

History of Rājasthānī Literature

Dr. Hiralal Maheshwari



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History of Rajasthani Literature

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Preface

An attempt has been made in the following pages to present a study of Rajasthani literature from the eleventh century when Rajasthani acquired the form of a speech to 1979 when it can claim to have a rich and growing literature.

Rajasthani literature is vast and varied. Its treasures are mostly in manuscript form, cherished and preserved by individuals and institutions scattered not only all over Rajasthan but in other States of the country as well. Many of these manuscripts as also books published by individuals are not easily accessible. The task of securing, scrutinising and studying them, though rewarding, has not been easy.

Modern authors presented a different problem. Their works are scattered in different magazines and individual publications. Many of these authors are still creatively active and their assessment can at best be only tentative. Rather than deal with them individually I have chosen to deal with different literary trends illustrating them by referring to individual authors or their works. Some repetition, therefore, could not be avoided.

This History is the first attempt of its kind in English and primarily seeks to expose the non-Rajasthani readers to the cultural heritage of Rajasthan and the riches of Rajasthani literature. To achieve this, translations had to be resorted to. Anyone who has ever attempted to translate from one language into another must have realised the immense difficulty of conveying the literary beauty, the complex associations and connotations of one into the other. The task seems to be almost impossible. I hope my modest attempt, sustained by the belief that human emotions are universal, will at least give a glimpse of the rich beauty of Rajasthani literature and awaken the curiosity of the

serious reader. If this happens, my labour would be amply rewarded.

Names have been written with diacritical marks. A table of transliteration is given at the beginning. All dates refer to the Christian era and have been calculated by deducting 57 from the Vikram Samvat as a general rule. A glossary of words of Indian languages has been given at the end.

I am indebted to the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, for having entrusted this work to me. The task could not have been undertaken successfully without the grant of academic leave to me by the University of Rajasthan and I am grateful to its Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate for that. I am very grateful to Mr. Vishnu Datt Sharma, ex-President of the Rajasthan Sahitya Akademi (Sangam), Udaipur, for going through the manuscript of this work and for his valuable suggestions. He is, however, in no way responsible for the opinions expressed in this History. Mr. R.K. Newatiya of Calcutta, very kindly let me consult a manuscript in his possession of which there is only one copy in existence. I am grateful to Mr. Rawat Saraswat and Dr. B.M. Jawaliya for their valuable assistance. My thanks are also due to Mr. N.K. Baheti, Mr. R.D. Somani, Mr. T.R. Manjhu, Mr. M.G. Sharda, Mr. D.N. Jaju, Mr. R.K. Rathi, Dr. R.K. Godara, Mr. Ratan Shah, Dr. K.C. Kasaliwal, Mr. K.C. Keshan and Mr. K.S. Tewari for their help. I am thankful to Mr. M.N. Neelkantha Pillai and Mr. R.C. Kalani for transcribing the manuscript. I can never hope to express fully my debt to Mr. M.M.R. Jami of the Deptt. of English, University of Rajasthan, for the vigilant eye with which he went through the manuscript of this work, his thoughtful suggestions, stimulating comments and his untiring cooperation. Only his long and patient help enabled me to complete the task. No words can adequately express my gratitude to Mrs. Bhagwati Devi Maheshwari whose understanding and cooperation sustained me in fulfilling this undertaking.

*B-174A, Rajendra Marg,
Bapunagar, Jaipur.
May 15, 1980*

HIRALAL MAHESHWARI

Transliteration Table

अ a	ए e
आ ā	ऐ ai
इ i	ओ o
ई ī	औ au
उ u	◌ anusvāra ṅ
ऊ ū	◌ visarga ḥ
ऋ ṛ	
क k	प p
ख kh	फ ph
ग g	ब b
घ gh	भ bh
च c	म m
छ ch	य y
ज j	र r
झ jh	ल l
ट ṭ	ल् ḷ
ठ ṭh	व v
ड, ङ ḍ	व् w
ढ, ढ ḍh	श ś
ण ṇ	ष ṣ
त t	स s
थ th	ह h
द d	क्ष kṣ
ध dh	त्र tr
न n	ज्ञ gy

ड and ङ are two different sounds but no separate symbols are available for them. ङ is never initial; it is always intervocalic or final.

Contents

PREFACE

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

I INTRODUCTORY

1

Rajasthan: its formation 1; Rajasthani: Maru Bhāṣā 2; Evolution and growth 3; Prakrit-Apabhramśa: Rajasthani 3; Old Rajasthani: A Few Notable Tendencies 5; References to Colloquial Speeches 6; Ḍiṅgal: Maru Bhāṣā 7; Piṅgal 8; Forms of Piṅgal Poetry 8; Major Trends: Cāraṇ Poetry 9; Ākhyān Kāvya 11; Rajasthani: forms, branches and poetic uniformity 11; Script 13; Historical Background 15.

II EARLY PERIOD (1050-1450)

20

Jain Poetry 22; Secular (Laukik) Love Poetry 32; Cāraṇ Poetry 39.

III MEDIEVAL PERIOD (1450-1850)

47

Phases and Features 47; Devotional (Sant) Poetry 49; The Cāraṇ Poetry 51; Historical and Heroic Poetry 51; Mythological and Religious Poetry 76; Ākhyān Kāvya 92; Sant (Devotional) Poetry 99; Different Sampradāyas and their Poetry 100; Nāth Sampradāy 101; Rasik Sampradāy (in Rām Bhakti) and Rāmāvat Vairāgi 106; Jāmbhojī, Viṣṇoi Sampra-

dāy 110; Jasnāthjī: Jasnāthī Sampradāy 115; Haridās Nirañjanī: Nirañjanī Sampradāy 117; Parśurām-devācārya: Nimbārk Sampradāy 120; Dādū: Dādū Sampradāy 123; Lāldās: Lāl Pañth or Lāldāsī Sampradāy 127; Caraṇdāsī: Caraṇdāsī or Śuk Sampradāy 131; Saṅtdāsī: Gūdaḍ Pañth 133; Rāmcarāñjī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Shāhpurā 133; Dariyāvjī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Reṇ 138; Harirāmdāsī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Sīnthal 141; Rāmdāsī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Khedāpā 144; Lālgiri: Alakhiyā Sampradāy 145; Āījī (Jījī Devī): Āī Pañth 146; Poets free from any traditional bond of religion and Sampradāy 147; Jain Poetry 153; Secular Love Poetry 162; Prosody, Rhetoric and Lexicon 177; Prose: Religious Prose 179; Historical Prose 181; Creative Prose 183; Miscellaneous 185.

IV FOLK LITERATURE

186

Folk-songs (Lok Gīt) 186; Ballads (Lok Gāthā) 188; Heroic Gāthās 189; Romantic Gāthās 189; Mythological Gāthās 190; Mythological and Historical Gāthās 190; Nirved Gāthās 191; Folk-tales (Lok Kathā) 191; Folk-plays (Lok Nāṭya) 191; Lok Subhā-ṣit 192.

V MODERN PERIOD (1850 ONWARDS)

193

March with the Time (1850-1947) 193; Movements, Nationalism and Independence 200; Works concerning Rajasthan and Rajasthani 200; Poetry: Traditional Poetry 204; Poetry: Changing Phase and Voice (1947 onwards) 214; Narrative or Proto-Epic Poetry 216; Homage Poems 221; Nature Poetry 222; Lyrical and Other Poetry: Stories in Verse 225; Humour and Satire 226; Pragatiśil (Progressive) 227; Love of the Land 229; Patriotic and Heroic 229; Odes and Elegies 230; Love and Eroticism 230; Naī Kavītā

231; Prose: Novels 232; Stories 235; Drama 238; One-Act Play 239; Sketches, Recollections and Reminiscences 240; Poetic Prose (Gadya Kāvya) 241; Essay 242; Articles and Literary Criticism 242; Biographies 242; Magazines 243; Cause of Rajasthani Language and Literature 244.

BIBLIOGRAPHY	247
GLOSSARY	250
INDEX	257

CHAPTER I

Introductory

THE LAND AND THE LANGUAGE

Rajasthan readily reminds one of glorious traditions of chivalry and freedom. A land of heroes, satsīs and saints, it has been a vital centre of culture, art and architecture of India. Its literature is varied, vivid, extensive and rich, the unbroken traditions of which have been continuous for the last one thousand years. A brief attempt to survey this tradition has been made in the following pages.

Rajasthan: its formation

In the past, the constituent regions of the present Rajasthan were known by different names. Many a time, due to change in their rulers, the boundaries of the separate regions also changed. The northern of these regions was known as Jāṅgal, the eastern as Matsya, the southern as Medpāṭ, Vāgaḍ, Prāgvāṭ, Mālaw and Gurjatrā, the western as Maru, Māḍ, Vall, Travaṇī, the south-eastern as Śivi and the central part as Arbud and Sapādalakṣa. The name Rājputānā seems to have been used first in 1800 by George Thomas in his *Military Memoirs*, for the simple reason that it was ruled by Rājput Chiefs. In 1829, Colonel Tod, in his well-known book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, used the word 'Rajasthan' for it because it consisted of princely states. These two names have

since continued to denote the region. The name 'Rajasthan' gained in popularity. It was also accepted by the Indian National Congress and after Independence by the Government of India. It may, however, be mentioned that earlier this word was used to denote the capital by Muhnot Nainsī (1610-1670) in his *Khyāt*, and Ratanū Vīrbhāṇ (1688-1735) in his *Rāj rūpak*.

The present state of Rajasthan is a combination of 21 big and small princely states and the areas of the formerly centrally administered part 'C' State of Ajmer. The names of the states are as follows:—(1) Alwar (2) Bharatpur (3) Dholpur (4) Karoli (5) Bānswara (6) Bundi (7) Dungarpur (8) Jhalawar (9) Kota (10) Kushalgarh (11) Kishangarh (12) Lawa (13) Pratapgarh (14) Shahpura (15) Tonk (16) Udaipur (17) Jaipur (18) Jodhpur (19) Bikaner (20) Jaisalmer and (21) Sirohi.

The process of the integration of these states was completed in stages. On 28 February 1948, the 'Matsya' Union was formed by uniting the first four states. The territories of the next eleven states (from 5 to 15) were united to form the Rajasthan Saṅgh (the United States of Rajasthan) on 25 March 1948.

On 1 April 1948, Udaipur joined it to form the Rajasthan Union.

Later, on 30 March 1949, the states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer were integrated with this Union.

Soon after, on 15 May 1949, the 'Matsya' Union and on 7 February 1950 the state of Sirohi were integrated with it.

And lastly, on 1 November 1956, Ajmer, Abu (a part of the Bombay State) and Śunnel of the Bhānpurā Tehsil of Maṅdsore district of the former Madhya Bharat were linked to the Union. Thus, the present state of Rajasthan came into being. Geographically the Arāwalī ranges divide the State into two natural regions—the North-Western and the South-Eastern.

Rajasthani: Maru Bhāṣā

Generally the name of a language is given after the name of the region, province or state. Sometimes the language is also called either after the name of its major dialect or the people using it. The name Rajasthani is given after the name of the State

and is universally accepted. It is obvious that the name Rajasthani is new. The old and popular name was Maru Bhāṣā (used by Gopāl Lāhorī in his *Ras-Vilās* in 1587). This has also been called as Maru Bhūm Bhāṣā (by Mañech Kavi in his *Raghunāth Rūpak Gītānī ro*), Maru-Bāṇī and Marudeśīya Bhāṣā (by Sūryamall Miśraṇ in his *Vaṅś Bhāskar*) and Māru Bhāṣā (by Āsiyā Moḍjī in his *Pābūprakāś*). In *Kuvalaymāla*, composed in 778 (V.S. 835) by Udyotan Sūri, the peculiarities of the people of Maru Pradeś and their dialects, along with others, are given. A line from *Kuvalaymāla* reads thus—‘Appā Tuppā’ bhaṇi, re ah pecchai Māruē tatto’ (The people of Maru Pradeś speak ‘appā tuppā’). This reference to the dialect being the earliest is important but no clear idea of ‘Maru bhāṣā’ can be formed from it.

Evolution and growth

The evolution and the stages of growth of Indo-Aryan languages may be traced thus: (1) Vedic or ‘Chāṅdas’—Sanskrit (E.I.A., from 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.), (2) Prakrit—Apabhramśa (M.I.A., from 500 B.C. to 1000 A.D.) and (3) ‘Deśī-bhāṣās’ including Rajasthani (N.I.A., from 1000 A.D. onwards). Out of the six major forms of Prakrit, viz., Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Paisācī, the first two are supposed to be comparatively older. Buddhist and Jain scriptures were written in Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī respectively. Though a form of Prakrit, Pāli is not ordinarily termed as Prakrit. Every developed language has two forms — poetic speech and popular speech. Growth takes place on the basis of popular speech. This must have happened with all the Indo-Aryan languages at every stage referred to above, though evidence is still lacking. The period of Prakrits is roughly considered from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. Each Prakrit had at least one form of Apabhramśa, if not more, as a sign of further growth.

