirhut (now districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga). Several of them, which were then used for the manufacture of sugar, were subsequently converted into indigo concerns. Thus Aurai, then a sugar factory, and Deoria, partly an indigo and partly a sugar factory now manufacture indigo exclusively. In fact, it was at this time that sugar was finally superseded by indigo as the European industry of the district.

It may be mentioned here that on the European indigo planters mainly fell the duty of keeping peace and order during troublous times of the Sepoy Mutiny (the time of the Sepoy Mutiny, 1856-58). It may be justly asserted that it was by the influence and the vigilance of the European planters, which preserved the effects of the mutiny being felt in Tirhut.

It may be stated that the concerns of Dalsinghsarai, Tewara, Jitwarpur (now in Darbhanga District which then formed part of Tirhut District) which were all founded before the close of the 18th century, were all at the time of Revenue Survey in a flourishing condition. In 1874 the largest concern in Tirhut was Pandaul which with its out-works comprised an area of 300 square miles.

The cultivation of indigo on European methods, which was started in Muzaffarpur by Mr. F. Grand, the Collector in 1782, does not appear to have been introduced into Champaran until thirty years later, when in 1813 after the close of the Nepal War, Colonel Hickley founded a factory at Bara. Soon after, the Rajpur and Turkaulia concerns were started by Messrs. Moran and Hill respectively, and later on, in 1845, Captain Taylor built Siraha. In those days, however, the main industry of the European planter was sugar and not indigo. The Collector in 1816, writing of the indigenous products of his districts, omits even the mention of indigo, but a successor, writing in 1830, speaks of the authorities being "able to avail themselves of the assistance of the indigo planters spread over a large extent of country," Sugar, however, continued to be a flourishing industry, until about 1850, and the Revenue Survey of 1847 makes frequent mention of steam sugar factories scattered through several parganas of the district. There was one at Mirpur, now an out-work of the Motihari indigo concern. A few years later, however, sugar appears to have been entirely replaced by indigo.

In Champaran, a backward district mainly split up into a few extensive zamindaries, the thikadari or farming system largely prevailed from the earliest times, and this naturally was the tenure under which the European planters first acquired their interests in land.

The advance of the industry was seriously threatened

in 1867-68, when there was a strong demonstration against the cultivation of indigo, accompanied in some instances by acts of violence.¹ The causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the ryots were several. They objected to the unusual trouble and hard labour required for the successful production of the indigo plant, and felt that the rates being paid for its cultivation did not give adequate remuneration for the labour expended. There was a widespread knowledge that enormous profits were made from indigo, and they had a natural desire to obtain a larger share of them, while the high prices of food had raised the profits obtained from the cultivation of food-grains, and therefore made indigo still more unpopular than before. Further, they resented the harassment of the factory servants, who, besides committing various acts of oppression, were alleged to be in the habit of taking a large percentage of the payments made to the ryots as their own perquisites under the general name of *dasturi*. Added to all this, there was an absence, on the part of the managers of factories, of that sympathy with the ryots which used formerly to be displayed by the old proprietor planters, who paid more attention to the well-being of their tenantry.

The opposition of the ryots showed itself in a general refusal to sow indigo, and in some cases in the forcible appropriation to other crops of the lands already prepared for the cultivation of indigo. The first instance of such proceedings occurred in a village called Jeukatia, the ryots of which, in defiance of the contract into which they had entered with the Lalsaraiya factory, sowed their lands with cold weather crops; and this example was rapidly followed by other villagers. As the interests of the planters at stake were very considerable, and it was necessary that they should receive prompt and final decisions on their complaints, Government, at their request, established a Small Cause Court at Motihari, with jurisdiction over the entire district of Champaran, for the trial of all cases of breach of contract between them and the ryots. This court was composed of two judges, the one a Covenanted Civil Servant and the other a native gentle-

¹ O'Malley's Gazetteer of the Champaran District, 1907 edition, page 108.

man; and these two officers were directed to sit together for the trial of all suits connected with the indigo question. The result of this measure was entirely satisfactory. But few suits were instituted, the mere knowledge that such a court was at hand to enforce promptly the payment of damages for breach of contracts being apparently sufficient to deter the ryots from wantonly breaking them. At the same time, the demands of the ryots were met by concessions from the planters, whose bearing was most moderate and temperate throughout this trying period. Within nine weeks of the establishment of the court, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to put an end to its special constitution, leaving the native judge only to preside over it. Before it was too late to retrieve the prospects of the indigo season, all open opposition to the cultivation had ceased.