Prakrit-Apabhramśa: Rajasthani

Historically the evolution of Rajasthani may be linked up with Śaurasenī Prakrit. It was originally the language of

Mathura region and was extant in the west including Gujarat and Saurashtra. This western form developed some peculiarities such as:—Initial sound 'dw' becomes 'b' (Dwārakā-Bārakā, Dwe-Be). Kṣ changes to 'cch' or 'ch'. Thus, Kṣudra becomes chudda. But in the eastern form it becomes 'kkh' or 'kh' (Khudda). Sanskrit 'ṛ' becomes 'a'. In the eastern form it changes to 'i'. 'Sta' remains as 'sta' in this form but changes to 'ttha' in the eastern form.

From Śaurasenī Prakrit developed two major forms of Apabhramśa—the eastern or 'Madhya Deśīya' called Śaurasenī, and the western called 'Gurjar' or 'Gurjarī'. It is now accepted by most of the scholars that the earlier characteristics of Apabhramśa were first evolved in the western regions, which we may call 'Gurjar' Apabhramśa. Old Rajasthani developed from Gurjar Apabhramśa; Khaḍī Bolī, Bāṅgarū, Braj, Kannaujī and Buṅdelī developed from Śaurasenī Apabhramśa.

The Apabhramśa literature, as it is available now, has been divided into three parts—the Eastern, the Northern and the Western. The Eastern form of Apabhramśa is seen in the works of the Siddhas of the Vajrayān sect of the Buddhist religion. *Mahānaya Prakāś* presents a specimen of Northern Apabhramśa. The number of works in these two forms is very small. Most of this literature is in the Western Apabhramśa. Exceptions apart, almost all the important writers of the literature of the Western Apabhramśa, including Swayambhū, Puṣpadaṅt, Dhanpāl, Muni Kanakāmar, Dhawal, Raidhū, Yaś Kīrti, Nayanaṅdi, Dhāhal, Śrīdhar, Haribhadra and others were Jains. The Jain Apabhramśa literature has not yet been studied in detail from the linguistic point of view.

Many common characteristics may be found in the above three types of Apabhramśa. Further, some characteristics of the local speeches are also noticed. Broadly speaking the common form of Apabhramśa was based on the Western Apabhramśa. Whoever has written in Apabhramśa has kept in his mind this standard form.

The language of the couplets compiled by Hemcaṅdra, of *Sanat Kumār Cariū*, of the verses available in *Kumārpāl Pratibodh* and some other works has been called 'Gurjar' Apa-

bhramśa. All the characteristics of the Western Apabhramśa are found in 'Gurjar' Apabhramśa. Since the old Rajasthani (or Maru-Gurjar) has developed from Gurjar Apabhramśa, it has the characteristics of the latter along with some elements of the then current and popular local speech. From the linguistic point of view, the Apabhramśa period is from 500 A.D. to 1000 A.D., though it continued as a poetic speech even in the first half of the 13th century. Elements of 'Deśī' or the old Rajasthani are traceable in the compositions of the 11th and 12th centuries. *Sacca uriya Mahāvīr utsāh* by Dhanpāl (10th or first half of the 11th century) and *Śrī Jindatt Sūri Stuti* by Pall (12th century) may be cited as examples.

Old Rajasthani: A Few Notable Tendencies

The following tendencies mark the evolution of 'Deśī' or Old Rajasthani from Gurjar Apabhramśa:—

(1) A double consonant is simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened. Ap. 'Kamma' = 'Kām'. (2) Development towards 'analytic' form. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa belong to the 'synthetic' class of languages. (3) The use of Sanskrit *tatsam* words along with the *tadbhav* words of Prakrit and Apabhramśa. (4) The use of auxiliary verbs such as 'Chai' in present tense. (5) Formation of *tadbhav* words from Sanskrit. With the old *tadbhav*, such as —'Kajj' = 'Kāj', the new *tadbhav*—'Kāraj' also came into use. (6) Development of conjunctive verbs and tenses. (7) Dropping of inflectional suffixes and use of some post-positions, such as—Nau, Rau, Sauñ, Maiñ etc. in both the numbers. (8) Use of *anunāsik* in place of Apabhramśa *anuswār* and lengthening of the preceding vowel. Ap. 'pañc' = 'pāñc'.

These tendencies started occurring in the 11th century—about 1050 A.D., when the old Rajasthani came into being, which is the starting point of the present survey.

Maru-Gurjar: Separation of Rajasthani

Thus, from the popular Gurjar Apabhramśa current in the western parts of the country including the present Rajasthan and Gujarat States, the early Rajasthani developed and started

taking a definite linguistic pattern during the 11th century. The early Rajasthani and Gujarati were identical till about 1450. The separation started thereafter. To this common language various names, such as Maru-Sorath, Old Western Rajasthani, Old Gujarati, Old Rajasthani and Maru-Gurjar have been given. The last of the names, namely, Maru-Gurjar is more appropriate. The literature of the early period (1050-1450) is thus a common heritage of both the languages—Gujarati and Rajasthani.

During the first half of the 15th century, both these languages began their independent growth, and consequently the Modern Rajasthani came into being. It differed from the old Rajasthani mainly in these points:—

- (a) Evolution of two new vowels—‘ai’ and ‘au’. These were different from the Sanskrit diphthongs—‘a+i’ and ‘a+u’.
- (b) The use of ‘ai’ and ‘au’ in orthography instead of ‘a+i’ and ‘a+u’. The use of ‘a+i’ and ‘a+u’ was a general tendency of the Old Rajasthani. From the beginning of the 15th century the use of ‘ai’ and ‘au’ developed in their place.
- (c) Elimination of the final ‘a’, ‘i’ and ‘u’ in a word in pronunciation.
- (d) Neuter gender was either dropped or absorbed in masculine.

Thus, from the linguistic point of view the period of Medieval Rajasthani begins around 1450 A.D.

References to Colloquial Speeches

Specimens of colloquial speeches prevalent in different parts of Rajasthan and contiguous regions are recorded in many stray compositions in old manuscripts. In one such prose-composition the examples of Gurjarī, Mālwī, Marāṭhī and Pūrvī are found (*Rajasthani*, Pt. III, No. 3, January, 1940, Calcutta). In *Nav-Bolī* verses in Gujaratī, Thāṭaicī, Jaisalmerī, Multānī, Uttarādī, Pūrvī, Tailāngī, Dillaṅ and Khurāsānī are found. In *Āṭh Des rī Gūjarī* verses in Panjābī, Braj, Mewātī, Lāhaurī, Mār-wāḍī, Dhūṅdhāḍī, Kābalī and Bāgḍī are available. There are three other compositions published in *Rajasthan Bharati* (Nos. 3-4, part 3, July 1953, Bikaner). In one of them, ‘savaiyas’

in Pañjābī, Multānī, Southern Gujarati, Pūrvī and Mār-wāḍī are found. In the other, examples of Ḍhūṇḍhāḍī, Mār-wāḍī, Gujarati, Goḍhwāḍī, Pañjābī, Haḍautī, Dakṣiṇī and Caubolī (each line in Pañjābī, Pūrvī, Gujarati and Mār-wāḍī composed in savaiyā metre) are available. This material is important for the study of different speeches, particularly of Rajasthan.

Ḍiṅgal: Maru Bhāṣā

The Maru-Bhāṣā is also called Ḍiṅgal. Both were treated as identical up to the end of the 19th century. In the beginning of the present century, after the publication in 1913 of *Preliminary report on the operation in search of MSS. of bardic chronicles*, by Harprasād Śāstrī, much speculation has been made by Dr. Tessitori and other scholars about the word 'Ḍiṅgal' (and also about Piṅgal), its meaning and origin without any definite conclusion. We need not go into that discussion as that would be futile. We should try to understand 'Ḍiṅgal' by the material presented by it. We hold that 'Ḍiṅgal' is synonymous with Maru Bhāṣā, literary and otherwise, poetic speech and the speech of the people. The earliest mention of both Ḍiṅgal and Piṅgal as linguistic entities, however, occurs in a 'chappay' by a saint poet Surjandās Pūniyā (1583-1691), composed about 1640 or earlier.

From the above point of view we may take note of the various books on prosody dealt with elsewhere. These explain the Ḍiṅgal Gīts and their essential elements, besides other metres. Ḍiṅgal Gīts and their metrical structure have been treated as the same as the metres of Maru Bhāṣā (otherwise called Mār-wāḍī Bhāṣā, Marubhūm Bhāṣā etc.). This also establishes that Maru Bhāṣā and Ḍiṅgal are identical.

Statements by the old writers of Ḍiṅgal or Maru Bhāṣā about their languages further confirm the above view. They tell us that the spoken language of the land too was called Ḍiṅgal. Two examples may suffice. Padam Bhagat composed an Ākhyān Kāvya named *Rukamaṇī Maṅgal* or *Haraji ro Vyāñ-walo* towards the end of the 15th century. It is in the spoken language. Its earliest manuscript known is dated 1612 (V.S. 1669). In one of the later manuscripts, a couplet in the

colophon says: 'The language of my poem is Dīṅgaḷī. I have no knowledge of grammar. It does not know any metre or continuity. It consists of only divine contemplation'.

In his *Pāṅḍav Yaśendu Caṅdrikā*, composed between 1823 and 1863, Cāraṇ saint Swarūpdās says:

'My language is a mixed one. It contains Piṅgal, Dīṅgal and Sanskrit, so that all may understand. I beg apology of greater poets for this.'

Piṅgal

Generally Piṅgal means prosody but in Rajasthan this term came to be used for language as well. Braj Bhāṣā mixed with Rajasthani is also called Piṅgal. The diction and style of Maru Bhāṣā poetry are adopted in Piṅgal but the grammatical structure is of Braj Bhāṣā or akin to it. Thus, it differs from pure Braj Bhāṣā on one side and Dīṅgal or Rajasthani on the other. The vocabulary of Piṅgal also includes popular words of Rajasthani. For instance, the word 'Kaḍ' (from Sanskrit 'Kati') means waist in Rajasthani. The 'ḍ' changes to 'r'. By making this change the word 'Kar' was formed in Piṅgal. Generally 'Kar' means hand but here in Piṅgal it would mean waist also. Exceptions apart, however, Piṅgal has been poetic speech only.

Forms of Piṅgal Poetry

In Piṅgal poetry the following forms are noticed: The grammatical structure is that of Braj. The type of locution used is purely literary. *Pr̥thvīrāj Rāsau*, *Śatrusāl Rāsau* by Rāv Dūṅgarsī, *Ratan Rāsau* by Kumbhkaraṇ, *Vijaypāl Rāsau* by Nallsiṅha Bhāṭ, *Rājvilās* by Mān, *Rāṇā Rāsau* by Dayāldās, *Vaṅś Bhāskar* (major part of it) by Suryamall Miśraṇ etc. are in Piṅgal. These are narrative and descriptive poems and are outside the scope of the present study.

Another form of Piṅgal is seen mostly in the saint (saṅt) poetry of Rajasthan. The saints expressed their emotions and thoughts in an easy language frequently picking up the popular colloquial words of the regions of their travel. The objective was propagation and understanding of their ideas. The grammatical

structure of such poems leans towards Rajasthani also. Many of these poems have not only been popular in Rajasthan, but have inspired others also. The tradition of saint-poetry is still not extinct. The *padas* and *sākhīs* of saint Pīpā are the early poems in this form. Due to these reasons we have taken note of this type of saint-poetry in the present work.

A mixture of Rajasthani and Khaḍī Bolī is found in another type of popular poems. The grammatical structure of such poems sometimes leans towards Rajasthani and sometimes towards Khaḍī Bolī. Occasionally, a slight tinge of Pañjābī is also noticed in this type.

Mainly two factors are responsible for the wide and rapid spread of Khaḍī Bolī: the advance and expansion of the Muslim domination and the emergence and organisation of the Nāth Siddhas leading to the spread of Nāthism throughout the country. Later, an impetus to Khaḍī Bolī was also given by some saint-poets who followed the Nāth-style and diction.

The use of Khaḍī Bolī or Khaḍī Bolī with slight tinge of Pañjābī is very frequent in some metres including Nīsāṇī, Jhūlaṇā and Cāṇdrāyaṇ. Nīsāṇī of Bādar Ḍhāḍhī (*Vīrmāyaṇ*), Jhūlaṇās of Sāṇdū Mālā (*Mahārājā Rāysiṅghjī rā*, *Akbar Pāśahjī rā*, *Dīwān Pratāpsīṅghjī rā* etc.) and Cāṇdrāyaṇas of Kesaudās Godārā, Vājiṇḍ etc. are a few examples. In many poems and prose writings, the Mohammedan and Nāth Jogī characters even use Khaḍī Bolī. Kāzī Mahmūd is one of the early Muslim saint-poets, in whose *padas* this type of language is noticed. The poems of many Nāth Siddhās including Carpaṭ-nāth and Pṛthvīnāth show the tendency towards the use of Khaḍī Bolī.

Major Trends: Cāraṇ Poetry

Rajasthani poetry of the early and medieval period, upto the 19th century, has flown into five major currents: (1) Jain (2) Cāraṇ (3) Ākhyān (4) Saṅt (5) Laukik, including secular love. The poetry of Cāraṇ style and Ākhyān Kāvya need mention.

Due to traditional ties with the Rājput, feelings of hero-worship, place and function in the medieval social set up, certain castes, particularly the Cāraṇs, were more connected with

this type (Cāraṇ) of poetry. The other castes include Motīsar, Bhāṭ, Rāv, Dhādhī etc. Brahmins, Rājput, Mahājans etc. have also made notable contributions to it. Echoes of rivalry, mostly professional, between Cāraṇs and Bhāṭs resound in the old literature. Most Cāraṇs used Maru Bhāṣā or Ḍiṅgal and the Bhāṭs Piṅgal for their poetic compositions. But from the 17th century this tendency changed. Many Cāraṇs composed poems in Piṅgal and Bhāṭs and Rāvs in Ḍiṅgal.

The relations between the Cāraṇs and the Rājput were deep-rooted in history. The Cāraṇ poets used to accompany their heroes to the battle-fields. Many a time, they used to participate in fighting. They were witnesses not only to battles but also to many other occasions and episodes forming part of the contemporary Rājput life. The poems composed about such happenings, poetic exaggerations apart, had two qualities: basic historical truth and vivid, realistic and pictorial descriptions, particularly of heroes, heroic deeds and battles. Cāraṇ poetry knows no parallel and has rightly been lauded by scholars.

The Cāraṇ poetry is in two forms: narrative and stray. Both are mostly descriptive in style. The first goes by various names viz., Rās, Rāsau, Rūpak, Prakāś, Chaṇḍ, Vilās, Prabaṇḍh, Āyaṇ, Saṅvād, etc. These poems are also named after metres such as, Kavitt, Kuṇḍaliyā, Jhūlaṇā, Nīsāṇī, Jhamāl and Veli etc.

Stray poems have been written in various metres.

Certain metres have been used in abundance in Cāraṇ poetry. These include Gīt (Ḍiṅgal Gīt), Dohā, Chappay, Nīsāṇī etc.

Gīt, in fact, appears to be the invention of the Cāraṇ poets. It is a unique feature of Rajasthani poetry. As *dohā* is the most popular metre of Apabhramśa, so is *gīt* of Rajasthani. Gīts are said to be of 120 types, but samples of all the types are not available. In the texts on prosody the number varies from 72 to 91. The *gīt* is like a small poem. It is not sung but is recited in high-pitched tones in a peculiar style. Thousands of *gīts* have been written in commemoration of historical deeds. They deal with both famous and obscure heroes and events. Many *gīts* are contemporary compositions. Such compositions are called 'Sākh rī Kavita' or the poetry of testimony. The *gīts* cover the

life-span of the heroes. In a gīt only one point pertaining to idea, feeling, sentiment or occurrence is repeated in all the stanzas, but, due to obliqueness and craftsmanship of style, it does not appear to be mere repetition.

There are prosodical rules for the composition of a gīt. They are 'Jathā' (a special system of poetic composition; there are 18 types of Jathā), 'Vayaṅsagāī' (alliteration; it is rigidly followed; there are many types of Vayaṅsagāī), and 'Ukti' (a statement, the basis being the speaker, the listener and the object). A composition has to avoid the 'doṣas' (flaws), which are peculiar to the Cāraṇ prosody and are of 11 types. There are 22 types of *chappay*, 12 types of *nīsāṇī*, and 23 types of *dohā*.

Ākhyān Kāvya

Ākhyān Kāvya is another important type of the medieval Rajasthani poetry. Such Kāvya has rendered remarkable cultural service to Hindu society in the medieval times. The themes are taken from the Epics or the Purāṇas and the stories or episodes are popular. An effort is made to render the story in a highly artistic poem, so as to attract the people. It is sung in popular musical modes and its appeal is mainly musical. The dramatic elements are skilfully incorporated. The dialogues are brief, meaningful and effective. The descriptions are pointed, vivid and charming. The language used is necessarily easy and fluent. The Ākhyān may thus be easily committed to memory and reproduced for wider popularity. Traditionally Ākhyān has been connected with religious rites. This was an additional advantage for the propagation of Ākhyān Kāvya. Popular entertainment is the objective, but, indirectly, lofty religious and cultural traditions, ideals, ideas, and values are imparted. Ākhyāns are generally sung and recited in 'Jāgaraṇ'. Many of them may be easily staged in open-air theatres. Ākhyāns are mostly short, such as *Rāmāyaṇ* by Mehojī, *Rukmaṇī Maṅgal* by Padam Bhagat but longer Ākhyāns such as, *Kathā Ahmanī* by Dehji have also been written.

Rajasthani: forms, branches and poetic uniformity

In the first half of the 15th century traits of two forms of

Rajasthani, the Western and the Eastern, are noticed. The characteristic of the Eastern form is the use of the genitive post-position 'Kau' as in *Acaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā*.

There are five branches of Rajasthani:

(1) Marwāḍī-Mewāḍī is spoken in the old princely states of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Udaipur, Sirohi, Śekhāwāṭī region of Jaipur, part of Kishangarh and Ajmer-Merwarā, some parts of Pañjāb and Hariyāṇā around the district of Śriganganagar with slight variations. (2) Jaipurī-Hāḍautī, a popular speech in the old princely states of Jaipur (except Śekhāwāṭī) Lawa, Tonk, part of Kishangarh and Ajmer-Merwarā and the Hāḍautī regions including Bundi, Kota and Jhālāwār. (3) Mewāṭī-Ahīrwāṭī covers some parts of the old princely state of Bharatpur, Alwar, some parts of Gurgaon in Hariyāṇā and Mathura in U.P. It carries slight influences of Braj and Hariyāṇī. (4) Mālwī has the characteristics of Mārwaḍī and Jaipurī-Hāḍautī and is spoken in the Mālwa region of Madhya Pradesh. It has a slight tinge of Gujarati as well as Marāṭhī and Buṇdelī. (5) Bhīlī or Bāgaḍī is popular in the princely states of Dungarpur, Banswara and some parts of Mewar. It is also slightly influenced by Gujarati.

Baṅjārī and Gūjarī, spoken in different parts of the country, have affinity with Rajasthani, as most of the Baṅjārās and Gūjars were originally the residents of Rajasthan. Nepali and Dakkhinī Hindi are also remotely connected with Rajasthani.

Speech in the territory of the princely states of Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karoli is mostly influenced by Braj.

Another variation of speech which may be called Uttarādhī (belonging to the North) or Gaṅgānagarī has emerged in Śrigaṅgānagar district and adjoining areas of Hariyāṇā and Pañjāb. In its accentuations and aspirated sounds, there appears to be an impact of Hariyāṇī and slightly of Pañjābī. The difference also lies in the use of relative case which is formed by *go*, *gā*, *gī*. Its development was very rapid due to movement of people from neighbouring areas to the new vocational situations created by the construction of Gaṅg canal and later on account of the exodus from the present Pakistani Panjab as a sequel to the country's partition in 1947. Mixture in speech is usually

a consequence of meeting of different people on common grounds.

Except slight variation in accentuations and colloquial uses, minor case-endings and verbs of future tense etc., there is uniformity in grammatical structure in all the branches mentioned above.

Of all the branches, Mārwaḍī has the oldest, richest, and a varied and unbroken literary tradition. It achieved the form of poetic speech and the position of standard central language. It held this position for about 500 years, up to the 19th century. Poets and writers of all the regions adhered to it for standardization, wider acceptance and appeal. Except for style, there is no difference in the language of poems of Sūryamall Miśraṅ of Bundi, SAGRām of Jaisalmer (*Kīrat-Lichamī ro Saṅvād*), Rāmnāth Kaviyā of Alwar (village Saṭāwaṭ), Opā Āḍhā of Sirohi (village Peśawā) and Śaṅkardān Sāmaur of Bikaner (village Bobāsar, Sujāngarh). In Vāts, Khyāts and other prose-writings too, this standardization is equally conspicuous. It is significant that these poets flourished during the 19th century.

Script

The script of Rajasthani is Devanāgarī, also called Śāstrī by common people. The trading community uses this script in a slightly different form without lines on top of letters and vowel-marks, in their indigenous accountancy, book-keeping, letters and hundis. This scriptory style is called 'Mahājani' 'Bāṅiyāwāṭī' or 'Bāṅikā' and the alphabet 'Moḍiyā' or 'Muṅḍiyā'. This economises effort and time and works as a sort of shorthand but might lead to mis-readings as well. The writing style of Nāgarī script in administrative offices had assumed the designation 'Kāmdārī'. The Jains have also evolved a calligraphy of their own in their manuscript-writing.

A few characteristics of Rajasthani language are given below:

(1) 'L' and 'Ḷ' are different sounds. If 'L' is pronounced 'Ḷ' or vice-versa, the meaning would differ, such as:

L	Ḷ
Gāl (cheek)	Gāḷ (an abuse)
Cañcal (fickle)	Cañcaḷ (horse)
Kul (total)	Kuḷ (family, lineage)
Kāl (time)	Kāḷ (death)
Khāl (skin)	Khāḷ (rivulet)
Sūl (ease)	Sūḷ (thorn)

(2) 'V' (व) is written in two ways. In one, 'V' (व) is written in the usual Nagari style and the other with a dot below the curve (व̣). This rule has been followed throughout in the old manuscripts. These are two different sounds. 'V' (व) is a labiodental and 'W' (व) is a bilabial sound and they are akin respectively to 'V' and 'W' of the Roman script. Their uses convey different meanings, such as:

V (व)	W (व)
Vaciyo (saved)	Waciyo (child)
Vās (smell)	Wās (dwelling)
Vaḷ (bend)	Waḷ (getting burnt or being off)

Indiscriminate use of 'V' (व), 'W' (व) and 'B' (ब) sometimes leads to confusion in meaning.

(3) 'D' (ड) and 'Ḍ' (Ḍ) are also two different sounds. In Hindi, they are used in different places. In Rajasthani they may be used in the same place but the meaning would differ in each case, such as:

'D' (ड)	'Ḍ' (Ḍ)
Modo (shaven headed)	Moḍo (door or delayed)
Nādī (small tank)	Nāḍī (pulse)
Pādo (male young of a buffalo)	Pāḍo (to uproot, to put through)

(4) There are many homonyms. A stress in accent changes the meaning. A few examples are given below:

<i>Normal accent</i>	<i>Stressed accent</i>
Nānō (maternal grand father)	Náno (small)
Kad (size)	Kád (when)
Nār (woman)	Nár (tiger)
Koḍ (fondness)	Kóḍ (leprosy)
Sāro (whole)	Sáro (support)

(5) The three 'Ś' 'Ṣ' and 'S' are not used in Rajasthani. 'S' is used for Ś also but in pronunciation the difference between the sounds is maintained. 'Kh' is used in place of 'Ṣ'.

Ṛ, Lṛ, Ḍh (ṛ) and Ah (ः) are not used.

Use of short vowels of 'ā', 'e', 'ai', and 'au' and augmenting of 'a', 'i' 'y' and 'v' in the middle of words is a common feature of poetry. The suffixes 'vat' and 'aut' or 'ot' are used to denote a tribe, family, class or progeny. 'Bīdāvat' means – in the tradition or family of Bīdā; 'Kāñdhlot' means the son of Kāñdhal, as also the family line of Kāñdhal.

The letters 'k' 'j', 't' 'm', 'r', 's' and 'h' are used as indeclinables in certain contexts. An aspirate in the middle or end of the word affects the initial sound in pronunciation (Jodh = Jód). 'Hakār' plays an important role in pronunciation affecting the other sounds.

The use of word-pairs is very common in Rajasthani. These are used in several ways and forms.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the beginning of the 11th century, the mighty Pratihār Empire was declining and with the defeat of its last king Rājya-pāl of Kannauj at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, in 1018, its power was completely shattered. The original home of the Pratihārs was Gurjar or 'Gurjardeś' of which Bhillmāl (Bhīnmāl) and Jālore were the centres. Mihir Bhoj, who bears the title of 'Ādivarāh', the primeval boar was the greatest ruler of this dynasty during the latter half of the 9th century. The word 'Gurjar' implies geographical territory and not any caste, clan or tribe. When Gurjardeś came under the sway of Cālukyās, they were also called by the same name. Gurjardeś then included not only the present Gujarat but also a large part of

Rajasthan, including erstwhile Jodhpur state.

From 1000 to 1200, various Rājput clans struggled for supremacy in Rajasthan. Prominent among them were the Cālukyas of Anhilpur Pāṭaṇ, the Parmārs of Mālwā and the Cauhāns of Śākambharī.

In 941, Mūlrāj Cālukya seized the kingdom of Gujarat and expanded it. There were some very brave and brilliant kings in this dynasty. Of them, Bhīmdev conquered Nāḍol and Ābū. Architecture and literature flourished richly during the reign of Cālukya kings, particularly under Siddhrāj Jaysiṅha and Kumārpāl. References to these rulers are found in many Apabhramśa and Maru-Gurjar poems.