The disputes between the ryots and planters had at one time threatened to become very serious. The local officers almost unanimously reported that the cultivation of indigo had become very unpopular, and that there was not a ryot who would not abandon the cultivation if he could; and this state of things was ascribed as much to the insufficiency of the remuneration which the ryots received, as to the exactions, oppression, and annoyance to which they were exposed at the hands of the factory servants. Government was satisfied that time had passed when planters could hope to carry on an indigo concern profitably by forcing on the ryots a cultivation and labour which were to them unprofitable; and it was clear that in the altered circumstances of the time they must be prepared either to close their factories or to give to the ryots, in some shape or other, a remuneration which should make it worth their while to grow indigo. This necessity was recognised by the general body of planters, and they yielded to the pressure, raising the rate of remuneration from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 12 per bigha.

It was believed that this movement among the ryots was instigated by certain persons who had their own interest to serve; and this belief appeared to be borne out by the fact that the open opposition to the planters was mainly confined to the estates of the Maharaja of Bettiah. The management of the Bettiah estate by an

English gentleman was said to have given rise to much dissatisfaction among the influential natives of the Raja's household, whose opportunities of enriching themselves at the expense of the Raja had been restricted thereby; and the combination among the ryots was said to have been got up by them, mainly with the object of involving the manager of the estate in difficulties, so that the Raja, disgusted with the management, might allow his affairs to revert to their former neglected condition.'

Ten years later the financial embarrassment of the same estate resulted in the indigo industry being placed on a firm footing. Hitherto the planters had been able only to secure temporary leases of land, but circumstances now arose which gave them a more permanent and secure hold on the soil. By 1876. the Bettiah Raj, owing to the extravagance of the Maharaja and the mismanagement of his employees, had become heavily involved in debt; and as a means of extricating it from its difficulties a European Manager, Mr. T. Gibbon, was appointed. One of the first steps of the new manager was to ensure financial equilibrium, and the Guilliland House consented to float a sterling loan of nearly 95 lakhs, on the sole condition of substantial European security. To satisfy this condition and cover the interest on the loan, permanent leases of villages were granted to indigo planters, and the industry was thus placed on a secure basis. Permanent rights in the land being assured, the cultivation of indigo was widely extended, until by the end of the 19th century no less than 21 factories, with 48 out-works, had been established, while the area under indigo was 95,970 acres, or 6.6 per cent of the cultivated area.²

The planters have shown their regard for organization from the beginning of their existence in Tirhut. It appears that as early as 1801, the planters of Tirhut (Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), Champaran and Saran instituted a joint committee and framed rules of business. In 1837,

¹ C E. Buckland, *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, Calcutta, 1901

² Pages 108-111 of Mr. O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Champaran District* (1907 edition).

It is a sufficiently striking fact that in nearly half of the district of Champaran the indigo concerns exercise the rights of landlord. Under the term landlords are included, of course, all classes of tenure-holding as well as of proprietary right. Para. 531 of Mr. Stevenson Moore's *Champaran Settlement Report*, 1892-1899.

they held a meeting and framed an useful Code of Rules. Again in 1877, they formally established their association which they designated as the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association¹ at Muzaffarpur and which came to be officially recognised by the Government.

A report submitted by the Commissioner of Patna conclusively showed that the system of cultivation then prevailing involved an amount of lawlessness and oppression, principally in the shape of extorted agreements to cultivate and of seizure of ploughs and cattle, which could not be tolerated. On receipt of this report, some of the leading planters as well as the officials of Bihar were consulted through the Commissioner. It was important to do nothing which would unduly excite the mind of the ryots, and to avoid any such agitation as might lead to breaches of contract and the general embitterment of the relations between planters and ryots; and as some of the leading planters declared themselves sensible of the necessity of reform and willing to assist in the work, and for this purpose undertook the establishment of a Planters' Association, action on the part of Government² was postponed and the matter was entrusted to their hands. This body showed a sincere desire to place the relations between planters and ryots on a more satisfactory footing, and drew up a series of rules embodying very important reforms for the guidance of the members of the Association. Since that time it has always tried to maintain friendly relations both with the cultivators and Government; and that it has helped greatly in advancing the development and prosperity of this part of the country. This is the more satisfactory when it is remembered that the cultivation of indigo is not very popular with the

¹ An account of the establishment of the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association is given in the Bengal Administrative Report of 1877-78.

² The Bengal Government in '1877 intended to appoint a representative Commission for the investigation of the grievances of the ryots but dropped the idea on the establishment of this Association. The Secretary to Government wrote to the Association :—

" In reference to the final paragraph of your letter, I am to say that as long as the association show their present willingness to meet the Lieut.-Governor's views and get rid of the obvious blots on the system, the Lieutenant-Governor has no intention of interfering in any way or of doing anything which can hamper the planters in the conduct of their business. All he desires is that the law should be strictly obeyed, and that indigo planting should be carried on like other commercial enterprises without such frequent complaints over the necessity for Executive interference which have hitherto characterized it."

ryot, as though it is raised on only a small proportion of his holding, indigo is not so remunerative as other crops which he might grow on the same land; he does not like the constant worry of being supervised by the factory servants, and there is consequently the risk of friction with the factory. On the other hand, the planters have consistently shown themselves true friends to the cultivators and labourers in periods of adversity. Their readiness to help the latter was very clearly shown in the famine of 1896-97, and the value of their services at this time of distress may be gathered from the remarks of the Commissioner of Patna who wrote—"The planting community, as in 1873-74, proved to be of inestimable value in the crisis. In the former year many of these were stimulated by the prospects of pecuniary advantage; in 1896-97 no such stimulus was offered; but at an early stage of the operations their services were offered gratuitously—an offer which they more than redeemed. A Number of them sacrificed time, ease and health to assist Government, and many of them have been losers by their public spirited efforts. Yet the work has been cheerfully done, and the community have once more proved themselves invaluable to the administration.

In 1896, Gernjany introduced its cheap synthetic (indigo) dye into the world market and the natural indigo industry of Tirhut received a set back so that its price was reduced from Rs. 250 to Rs. 150 a maund. The result eventually was that the indigo planters were hard hit and the land growing indigo had to be put under "Tobacco and Sugar." The Indigo Planters' Association was reconstituted in 1905, and was christened as the "Bihar Planters' Association" with branches in the four districts and with special Sub-Committees for advising on the industrial expansion,—manufacture and cultivation of sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc. Government have from time to time appointed experts to advise them on the best methods of manufacture and cultivation of indigo, sugar-cane, etc., and fortunately for this industry, the German synthetic indigo was shut out by the war towards the close of 1914. This stimulated interest in indigo cultivation in Tirhut once more on an extreme scale. But even now indigo can have only an uncertain future as it is most lively that the manufac-

ture of synthetic indigo will attract attention in England and the best hope for this industry in Tirhut lies in the preparation of the natural indigo into paste in which form the synthetic dye advantageously appears, and it is a good augury that experts are not late in taking this question up.

In the year 1917-18 Local Government passed a special Agrarian Act affecting the indigo and other industries in Champaran. By this the *thinkathia* right by which the planters used to claim 2 to 3 kathas for each bigha under the plough, for cultivation of special crops such as indigo, sugar, etc., by them, has been extinguished and European industries in Tirhut put on a commercial basis. This act, it may be mentioned, is the result of an Agrarian Committee appointed by Government in the 2nd half of 1917 to examine the relations between the planters and their ryots to which Mr. M. K. Gandhi attracted their attention.

It may be stated in winding up, that in spite of their differences with ryots from time to time, the planters have nevertheless been a most useful and public spirited body. They have given education to the ryots in various directions. There are so many of the primary schools, dispensaries, roads, wells and tanks in Muffasil Tirhut, which owe their origin to the influence of the planters. There was a time when they used to settle all the disputes and troubles of the ryots in a homely way without reference to the expensive law courts. The extension of sugar industry under their scientific eyes has considerably improved the economic condition of a section of the Tirhut tenantry. The installation of up-to-date plant by the European planters has given stimulus to Indians in some cases to take up industries on a large scale. As Thikadars the planters have been most regular payers of rent to the proprietors, and have saved many a zamindary family by loans and friendly advice. And their use of up-to-date methods of agriculture has been an example for others to follow.

The name of the Tirhut Planters is associated with the Bihar Light Horse. The genesis of the institution is that a number of them who guarded Muzaffarpur during the dark days of the mutiny in 1857-58, applied to Government for their constitution into a regular corps

which was sanctioned in 1861-62 with the designation of "Subah Bihar Mounted Rifles," In 1886, Government appointed an Agent to look after their drills and their designation was changed into "Bihar Light Horse" under a special Act under which the membership consisted of all willing and active Europeans and not only of planters, quite a number of them joined Lumsden's Horse (organized by Colonel Lumsden of the Assam Valley Light Horse) for service in South Africa in 1900. During 1914-18, many of them distinguished themselves in the war with Germany and during the same period the corps was changed into the Indian Defence Force under the Act of 1917. In 1920, they were constituted by another Act into the Auxiliary Force.

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