Gujarat was annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi by Ala-ud-din Khaljī in 1297. Henceforward, the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi appointed Muslim governors. In 1391, Zafar Khān was appointed Governor by Muhammed Tugluq. He assumed independence in 1401. Śrīdhar Vyās, in his poem *Raṅmall Chānd*, describes Zafar Khān's invasion on Rāv Raṅmall Rāṭhore of Īdar and the battles which ensued. Zafar Khān's successor Ahmed Śāh, an able ruler, died in 1442. Ahmed Śāh was succeeded by Muhammed Śāh who reigned until 1451.

The Parmār bid for power did not succeed much during the early period. But the Cālukyas had to contend with their rising power. Muñj Parmār defeated Mūlrāj. Amongst the Parmārs, Bhoj was the greatest ruler. His empire included Cittore, Bānswārā and Dūngarpur regions in Rajasthan. After his death, his successors continued ruling some parts of Rajasthan up to the end of the 13th century. Apabhramśa verses relating to Muñj and Mṛṅālwatī are famous. Rājmatī, the daughter of Bhoj, is the heroine of *Bīsaldev Rās*.

The Cauhāns of Śākambharī became independent of Pratihār rule near about the end of the 10th century. There was long strife between Cauhān Vighrāj II and Cālukya Mūlrāj which continued during the reign of their successors also. The most glorious Cauhān King was Pṛthvirāj III, the son of Someśwar. He defeated many rulers and Muhammed Ghorī in 1191 in the battle of Tarāiṅ. But the next year Ghorī defeated Pṛthvirāj III and killed him in battle. Ghorī then put Pṛthvī-

rāj's son Goviṅdrāj on the throne of Ajmer on payment of tribute. Harirāj, the younger brother of Pṛthvīrāj, captured and ruled Ajmer for some time, driving out Goviṅdrāj. After the fall of king Jaycaṅd of Kannauj in 1194, Muslims defeated and killed Harirāj. Śakambharī or Sapādlakṣa kingdom thus came to an end. Pṛthvīrāj, as is well known, is the hero of the famous narrative poem *Pṛthvīrāj Rāsau*.

Another Cauhān kingdom was that of Jālore founded in 1178 by Kīrtipāl. His descendants had a brilliant record of bravery. In 1298, when Ala ud-din Khaljī asked from its ruler Kānhaḍ Dev permission to march through his territory to conquer Gujarat and destroy Somnāth, he bluntly refused. As a result, a war followed which continued for many years. Khaljī's army besieged Siwāṇā in 1310 and ultimately Jālore in 1314. Kānhaḍ Dev died fighting. The narrative poem *Kānhaḍ De Prabandh* describes these happenings.

Goviṅd, the son of Pṛthvīrāj III, the founder of the line of the Cauhāns of Raṅthambhor, was a feudatory of Delhi Sultanate. Hammīr, the son of Jaitrasīṅha, who ascended the throne in 1283 was the most powerful and brilliant of all his predecessors. In order to keep the fort and also to keep his pledged word, he gave refuge to two Maṅgol brothers. He fought against Ala-ud-din Khaljī in 1301 and laid down his life in the course of the fight. Many stray and narrative poems have been composed to celebrate his bravery. The names of Kānhaḍ Dev and Hammīr stand in medieval Rajasthani poetry as symbols of Rājput heroism.

Rajasthan suffered at the hands of Ghaznavi and later from Muhammed Ghorī. Gogājī Cauhān, who later became a folk-god, was a contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. By 1200, Nāgore and Ajmer in Rajasthan came under Muslim domination. The Muslim expansion started afresh in the reign of Ala-ud-din Khaljī who besieged Mewār, Siwāṇā, Jālore, Jaisalmer and Raṅthambhor. Later, the Rājputs, particularly the rulers of Mewār, resumed the struggle against the invaders and this continued for centuries to come.

The Guhilas of Mewār started playing an important role from 1200 onwards. Jaitrasīṅha, who ruled in 1213, expanded his

territory in various directions. His grandson Samarsinha had to face attacks from Hammir of Raṅthambhor and the Khaljīs. He died in 1302. His son, Ratansinha, fought Ala-ud-din Khaljī bravely and was killed in 1303. Padminī, whose name has become a synonym of beauty and grace in Rajasthani literature, was his wife. The Padminī episode forms the subject of many a poem. Later on, Ajaysinha, son of Lakṣmaṅsinha of Sīsodā, assumed power. His nephew Hammir occupied Cittore in 1337. He was an adventurous ruler and fought against the imperial power of Delhi. Mewār rose to much glory in his time. He was succeeded by his son Khetsī in 1364. Khetsī also had to fight many battles. One of his battles against the Hādās of Būndī has been described in a Ḍiṅgal gīt by Acalo Bāṅiyo. Khetsī died about 1390. His son Rāṇa Lākhā was married to Hāṅsā Bāī, the sister of Rāv Raṅmall Rāṭhore, son of Rāv Cūṅḍā of Maṅḍowar, on the condition that his son by a previous queen, crown-prince Cūṅḍā, would renounce the right to throne if a son was born to her. A son, Mokal, was born to her in whose time the Rāṭhores dominated in Mewār. Mokal ascended the throne in 1419-20. His daughter Puhpāī alias Lālāṅ was married to Khīcī Acaldās of Gāgrongarh. Khīcī died in 1423 (V.S. 1480) in a battle against Hoṣaṅg Śah Ghorī of Māṅḍū. This is described in *Acaldās Khīcī rī-Vacānikā* by Gāḍaṅ Sivdās. Cūṅḍā left for Māṅḍū, Mokal was killed by Cācā and Merā by deceit in a sudden attack in 1433. Rāv Raṅmall took revenge by killing the killers. Kumbhā, by far the most glorious ruler of Mewār, succeeded his father Mokal in 1433. During his reign, architecture and literature attained new heights. He himself was a great scholar. Rāv Raṅmall was attacked at night while asleep and was killed in the fort of Cittore in 1438. On knowing this, his son Jodhā, who was staying at the foot hills of the fort outside, took refuge in Mārwar.

The early period ends tentatively during the reign of Rāṇa Kumbhā. Many poems on Raṅmall, his son Jodha, Rāṇa Mokal and Kumbhā have been composed by contemporary poets, like Gāḍaṅ Pasāyat, Khīḍiyā Cānaṅ and others.

Jaisalmer was ruled by the Bhāṭīs.

Yet another important Rājput clan, which began playing a

significant role in history towards the end of the 13th century, was that of the Rāṭhores of Mārwar. Sihā migrated to Mārwar about 1235 and died in 1273. He was master of Pālī. He was succeeded by Āsthān, who also conquered Kheḍ from the Guhils. His son Dhūhaḍ consecrated the image of Goddess Cakreśwarī (Nāgñecījī), brought by a Brahmin from Kannauj, at the village which was called Nāgāṇā. After his death in 1309, Rājpal, Kanpal, Jālaṇsī, Chāḍā, Tīḍā succeeded one after the other. Little is known about them. Tīḍā's son Salakhā had four sons—Mallināth, Jaitmāl, Vīram and Sobhit. Mallināth became the master of Mahewā in 1374 with Bhirakkoṭ as his main seat. Vīram was killed in a battle with Johiyās in 1383. His son Cūṇḍā besieged Maṇḍowar in 1394 and another son Gogā was killed in a fight with the Johiyās. Cūṇḍā died fighting the Bhāṭīs and Mohils of Oḍīṇṭ. All his fourteen sons were called 'Rāv', Raṇmall being his eldest son.

Ḍiṅgal gīts on Rāv Chāḍā, Tīḍā and Tribhuwansī by poets, whose names are unknown, describing their achievements are available. Bādar Ḍhāḍhī elaborately mentions the deeds of Mallināth, Vīram and others in his *Vīrmāyaṇ*. This is the first and the earliest narrative poem in the Cāraṇ poetry describing the early Rāṭhores and the Johiyās. Raṇmall, Jodhā and the episodes relating to them have been described by many known and unknown poets. A major part of early Cāraṇ poetry is on the Rāṭhores.

CHAPTER II

Early Period (1050-1450)

The history of Rajasthani literature may be divided into the following periods:

1. Early Period – from 1050 to 1450
2. Medieval Period – from 1450 to 1850, and
3. Modern Period – from 1850 onwards, sub-divided into (a) 1850/57 to 1947/50 and (b) thereafter.

This literature may broadly be classified as follows:

1. Jain Poetry
2. Secular (*Laukik*) Love Poetry
by (a) Known and (b) Unknown poets.
3. Cāraṇ Poetry, sub-divided into –
(a) Historical and Heroic Poetry including 'Marsiyās',
Warnings etc.
(b) Mythological and Religious Poetry including 'Nīti
Kāvya'.
4. Ākhyān Kāvya
5. Saṅt (Devotional) Poetry, composed by two types of
authors:
(a) Propounders and followers of different Sampradāyas
and
(b) Poets free of any traditional bond of religion or
sampradāy.
6. Prosody, Rhetoric and Lexicon

7. Prose Literature Medieval)

8. Folk-Literature, and

9. Poetry and Prose (Modern)

Poetry-sub-divided into:

(a) Traditional and (b) Reflecting changing times and phases.

Each of the above currents denotes a style of its own which is evident from its content and language. Though literary current is an incessant flow and its division into periods is appropriate neither in the matter of content nor language, the division has been made for the sake of convenience of study in recognition of the salient characteristics of the literary conventions of a particular age.

From 1050, for about a century or so, only miscellaneous verses were written in Maru-Gurjar but after the latter half of the 12th century individual works, though small in size, are available in abundance. These are mainly Jain works. Vajrasen Sūri's *Bharateśwar Bāhubali Ghor*, composed around 1168, may be said to be the first work in Maru-Gurjar available so far. Next is *Bharateśwar Bāhubali Rās* by Śālibhadra Sūri composed in 1186. Apabhramśa influence is manifest on Maru-Gurjar poetry up to the end of the 12th century.

Apart from the linguistic separation of Maru i.e. Rajasthani from Gurjar i.e. Gujarati, a line of demarcation between Early and Medieval Periods may be drawn from a literary point of view also. In the Early Period, secular works and works of Jain and Cāraṇ styles are found. But from the beginning of the Medieval period two new currents, that of Ākhyān Kāvya and Saṅt (devotional) poetry, appear and flourish. *Kathā Ahmanī* may be said to be the first Ākhyān Kāvya and Jāmbhojī (1451-1536) was the starting point of the Saṅt poetry in Rajasthani.

The Medieval Period abounds in copious works in Cāraṇ style. Works in this style continued to gain popularity hereafter. *Vacanikā Acaldās Khīcī rī* is the first important Cāraṇ work of this period. We also find in it the first example of elegant prose. The emergence of Goddess Karaṇjī and five Pīrs, as popular objects of worship and reverence gave a new impetus to the society and literature of the age, especially to folk litera-

ture. All these factors combined justify this division. The literature produced from 1450 to 1650 reached new heights of excellence in every sphere.

The Modern Period starts with the British rule and its impact on the country. Due to this impact and to the wider contact with the outside world through the spread of the Western education, science and technology, the traditional values, outlook and ideology rapidly started changing. These changes, along with notes of acrimony and animosity towards the British Rule, are reflected in the Rajasthani poems of the period around 1850 and mark the beginning of the Modern Period.

Jain Poetry

The dominant note of Jain literature is religious. We find that during this period the Jain religion tended to fall into schisms. Due to different interpretations of the canonical texts, different sects came into being. Separation in the form of Śwetāmbar and Digambar took place in A.D. 79 or 82. They were further divided into sub-sects based on acceptance or rejection of idol-worship. In course of time the sects of idol-worshippers were further divided into yet smaller sub-sects.

The Sādhus of both these sects were called 'Nirgrañth'. They were expected to move about almost incessantly and not to have any kind of permanent or semi-permanent home, followers or property. 'Nirgrañth' means without any possessions or attachment to worldly objects. Asceticism, self abnegation, self control and chastity were the characteristics of a Jain-Sādhu. But in 355 or even earlier the practice of 'Caityawāsi' started. Haribhadra Sūri (700-770) of Cittore, an erudite scholar and Ācārya, detected many corrupt practices and laxities in the ways of the 'caityawāsīs' and raised his powerful voice against such evils. He was successful in drawing attention and influencing the thought of the Jain world. His pupil Udyotan Sūri, the writer of *Kuvalaymālā* (778) and Siddhārth Sūri tried to convey this message in their own way to the people. It is said that Udyotan Sūri simultaneously conferred the title of 'Ācārya' on 84 of his pupils collectively. From these Ācāryas were established the 84 'gacchas', But this number appears to be only conventional. The

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'gacchas' were formed at different times and not at one and the same time. It was left to Jineśwar Sūri to deliver a shattering blow to their evil practices. In 957, he outwitted the caityawāsīs in a religious debate in the court of Durlabhrāj and thus the 'Vidhimārg' or 'Saṅvigna', as it was called, received recognition. In Jineśwar Sūri's time his followers acquired the title of 'Khartar'. Since then the 'Khartar gaccha' became very popular in the Western and the Northern regions of Rajasthan. The Ācāryas and followers of this 'gaccha' have rendered valuable service to Rajasthani literature. In modern times the Yatīs or Śrīpūjyas of the Śwetāmbar and the Bhaṭṭārkas of the Digambar sects are called Maṭhwāsī, and collectively they are known as 'caityawāsīs.'

In 1451 Loṅkā Śah, who used to earn his livelihood by copying books at Ahmedabad, organized a new sect called 'Loṅkā'. His was a Śwetāmbar sect and was against idolatory. Lavjī Muni, in the tradition of Loṅkā Śah, founded Ḍhūṅḍhiyā sect in 1652. This is now known as Sthānakwāsī sect. In course of time Dharmdāsī became an Ācārya of this sect. After his death, some of his disciples were divided into twenty two branches and hence their lineage was called 'Bāiṣṭolā'. This name became so popular that the Ḍhūṅḍhiyā sect also came to be known by this name. The name Sthānakwāsī is, however, more current.

The Terāpaṅthīs had their origin in Sthānakwāsī sect. One of the pupils of Ācārya Dharmdāsī was Dhannojī, in whose tradition Raghunāthjī became Ācārya. Ācārya Bhīkhaṅjī, the founder of Terāpaṅth sect took initiation from Raghunāthjī. This sect and Terāpaṅth sect of the Digambars are different. Bhīkhaṅjī noticed that compared to the Āgams there was much deviation in conduct and ideology of the Sthānakwāsīs. To eliminate these deviations he founded the Terāpaṅth sect in 1760. His contribution to the Jain philosophy and Rajasthani literature is very valuable. Other Ācāryas of this sect too have contributed a lot to literature.

Among the Śwetāmbars, literature of the writers of different 'gacchas', the Terāpaṅth sect and Jatīs, is mostly in Rajasthani. They were more popular and held their sway in the Western, the Southern and the Northern regions of Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The Digambara prevailed in the Eastern, the Southern and the South-Eastern regions of Rajasthan.

Jain Sādhus from Rajasthan and Gujarat frequently visited each other's regions, thus creating a cultural, linguistic and ideological uniformity in both the regions which lasted for a long time.

Due to this uniformity, literature written by many Jain Sādhus during and after the latter half of the 15th century is claimed by scholars of both the languages, Gujarati and Rajasthani, to be their own.

The existence of Saṅghas and Gaṇas in the Jain community shows that the community was well organised culturally in ancient times. Some Saṅghas of the Digambar sect remained popular in Rajasthan only from time to time. They were Māthur, Kāsthā and Mūl Saṅghas. From the latter half of the 13th century, in certain regions of Rajasthan some Jain ascetics assumed the position of religious heads and enjoyed supreme authority in religious matters. They were called Bhaṭṭārkas. Bhaṭṭāarak Prabhācaṇdra (1257-1351) of Mūl Saṅgh and Balātkār Gaṇ, had his main 'Gaddī' at Ajmer. His pupil Bhaṭṭāarak Padmaṇandī (1328-1393) was very popular in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The tradition of the school of Padmaṇandī and other Bhaṭṭārkas enjoyed prominence and veneration till about the first half of the 18th century. In course of time due to obscenities, loose and ritualistic conduct and mutilation of religious practices, Bhaṭṭāarkism was vehemently opposed first by Banārasīdās (1586-1643) at Agra and later under his influence at Sāṅgāner near Jaipur by Amarcāṇd Godikā and Jodhrāj Godikā at the time of Bhaṭṭāarak Nareṇdra Kīrti (1646). These opponents belonged to a different ideology known as Terāpaṇth, an idolatrous Digambar sect. In the 18th century the famous scholar Ṭoḍarmall (1719-20-1767) was the greatest exponent of this sect. His *Mokṣa-mārg Prakāśak*, besides being an excellent work on metaphysics, is a land-mark in Ḍhūṇḍhāḍī prose. Gumānī Rām, the son of Ṭoḍarmall, founded the 'Gumān Paṇth' in the same century. The supporters of the Bhaṭṭārkas formed themselves into Bīsapaṇthī sect emphasizing thereby that they were superior to Terāpaṇthīs. Later, an attempt was made to bring about a compromise between

the Gumān Pañth and the Bīsapañthī. This resulted in the rise of Totāpañthī or the Sādhi Solāh Pañthī. It may be mentioned that these idolatrous sects among the Digambers do not differ materially. In Digambers, non-idolatrous sect known as Tārāṇpañthī sect was founded by Tārāṇ Swāmī (1448-1515) His literary creations are not in Rajasthani.

The works of Digambar Jain writers are mainly in Hindi. But many Bhaṭṭārakas and a few other writers have also made literary contributions in Rajasthani and Rajasthani-mixed Hindi.

There are four 'Anuyogas' mentioned in the Jain Āgams: (i) Prathmānuyog, (ii) Karaṇānuyog, (iii) Caraṇānuyog, and (iv) Dravyānuyog.

In Prathmānuyog, the life-stories and conduct of virtuous and religious men and women and their steadfastness to religious codes in vicissitudes and adverse circumstances are described. It is also called Dharmkathānuyog. Astronomy and mathematical sciences are included in Karaṇānuyog. The fundamentals of religious rules, codes and conducts are considered under Caraṇānuyog and interpretations of principles of metaphysics come under Dravyānuyog.

Out of these four, the stories and accounts of the lives of religious persons coming under the first, Dharmkathānuyog, form the subject-matter of the bulk of Jain literature. It was easy to convey the basic thoughts to the illiterate or less educated people through stories. Such religious persons are the 63 'Śalākā Puruṣ' and other men and women. 'Śalākā Puruṣ' are persons of outstanding merit and reckoning. The life-histories, conduct and characters of these 'Śalākā Puruṣ' are described in the Jain Purāṇas. They are 24 Tīrthaṅkars, 12 Cakrawartīs, 9 Baldevs, 9 Vasudevs and 9 Prativasudevs. Apart from these, lives and works of other spiritual, religious and virtuous persons like Sthūlibhadra, Jambūswāmī, Sudarśan, Gaj Sukumāl, Śreṇik, Śrīpāl, Dhannā, Āṣāḍhbhūtī, Valkalcīrī etc., and 16 'Satīs' famous in the Jain world, have also been narrated. The stories relating to these persons were described vividly by Jain poets in easy language. The Jain poets neither deviate nor differ from their Paurāṇic sources. The description is occasionally marked

by moral and religious sentiments. The poets used simple and popular language but within the frame-work of the traditional style.

The Jain literature is both in prose and poetry. Prose is of 2 types: (i) original, and (ii) annotation, commentary and the like. The poetry may be divided under four broad sub-heads:

(1) *Carit Kāvya* or *Kathā Kāvya*—Character and lives of the distinguished persons mentioned above are described in such poems. Many names have been given to them, such as Rās, Caupaī, Dhāl, Pawāḍo, Saṅdhi, Carcarī, Prabaṅdh, Carit, Ākhyānak, Kathā etc.

(2) *Utsav Kāvya*—These poems relate to special occasions or festivals and are called Phāgu, Dhamāl, Bārahmāsā, Vivāhalo, Dhawal, Maṅgal etc.

(3) *Nīti Kāvya*—These poems deal with moral behaviour and prudence and go under the names Saṅvād, Kakkā, Mātrikā, Bāwnī, Chattīsī, Kulak, Hiyāli etc.

(4) *Stuti Kāvya*—These poems written in praise of Tīrthaṅkars, spiritual persons and holy places, are called Stuti, Stawan, Sajjhāy, Vīnatī, Namskār, Bīsī, Caubīsī etc.

The main objective of the Jain poets was spiritual and religious. The aim was to bring about the moral regeneration of the people. Their narratives end with a note of 'nirved' or disregard of wordly objects. The predominant 'ras' of their compositions is, therefore, 'śānt'. Here and there casual glimpses of 'śṛṅgār' and 'karuṇ' rasas are found but their complete assimilation does not take place. Exceptions to this tendency, of course, are there but only a few.

For a study of the origin and development of Rajasthani language, the Jain literature is of much value as it is available almost continuously from the earliest times to the present century. For literary writings from the 11th to 14th century, we have to depend on this literature as no other authentic materials are available. Particular care, however, has to be taken in the study of language inasmuch as the Jain poets have adhered to the traditional style but in doing so, wordforms have been changed a bit.

Some Jain poets have also composed powerful poems on other themes including historical, semi-historical, secular and the like.

The Rajasthani Jain literature has inherited practically all the characteristics of Apabhramśa Jain literature.

Bharateśwar Bāhubali Ghor by Vajrasen Sūri, the earliest Jain work of Maru-Gūrjar, written around 1168, is a small poem of 48 verses, describing the battle between Bharat and Bāhubali, and appears to have been composed as temple music. The work is versification of the following story: The first Tīrthaṅkar, Ṛṣabhdev, had 100 sons including Bharat and Bāhubali. Towards the close of his life, Ṛṣabhdev divided his kingdom amongst his sons and became an ascetic. Dissatisfied with his own share, Bharat, the eldest brother, tried to become a 'cakrawartī' and usurped the shares of all the 98 brothers, excepting that of Bāhubali who opposed him openly. Bharat attacked Bāhubali but could not vanquish him. He used the 'cakra' to kill Bāhubali but it would not be effective against a man of the same clan. In a hand to hand fight Bāhubali suffered the blows of Bharat but refused to retaliate against the elder brother. In a spirit of renunciation, he became a muni (ascetic) and started doing sādhanā. He could suppress all his passions except 'ahaṅkāra' (ego) which was eliminated by the preachings of Ṛṣabhdev. He obtained eternal emancipation (kaivalya). Bharat, having ruled the country, also reached the state of self-realization.

But a more powerful and appealing poetic work on this theme is *Bharateśwar Bāhubali Rās* by Śālibhadra Sūri, composed in 1184. A poem of 203 verses, it claims a high place not only in Jain literature but also amongst the heroic poetry of the early period in respect of diction, flow of language and poetic elegance. There are realistic descriptions of warfare and diplomacy and psychological analysis of Bāhubali's mind and heart. Ingenuity of expression is also noticeable. Ridiculing Bharat's 'cakrawartīsm' before his emissary, Bāhubali says:

'Not to speak of Bharateśwar, even gods and demons cannot face me in a fight. If he thinks of becoming a 'cakrawartī',

the turner of wheels, the potters in my city could claim the same achievement'.

Another composition of Śālibhadra is *Buddhirās* (63 verses) in which wise sayings and moral teachings have been compiled for the benefit of the common man. The style of this Rās was followed in many subsequent works, like *Sār Sikhāmaṇ Rās*, *Hitsikṣā Rās* etc. One of the verses teaches: 'Do not enter into deep waters or a vacant house. Do not be outspoken with nobility and don't quarrel with women on the crossroads'.

Āsig (Āsigu) composed *Jīvdayā Rās* (53 verses) in 1200 and about the same time *Caṇḍan Bālā Rās* (35 verses) and *Kṛpaṅgṛhiṇī Saṅvād* (9 verses). In the first poem, the need to follow 'dharma' and the effect and importance of mercy on living beings is emphasized. In the second one, the incident of giving food as alms to Lord Mahāvīr has been described. The third one is a dialogue between a husband and a wife about the proper use of money.

From the 13th century onwards, we find numerous compositions of various types. We will take note here of only a few selected ones.

Jambūswāmī Cariy (41 verses) was composed in 1209 by Dharma, a pupil of Maheṇdra Sūri, and is based on the touching story of Jambūswāmī about whom many poems have been written. He was the son of a wealthy person, Ṛṣabhdatt of Rājgṛha, the then capital of Magadh. On the first night of his marriage, he imparted precepts to his eight wives but it was also heard by the thief Prabhav with his 500 followers who had come to commit theft in his house. The next morning having heard their resolve to accept renunciation and Jambū's precepts, his parents with the 16 in-laws also decided to take initiation. Thus, he along with 527 persons took initiation as ascetics from Sudharma, the pupil of Lord Mahāvīr. In the *Cariy*, this story has been narrated briefly.

Pālhaṅ's two works *Nemi Bārahmāsā* (16 verses) and *Ābū Rās* (51 verses), written in 1233, are available. The theme of Nemināth and Rājimatī (Rājul) had been very popular with the Jain poets. Nemināth, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkar, was the son of Mahārāj Samudravijay and cousin of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. His marriage

was fixed with Rājimatī, the daughter of Ugrasen. When the marriage procession reached Ugrasen's palace, Nemināth heard the pathetic cries of captive animals and birds, meant to feed the marriage party. He was moved with pity as he thought of the horrible cruelty against these innocent creatures, renounced the world and reached Girnār, in search of eternal emancipation. Rājimatī was stunned to hear this news. But she decided to follow the same path and took initiation for self-realization from him. Due to the depiction of the sentiments and tender feelings of Rājimatī, the poems composed on this theme have become very touching at places. The present one is the first 'Barahmāsā' poem of Maru-Gurjar. Rājimatī never met Nemināth, and her pangs of separation in each month of the year beginning from Śrāvaṇ are described. Contrary to other 'Bārahmāsās', it ends in the heroine's taking ascetic initiation.

Ābū Rās describes the construction of temples on Mount Ābū by ministers Vimal and Vastupāl Tejpāl.

Lakṣmītilak Gaṇī's *Śāntināth Dev Rās* (about 1256) describes briefly the life of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkar, Śāntināth, and the consecration of the Lord's idols in the temples at Kheḍ in 1201 and at Jālore in 1256 by Jinpati Sūri and Jineśwar Sūri respectively. Thus it records some historical facts also.

Som Mūrti's four compositions (about 1274) are notable, particularly from the point of view of poetic forms. They are (1) *Jineśwar Sūri Vivāh Varṇaṇā Rās*, (2) *Jin Prabodh Sūri Carcarī*, (3) *Gurāwalī Reluā*, and (4) *Jin Prabodh Sūri Bolikā*. The first one is an allegory which describes the marriage of Jineśwar Sūri with Saṅyam Śrī, the initiation which he took and the act of his becoming a disciple at Kheḍ.

Uvaeśmāl Kahāṇay Chappay by Uday Dharm, the pupil of Ratnasen Sūri, is a didactic work composed in 81 Chappay Chaṇḍ.

Jindatt Carit of Ralha or Rājsiṅha, composed in 1297, in 553 verses describes the life of Seṭh Jindatt which has been very popular in the Jain community. The language is Rajasthani mixed with Hindi with a tinge of Apabhramśa. This is a narrative and romantic Jain poem. Another well-known poem of this type is *Pradyumna Carit* in 701 verses by Sadhārū

written in 1354, narrating the life of Pradyumna. Its language is Hindi with some mixture of Rajasthani and Apabhramśa.

Ambdev Sūri's *Samarā Rās* in 105 verses, divided into 11 'bhāsās', is an important poetic work. It gives a vivid description of a pilgrimage to Śatruñjay by Saṅghpati Desal and his followers led by Samarsiṅha. Popular metres have been used in the poem. It provides ample historical and geographical information connected with the journey.

Jin Padma Sūri's *Thūlibhadda Phāg*, composed in 1333, is based on a critical incident in Sthūlibhadra's life.

Sthūlibhadra was the son of a Brahmin minister Śaktār (or Śakḍāl) of King Naṅd, the ninth of Magadh. He fell in love with a beautiful courtesan Kośyā and spent 12 years with her in enjoyment. In the meantime, due to court intrigues, his innocent father lost his life and the son could not meet the dying father. He pondered over the fickleness of life and wordly glory and decided to renounce the world. He took initiation from Ācārya Sambhūtivijay. To test his self-restraint, he spent a 'cāturmās' at the house of Kośyā. There she tried all possible ways to allure him but could not succeed. He had subdued all his passions. She also followed his way.

This is the first 'Phāgu' poem available so far. This is called 'Phāgu' because of its picturesque contents which relate to the month of 'Phāguṇ' but it describes the rainy season and not the spring as is usual with such poems. A small poem of 27 verses divided into seven parts called 'bhāsas', it was meant to be sung. Its diction is full of alliteration. In the background of rainy season the description of amorous dalliance of Kośyā is very natural and charming. As in other poems, it ends with the hero renouncing the world.

Śālibhadra Sūri's (of Pūrṇimā gaccha) *Pāñc Pāñḍav Carit-Rāsu*, composed in 1353, is a long narrative poem of 795 lines divided into 15 'ṭhawṇīs'. It narrates the story of the Pāñḍavas based on the Mahābhārat but follows the Jain tradition. In the end, influenced by the preachings of Nem Muni, the Pāñḍavas accept the Jain religion.

Gautam Swāmī Rās by Upādhyāy Vinay Prabh, composed in 1355, is a work of poetic beauty and is very popular in

that it is a poem of daily reading amongst the Jain Śrāvakas. It is mostly rhetorical and the metres are fit to be sung.

Śali Sūri's *Virāṭ Parva*, composed before 1421, is yet another long mythological narrative poem in 183 stanzas. Here the poet has narrated the story of 'Virāṭ Parva' of the Mahābhārat in his own way. In the entire poem the Sanskrit syllabic metres are used—a rare feature in Maru-Gurjar poetical compositions.

Rājśekhara Sūri was famous for his learning. His *Prabandh-Koś* in Sanskrit, written in 1348, is deemed to be a source material for medieval Hindu history. He has to his credit two well known poems, *Nemināth Phāgu* and *Tribhuvan Dīpak Prabandh*. *Nemināth Phāgu*, in Maru-Gurjar, is a poem of 27 verses on the Nemināth theme, already mentioned. The description of spring, Rājimatī's beauty and adornment and her pangs is arresting. The impact of Jin Padma Sūri's *Thūlibhadda Phāg* or some such work appears to be there. The *Prabandh*, a larger narrative poem in lucid style, is an allegory, the first of its kind in Maru-Gurjar. In this poem different instincts have been presented as various human characters, and ultimately the good ones have victory over the vicious ones. The Soul Sovereign (Ātmā) trapped by a young beautiful woman Illusion (Māyā) was made a prisoner in the body-city (Kāyānagarī). His minister, Mind (Man) became all-powerful. He married two women, Attachment (Pravṛtti) and Liberation (Nivṛtti) and had two sons, Delusion (Moh) and Wisdom (Vivek) from them respectively. Delusion captured the city but his step-brother Wisdom, with the help of his two wives, Restraint (Saṅyamśrī) and Good Sense (Sumati), defeated him and re-throned the Soul-Sovereign. The poem is interspersed with prose.

Hirānaṅd Sūri, Mahopādhyāy Jaysāgar and Depāl are other renowned poets of the Early Period.

In this literature we find a remarkable mixture of the elements of the Jain metaphysics, religion, prudence and teachings. While assessing this literature from the poetical point of view, we should keep in mind the ultimate aim and attitude of the poets towards life. In their own way, they have tried to ameliorate man and society morally. A religious atmosphere

prevails over the Jain works. Here and there, in the versified folk tales and other stories, attractive descriptions of nature, beauty, 'śṛṅgār' and some particular situations are visible. The poems composed on the themes relating to Nemināth-Rājimatī, Sthūlibhadra-Kośyā, Jambūswāmī etc. are comparatively more charming due to tender human feelings involved. Most of the later poems are imitations of the previous ones on particular themes. Such poems fail to attract the modern reader as they appear to be monotonous. But other poems continue to be as attractive as they were when composed. The poets have used many poetic forms and motifs.

Jains have rendered a great service to the world of letters by preserving the material pertaining not only to Jain literature and culture, but also to the culture and literature of the country as a whole. They have kept the tradition of many folk tales alive, by versifying them in easy language. In their 'Prabañdh' books the earliest examples of verses of secular love and Cāraṇ styles are found.

Secular (Laukik) Love Poetry

In Ācārya Hemcañdra's 'Grammar' and 'Prabañdh' books *Prabhāvak Carit* (1277) of Prabhācañdra Sūri, *Prabañdh Cintāmaṇi* (1304) of Merutuṅg, *Prabañdh-Koś* (1348) of Rājśekhara Sūri, *Kumārpāl-Pratibodh*, *Updeś Saptati* and analects like *Vikram Carit* of Śubh Śīl (1442), many stray verses in easy Apabhramśa and Apabhramśa-mixed 'Deśibhāṣā' or Maru-Gurjar are found. Such works were compiled mainly between the 12th and the first half of the 16th century. Their subject-matter is varied. Emotions of love and separation, remorse, heroism, erotic feelings, pride and glory of brave women, prudence, historical facts and persons, popular sayings and objective descriptions are plentiful. They are allegorical and religious too. Some verses have been quoted in more than one work mentioned above due to the popularity of their appeal. Some of them, developed in Rajasthani form, are still popular amongst the common folk. Many of them have also been adopted in substance and given new forms by later Rajasthani poets. This shows the long tradition and mass popularity of such verses.

Two examples of these from Hemcañdra's 'Grammar' are given here: 'While stooping to make the crow fly, the lady suddenly saw her husband who had been away for long. Half of her bangles fell down on the ground, being loose due to the emaciation caused by separation, and the remaining ones broke with a crackling sound due to a sudden tautness caused by the happiness on seeing her husband' (352/1). This couplet is popular in Rajasthan. Only the meaning of the third part differs slightly: 'Half the bangles fell round the neck of the crow'. Another verse is (338/1): 'Those who conceal their own good qualities and speak of even the small virtues of others are decidedly noble. For such rare nobleness, I am ready to sacrifice myself'.

Besides these, poems known as *Bārahmāsā* (twelve months), *Ṣaṭ Ṛtu* (six seasons) and *Phāgu* (pertaining to spring season) were also composed. Folk tales relating to Vikramāditya, Bhoj, Hañsrāj-Bacchrāj, Vidyāvilās, Sadayvatsa, Ambaḍ etc. were composed by a host of poets. Here we shall discuss a few of the important ones.

Three different editions of *Bīsaldev Rās* of Narpati Nālha have been published. The date of its composition is disputed but we can safely put this sometime in the first half of the 14th century. The story is simple. Rājmatī, the daughter of Rājā Bhoj Parmār, was married to Bīsaldev of Ajmer. In the very first meeting an unusual event occurred. Bīsaldev claimed with pride that there was no other king like him. Refuting this, Rājmatī remarked that there were many kings like him, amongst them one was of Orissa in whose kingdom the mines produced diamonds while his (Bīsaldev's) Sāmbhar Lake only produced salt. He felt offended and took a pledge to go to Orissa and to remain there for 12 years to collect diamonds. All the efforts of the queen to persuade him failed. Ultimately, after this period, Rājmatī sent a Purohit with a message to bring him back. The King returned.

This is an amorous narrative poem meant to be sung. The expression of the pangs of separation made through a '*Bārahmāsā*' starting from the month of Kārtik (October-November) is revealing. The work has an unforgettable character in Rājmatī. She is sharp of tongue and independent by nature. She

does not support false pride and boasting. But, at the same time, she has the womanly weakness of love. Her tender feelings are described in many ways. When Bīsaldev is ready to go, she says: 'Either you kill me or take me with you. O lord! two griefs torture me every morning and evening. One, the indolent youth, which will twist me to death and the other, the grief of being called barren'. (42, Guptā's edition).

Vasānt Vilās Phāgu has attracted the attention of many scholars and has been brought out in several editions. Two recensions of the poem—smaller and larger, containing 52 and 84 or 86 couplets respectively—are available. This is due to its popularity and interpolations, the poem being purely secular and meant to be sung. After each couplet a Sanskrit or Prakrit verse depicting similar emotion is given. These verses have been selected from *Naiṣḍhīya Carit*, *Śiśupāl Vadh*, *Kumār Sambhav*, *Śākuṅtal*, *Amarū-Śatak*, *Karpūr Mañjarī*, *Prabodh Caṅdroday*, *Subhāṣitāwalī*, *Saraṅghar Paddhati*, *Sadukti Karṇāmṛta* etc. Of the two recensions only one must be genuine. Its author is unknown but surely he was not a Jain poet, for there is no shadow of Jain philosophy or religion in the descriptions which are purely secular. It was composed sometime around 1350. It has a specific form of composition, each couplet having an 'Aṅtaryamak' (i.e. internal alliteration or rhyme) to give speed and effect to music. The spring season and its amorous sports, the absolute command and influence of Cupid, the god of love, the agony of separation, the delightful re-union of the spouses and women's physical charms are described with intensity. The spring season and its amorous enjoyments are the ruling emotions of this poem. These have been described in sonorous and effortless phrasing. In one couplet the poet says:

Like good warriors, both the upright breasts did not surrender in the battle. Though the Lord is a formidable contestant in this amorous battle, the warriors have thrown off their armour, the breast covers.

Sṅgār Śat, an anonymous work of 105 verses, appears to

have been composed around 1350. An erotic poem, it starts with an account of 'Sāmānya Nāyikā' and then gives a vivid description of six seasons beginning with the spring. The suffering and agony of separation and amorous enjoyment, with the changing moods and characteristics of nature during the six seasons of the year, are expressed in lucid language. The main topic is more or less akin to that of *Vasānt Vilās Phāgu*. The poet has used varying syllabic metres also.

The earliest versified folk tale in Maru-Gurjar is *Haṅsrāj-Bacchrāj Caupāī* by the Jain poet Vijay Bhadra who composed it in 1354.

A more popular poem based on this legend is *Haṅsāwalī* composed by Āsāit, a Brahmin poet, in 1370. It consists of 438 verses (mainly caupāī and dohā) divided into four parts. King Narvāhan of Pahīṭhāṇ saw Haṅsāwalī, the daughter of King Sanak Bhram of Pāṭaṇ, in a dream. She was reputed to be an outright man-hater but somehow Narvāhan's minister, Mankesar, succeeded in securing the marriage of his king with this lady. Two sons, Bacchrāj and Haṅsrāj were born to them. Once youth Haṅsrāj rejected the lustful proposal of the passion-blind principal queen Līlāwatī. The disappointed queen consequently became furious and conspired to get a death warrant against both the brothers. The sentence, however, was not executed and they were left in a jungle where they suffered untold miseries. Bacchrāj fell in love with Citralekhā, the daughter of King Sanak Bhram and won her after many adventures. He was thrown into the sea by his rival Puṣpdaṅt through deceit but was saved. Haṅsrāj, as luck would have it, got the kingdom of Kāntinagar, which formerly belonged to a king who died issueless. Bacchrāj joined him there.

The work is significant for its motifs, language, antiquity and portrayal of the contemporary society. Its poetic value is not much, the main 'ras' being 'śṅgār' (erotic) along with 'adbhut' (wonderful).

Sadayvatsa Vīr Prabandh, a narrative poem of 730 verses, was composed by Bhīm about 1409. The legend of Sadayvatsa-Sāvliṅgā had been prevalent in Rajasthan, Gujarat and neighbouring parts. There is a mention of this legend in *Saṅdes Rāsak*

of Abdul Rahmān and *Padamavāt* of Jāyasī. Different recensions of the story are found in Gujarati and Rajasthani. They are mainly in two forms: verse and prose mixed with verse. Later Rajasthani versions are mostly in the mixed form and the heroine Sāvliṅgā is depicted as a beloved and not a wife as in the present poem. They are also more erotic than heroic. This *Prabañdh* is the earliest poem on this legend. Sadayvatsa was the son of king Prabhuvatsa of Ujjain. Sāvliṅgā, the daughter of king Śālivāhan of Pratiṣṭhān selected him as her husband at a 'Swayamvar'. Once Sadayvatsa saved the life of a pregnant Brahmin lady from a royal elephant, Jaymaṅgal by name, who had run amuck. The king was so much delighted that he decided to designate Sadayvatsa as his heir-apparent. But, the minister later poisoned the ears of the king who ordered him into exile. Sāvliṅgā accompanied him. After this, the poet narrates a series of Sadayvatsa's adventures and miraculous deeds. A few interesting stories have also been interwoven. Ultimately, Sadayvatsa was placed on the throne by his own father.

As the title suggests, the work describes the heroic deeds of Sadayvatsa, inspired by his romantic and noble temperament. The poet pledges in the beginning to narrate the story in nine 'rasas', but the main 'ras' is 'vir' (heroic) followed by 'śṅgār' and 'adbhut'. Basically, this legend is a love story, the adventurous deeds being subsidiary projections. Its language is Maru-Gurjar with occasional tinge of Apabhramśa. From the point of view of poetic beauty, motifs, language and depiction of the then society, it ranks amongst the eminent poems of this period. When this work was composed polygamy appears to be an accepted norm with the nobility. Kings were guided more by the advice of their ministers than by their own judgment.

In the desolate jungle, Sāvliṅgā felt acute thirst but did not indicate her need directly. She said:

'O Lord, in the jungles how do the deer keep alive without water?' Promptly came the reply, 'They drink the water of love, of which the ponds of affectionate eyes are full.'

On the way when they found a dead deer couple, she asked:

'They don't appear to have been killed by a hunter, as no blood oozes out, nor an arrow is visible. Say, O Sūdā! how

could they die?' And his answer was: 'With inadequate water for both to quench thirst, one of them offered it to the other who did not drink it. So none of them drank. The water dried up in the meanwhile, hence the deaths'.

Malaysuṅdarī Kathā was composed about 1421 by Māṅikya Suṅdar Sūri, the author of *Pṛthvīcaṅdra Vāḡvilās*. It is a story of love between princess Malaysuṅdarī, daughter of king Vīrdhawal, of Caṅdrāwatī, and Mahābal, the son of the king Sūrajpāl of Pṛthvīsthānpur. Mahābal saw the princess sitting in an oriel. Both fell in love with each other and resolved to marry. They had to face terrible obstacles and overcame them by bravery, diligence and endurance. There are many miraculous episodes. This is a versified folk tale of love and had been very popular among the Jain poets. Such stories, including this one, were given a religious tinge by these poets.

Hīrānaṅd Sūri composed *Vidyāvilās Pavāḍau*, a romantic poem of 189 verses, in 1428, on the basis of a Sanskrit poem, *Mallināth Kāvya* by Vinay Caṅdra. The poet has adopted the story of Mūrkhcaṭṭ and Vinaycaṭṭ. Dhansāgar, the fourth son of a wealthy merchant Dhanavāh, was turned out of the house for saying that he would be king of Ujjain. He came to Śrīpur and joined a school where princess Sohāgsuṅdarī and Lacchiniwās, a son of the minister, were also studying. Dhansāgar was stupid but humble and was, therefore, nicknamed Mūrkhcaṭṭ and later Vinaycaṭṭ. The princess wanted to marry Lacchiniwās who did not like it, and instead, wanted her to marry Vinaycaṭṭ. Lacchiniwās fixed a rendezvous with the princess. On her reaching the appointed spot, she was fraudulently married to Vinaycaṭṭ. After the marriage the couple rode to Ujjain on the back of a camel. And there at day-break she found to her utter disappointment and grief that the man to whom she was married was Vinaycaṭṭ. Vinaycaṭṭ, who had been earlier blessed by the goddess of learning, now became an accomplished scholar and came to acquire the name of Vidyāvilās. After many adventures, he became king of Ujjain.

Knowledge of previous births, a favourite motif amongst the Jain poets, is also used here. The poem was meant to be sung, and there is a mention of musical modes and notes. It is important

in that it describes the royal court, trade and commerce, feuds over females and methods of reception etc.

Hīr Bhāṭ composed *Mān Kutuhal* or *Mānwatī Vinaywatī Prabandh* sometime in the first half of the 15th century as a rejoinder to the arrogance of Vilal Kuñwarī alias Mān Kuñwarī, the wife of Rāv Gaipā of Iḍar. Vilal Kuñwarī and Lāl Kuñwarī (alias Vinaywatī), daughters of the ruler of Dūngarpur, were married respectively to Rāv Gaipā and Nathrāj of Ṭoḍā. Nathrāj, an opium addict, was always in a state of intoxication. So, Lāl Kuñwarī somehow managed to elope with the Rāv. Vilal Kuñwarī, jealous of her sister as a co-wife, became arrogant, thus making her husband miserable. Once the poet Hīr Bhāṭ came to the Rāv for alms. He came to know the reason of the Rāv's grief and tried to bring about a reconciliation between Vilal Kuñwarī and the Rāv through 114 verses which go under the above title. The language is Apabhramśa mixed with Rajasthani. One verse is:

Lāl Kuñwarī asked the Rāv for a visit to Vilal Kuñwarī. He replied, 'O beauty, she is very arrogant and my heart does not relish arrogance. Why wear a gold ornament which injures the ear?'

About 40 erotic verses in stray kavitt metre under the title *Mayaṅ Chaṅd* by Mayaṅ Bhaṭṭ (or Mayaṅ Bambh) are available in different manuscripts. The physical beauty of the mistress and amorous feelings, gestures and sports are described in a very charming manner. The diction is nearly as sweet and delicate as that of *Vasaṅt Vilās*. The popularity of the kavitt is evident from the fact that the work of another Jain poet Lāwanya Samay bears a close impress of some of its verses. A reflection of these verses is also found in *Nand-Battīsī* by the Gujarati poet Sāmal, composed in the early 18th century. We can, therefore, fix the date of Mayaṅ Bhaṭṭ's composition to be sometime during the first half of the 15th century.

Mayaṅ Bhaṭṭ bears the reputation of having composed a good number of verses in kavitt which had the result of persuading Raṅdhawal to break a pledge which the latter had earlier

taken. The pledge was that he would not give alms to any Bhāṭ. This incident is narrated in a Rajasthani story 'Raṇdhawal rī Vāt' in which some verses of the poet are also included. There is a mention of *Mayaṇ Purāṇ* in *Mādhavānal-Kāmkaṇḍalā* by Gaṇpati Kāyasth. But till this *Purāṇ* and other evidence regarding the facts are available, its authorship cannot be ascribed with certainty to Mayaṇ.

Though many sayings and dialogues of 'Ghāgh' and 'Bhaḍḍarī', particularly relating to weather forecasts, do not come under the purview of poetry in the strict sense of the term, they had been and are very popular under different names as *Megh-māl-Bhaḍḍarī*, *Ḍāk-Bhaḍḍalī* and the like. Its archetype scribed before the first half of the 15th century is available, the language being Apabhramśa mixed with Rajasthani. It may be concluded that the original sayings were composed from the 11th to the 13th century. One of the verses says:

'A cloud which shows the colour of a partridge's feathers and a widow who adorns her eyes with collyrium, are respectively sure to rain and re-marry.'

Cāraṇ Poetry

From the 11th to the 14th century, poetry in the Cāraṇ style is available in the form of stray verses quoted in the Apabhramśa 'Grammar' of Hemcaṇḍra and the Jain 'Prabhaṇḍhas'. They are mostly in the Western Apabhramśa but some are akin to the then developing Rajasthani with a touch of Apabhramśa. Such verses deal with laudatory, historical and heroic deeds, amorous feelings, objective descriptions, moral and religious topics. This kind of poetry is preceded by verses of the following type.

They are the utterances of known or unknown Cāraṇs or Bhāṭs. Names of some Cāraṇs are Ḍhumaṇ, Rāmcaṇḍra, Gāgil, and Haṭṭi Praviṣṭ. From *Purātan Prabhaṇḍh* a couplet of Ramcaṇḍra Cāraṇ may be cited:

O charming dear! only cowards worry about the largeness of enemy's ranks and the smallness of his own. The single mighty lustre brightens the sky and not the numerous stars.

This couplet, also found in *Kumārpāl Pratibodh*, depicts Kṛṣṇa's assurance to timid Rukmiṇī. This is also found in Hemcaṇdra's 'Grammar' with a slight variation. In both these couplets, the name of the poet does not figure. Similar absence of names is found in many more couplets. It cannot, therefore, be said with certainty as to how many of such couplets are the creations of Cāraṇ poets, though they bear clearly identifiable characteristics of Cāraṇ poetic genius. These characteristics are a blending of the erotic and/or the pathetic with the heroic emotions. Subtle touches of śṛṅgār have often been given in some poems. In the 'Grammar' of Hemcaṇdra there is a couplet:

If the enemies are routed from the battlefield, it must surely be due to my dear husband's valour. If rout has set in our ranks, it is possible only when my husband has embraced death. (379/2)

Heroic emotions were expressed and statements of tradition made in abundance by poets of this style. Lions, boars, elephants, bullocks, aquilas and cobras were used respectively as symbols of firmness, gigantism, hardiness, vigour, swift movement and assault and wrath. Again, a couplet from the 'Grammar':

The master of a bullock, unable to put his load on the cart carries the heavy load himself. The loyal bullock wails and wishes, its body were cut and made into two bullocks to bring relief to the master. (340/2)

Two Cāraṇ poets, Ānaṇḍ and Karmānaṇḍ, have jointly composed poems in the sense that the first line of a couplet, composed by one, poses a question and the second line, composed by the other, answers it. In the 'Grammar', there is a couplet of this sort with the name 'Ānaṇḍ' (401/3). Muni Karmānaṇḍ has been remembered with reverence in *Rām Rāsau*, composed about 1593 by Mādhaudās Dadhwāḍiyā. A devotional Ḍiṅgal gīt by Karmānaṇḍ is also found. But it is not certain that the two

Karmānañds are identical, probably they are not.

There is a mention of two Cāraṇ poets of Sorāṭh who came to Aṇhilpur Pāṭaṇ to contest in 'Dūhā Vidyā' (Apabhramśa poems). Judgement was left to Hemcañdra. Two couplets, one by each, are given in *Prabañdh Ciñtāmaṇi*. Lall (or Hall) Bhaṭṭ has given a graphic description of Rudra Mahālay, built by Siddhrāj Jaysiñha in Siddhpur, in 10 stray verses (9 kavitt and 1 dohā). They are of historical importance.

Of the known Ḍiṅgal-Gītkārs of this period, Acalo Bāṇiyo and Harsūr Rohḍiyo deserve notice from the point of view of antiquity. Acalo's gīts are on Rāṇā Khetsī of Mewār (1364-1382) and describe his battle with Hāḍā Lālsiñha of Būñdī. Harsūr describes Rāv Vīram's death (in 1383) after killing Johiyā Depāl. The accounts given in the gīts tally with those of history. The poets may be put in the second half of the 14th century.

Śrīdhar Vyās is the earliest poet of significance of this period who has contributed to both the major types of Cāraṇ poetry namely, the historical and heroic and the mythological and religious. His poems are *Raṇmall Chañd* (70 verses), *Saptsatī rā Chañd* (120 verses) and *Kavitt Bhāgwat* (or *Bhāgwat Daśam Skañdh*) (127 verses and incomplete).

Raṇmall Chañd is a historical poem. It depicts heroic characters and describes the battle which Rāv Raṇmall Rāṭhore of Īḍar fought against Zafarkhān, the Governor of Gujarat, when the latter invaded Īḍar in 1398. The poem was composed in 1400.

Its alliterative and tinnitus diction, and vivid description of battle make it a poem of distinction. The cause of the battle is not only political but religious and moral also:

At the foothill of Īḍar, hearing the rumbling of the mighty Muslim army of the King, the valorous Kamdhaj (Rāṭhore) stood to protect the brahmin, the cow, the women and the children. (55)

Some Persian and Arabic words have also been used. In fact, the use of such words in describing battles and in dia-

logues with the Mohammedans is a common tendency of this poetry. The first ten verses, the 'Āryās', are in Sanskrit. Mātrik and syllabic metres as well as mixed Mātrik (moraic) metres have been used. Its language is the representative specimen of this style of poetry in the Early Period. Describing the battle, the poet says:

In the Mohammedan army, the warriors were gingling their arms. Raṅmall, brandishing his spear, jumped into fight. On hearing the sound of his battle weapons, they forgot plunder and even eating. He fearlessly and bravely arrested their chieftains who looked like monkeys. (45)

His lofty radiant face wears curling moustaches and bears eternal enmity to the Mohammedans. Angry Raṅmall in battle appears as the god of death with sword in hand. (64)

The *Saptsatī* is a heroic poem based on the *Durgā-Saptsatī* which is part of the *Mārkaṇḍey Purāṇ* and, as such, there is no originality in the subject matter. But from the point of view of antiquity, language, style and tradition, it is an important work. The poet is more interested in descriptions of all sorts than in the story which is feebly linked. This characteristic and the penchant for Sanskrit diction are also noticeable in a later poem *Veli Krisan-Rukmaṇī rī* by Pṛthvīrāj Rāṭhore. *Saptsatī*'s language and metre-scheme are similar to that of *Raṅmall Chāṇḍ*.

Kavitt Bhāgwat is based on the 10th skāṇḍh of the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ*.

These poems are the earliest specimens of mythological poems of the Cāraṇ style.

Vīrmāyaṇ of Bādar or Bahādar, a Mohammedan Dhādhī, composed in the later part of the first half of the 15th century in nīsāṇī and dohā metres, describes many battles and events connected with the early Rāṭhore chiefs and the Johiyās. The Rāṭhores are: Jaitmāl, Mallināth, Vīramdev, all sons of Rāv Salakhā; Jagmāl, the son of Mallināth; Cūṇḍā and Gogā, the sons of Vīramdev. Amongst the Johiyās are: Dalā, the chief of

the clan, his brothers, Madū, Jasā, Depāl and other relatives. The period of incidents described is from a little earlier than 1374, when Mallināth became the ruler of Mahewā and Kheḍ, to 1402 when Gogā was killed by the Johiyās. The sites of the events are: Bārmer, Māñḍū, Sahvāṇ or Johiyāwāṭī (regions around Sūratgarh, Anūpgarh of district Śrigaṅgānagar, Rajasthan), Bhāwalpur (Pakistan), Lāḍnūñ, Jāṅgaḷū, Phalodī, Maṅdaur etc. That the poet was present at the event last mentioned is evident from *Naiṅsī rī Khyāt*. Under 'Gogājī rī Vārtā' in the *Khyāt*, Naiṅsī has quoted two lines, uttered by a Ḍhāḍhī then present, about horses. The same are included in a nīṣāṇī of this poem

The poem is an important source of Rāṭhore history and records the rise and expansion of the Rāṭhore power in the 14th century and the fall of the Johiyās. Here the Rājput feudal society has emerged with all its grandeur and weaknesses. This is the only narrative poem on the subject. Struggle for existence, vendetta, carrying out a pledge, honour and dignity, almost continuous engagement in warfare and the deeds of ambitious chieftains have been depicted.

Major events revolve round the deeds of Vīram and Johiyās and are linked in a chain of cause and effect. They unfold gradually and the poet describes them with vigour in an unbroken sequence. Vīramdev, his wife Māṅgaḷiyāṇī, Jagmāl, Gogā and Johiyā Dalā are characters who attract immediate notice. They have their individual qualities. In their characterization the poet has refrained from exaggeration. The poem abounds in sentiments of heroism. It was so popular that later many of its lines became proverbial. They were adopted in various vāts (stories) and in poems including *Jhūlaṅā Mahārājā Rāysiṅghjī rā* by Sāṅdū Mālā (1533-1623). In course of time, with the growing popularity of the poem, a slight variation in its language is discernible. It is Rajasthani with a tinge of Pañjābī and Khaḍī Bolī. Here are a few lines from the poem:

The valiant Jagmāl brought Gīndolī and kept her close to him. He would not part with her while alive. Who can get her back till he lives?

Jagmāl's spears seem to shine in all directions and his shield is seen everywhere. Thereupon Begam asks the Khān whether there is only one Jagmāl or a number of them.

Why beget sons who only lose land and keep alive! Their mothers should have preferred poisoning them at their birth instead of raising them into such cowards.

In the field of battle warriors' corpses and their dead horses lay spread around as if the nomads had bivouacked in the field and departed.

Aaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā of Cāraṇ Gāḍaṇ Sivdās is a small narrative work in rhyming prose and verse. The number of verses and prose-sets is 119. It is of utmost importance from the point of view of language, literary tradition, antiquity and history.

It describes the invasion by Sultan Hoṣaṅ Ghorī of Māṇḍū on Aaldās Khīcī, the son of Bhoj of Gāgrongarh, Khīcī's fight against the invaders till death, and the brave ladies performing 'Jauhar' in the fort. The invasion took place in 1423. The poet, a contemporary of Aaldās, and probably his court poet, composed this work sometime after the happenings, around 1430-35. This is evident from the text. We also reach this conclusion from other angles. Its archetype is dated 1574 (Ms. No. 99, Anūp Sanskrit Library, Bikaner). Applying textual criticism to recension in this manuscript we find that (1) one set of prose part ('astrī jan sahas cālīs kau saṅghāṭ āi samprāptau hūvautau Bāi Puhpāi Rāṇāṅ Mokal kī sārḍhū got savāsiṅī tau Bāi Ūdī') is included more than once (at No. 64, 65 and 80) of which one is irrelevant to the context, (2) certain references about metres and their numbers are unnecessary, (3) there appear to be lacunae of a few lines relating to connecting sources. These go to show that there must have been at least two stages of textual development to reach the present Manuscript. Taking into account its popularity and fixing an average of 50 years for each stage, we come to 1474 when the first transmitted text might have been scribed from the original copy. We conclude,

therefore, that the work was composed much earlier, around 1430-35.

Having resolved to die in battle, Acaldās asked his son Pālhaṅṣī to escape from the fort in order to keep the lineage, to take revenge and to reconquer the fort. At Pālhaṅṣī's departure, feelings of pathos overwhelmed the atmosphere. Eyes overflowed with tears. The ladies, uttering 'Hari-Hari' and 'Visan-Visan', jumped into the fire and Acaldās with his warriors fought till death. The description of the Sultān's army and of the 'Jauhar' predominate the poem.

In the characterisation, depth and loftiness of sentiments prevail. Literary embellishment is not so significant. Actions of the Rājput̄s are motivated by their love for freedom, honour and dignity. This has been put as an allegorical statement by the poet:

'The tiger and the elephant inhabit the same jungle, then why so much difference between them? The tiger does not fetch even a pie but the elephant is sold for lakhs. The elephant's neck can be tied with an iron chain and it can be driven to any place. If the tiger could sustain such captivity, it would (also) have fetched lakhs.'

It is equally, and perhaps more, important from the linguistic point of view. The division of 'Ḍiṅgal' into old and new and fixing 1600, the date therefor, propounded by Dr. Tessitori and accepted by others, is automatically refuted by it. It is also free from the Apabhramśa impact. That Gujarati and Rajasthani were separated by this time is proved beyond doubt by it. It is the first authentic narrative poem by a Cāraṅ having specimens of prose also.

Its historical importance is yet to be taken note of. The birth date of Rāṅā Mokal of Cittore, identification of certain chieftains etc., are to be reconsidered in the light of these facts, the work having been written almost at the time when the events occurred. The *Vacanikā* is a milestone in the Cāraṅ poetry. The creation of the work and the occurrence it depicts were almost contemporary.

As far as the mythological and religious poetry in the Cāraṅ style is concerned, Śrīdhar Vyās's two creations are the

only ones available in the Early Period.

This style apart, we can incidentally mention the name of *Haricañd Purāñ* of Jāñkho Mañiyār composed in 1396. This is a narrative poem based on the mythological story of Mahārāj Hariścañdra. But its language is old Hindi with remnants of certain Apabhramśa forms and a slight mixture of Maru-Gurjar. The poet has called it a 'Payḍo' (Pavāḍo).

CHAPTER III

Medieval Period (1450-1850)

Phases and Features

In the Early Period Guhilot and Sisodiyā rulers of Cittere and Muslim concentration at Ajmer and Nāgore considerably influenced the history of Rajasthan. In the Medieval Period (1450-1850), the rise of some more Rājput clans to power, the establishment of the Mughal Empire and the policies of Akbar, and the British Rule and the treaties signed with them by the princely rulers of Rajasthan influenced the history of Rajasthan.

Prominent among the Rājput clans to come to power was that of the Rāthores of Mārwar. The rise of Rāthores began towards the end of the 14th century. In 1394 Cūṇḍā took Maṇḍowar. But he and his successors could not consolidate and strengthen the kingdom. It was left to Rāv Jodhā who was crowned in 1458, in Maṇḍowar. The next year he founded the fort and the city of Jodhpur near it. His illustrious son, Rāv Bīkā carved out another kingdom for himself in the northern part of Rajasthan. He founded the fort and the city of Bīkāner in 1485 and 1488 respectively. Other sons of Jodhā, Varsīṇha and Dūdā went to Mertā and held their sway over 360 villages around it. Thus, apart from small principalities, two large kingdoms of Jodhpur and Bīkāner came into being in the 15th century. Another house that came into prominence in the time of Akbar was that of the Kachvāhās of Āmer, when Bhārmal gave his

daughter in marriage to the Emperor in 1562. His successors held high positions in the Mughal Sultanate. Later on, Pratāpsīṅha, the son of Muhabbat Sīṅha established the kingdom of Alwar in 1775. He was a descendant of Narū; hence this branch of Kachvāhās was called Narūkā.

Rāv Devā, of the Hādā branch of the Cauhān clan, established the kingdom of Būndī in 1343. Kotā was first a part of Būndī but in 1631 Mādhosīṅha was recognized as a separate ruler of Kotā by Emperor Shah Jahan.

Sirohi belonged to the Dewaḍā branch of the Cauhāns. Samarsīṅha (1182-1185) is said to be the progenitor of the Sirohi Cauhāns. The Bharatpur kingdom, which came into being in 1715, belonged to the Jāṭs. The Bhāṭīs ruled the Jaisalmer.

Ḍūṅgarsīṅha, the son of Bhacūṅḍ of the Guhil dynasty, founded Ḍūṅgarpur kingdom about 1350. His descendant Mahārāwal Udaysīṅha divided it into Ḍūṅgarpur and Bāṅswārā in 1514 and gave these to his sons Pṛṭhvīrāj and Jagmāl respectively.

Due to many factors the boundaries of the kingdoms of Rajasthan had been changing from time to time. New kingdoms were carved and given recognition by the central powers, including the British. There had been many heroes who played decisive roles in the history of Rajasthan and India from time to time. The change in the central power affected the kingdoms of Rajasthan as well.

The battle of Khānwā in 1526 between Bābar and Rāṅā Sāṅgā virtually decided the political fate of the country, particularly of Rajasthan. The Rājput confederacy suffered heavy losses and was shattered. Due to the policy and prudence of Akbar, practically all the kingdoms except Mewār came under his sway in one form or the other. Needless to say that the rulers and warriors of these kingdoms were the supporting pillars of the Mughal Empire.

With the complete decay of the Mughal Empire, the period of the latter half of the 18th century was one of Marāṭhā domination over Rajasthan. Except over the kingdoms of Jaisalmer and Bīkāner, Marāṭhās had their sway throughout Rajasthan. Due to lack of unity and political farsightedness and

on account of internal rifts and fights, jealousy and rivalry, the Rājput rulers had to submit to the Marāṭhās and to their plunders and almost incessant demands for money. When the British came to power, these rulers were ready to have treaties with them in the interest of their safety and security. And by 1818, except Sirohī, all the princely states of Rajasthan had entered into treaties with them. Thus, from 1819 the British had the political supremacy over the princely states of Rajasthan till Indian Independence in 1947. The British supported and gave military help to amiable contestants for power in these states. So, when 'Gadar' broke out in 1857, these rulers were on the side of the British, though many smaller Jāgirdārs actively supported the uprising.

There have been many brilliant contemporary Cārans and other poets who immortalized the heroes, and their heroic deeds. Their historical value is beyond dispute. Such literary creations come under the historical and heroic poetry of the Cāraṇ style. The essence of this poetry is heroism in protecting one's own territory, and the person and property of those who seek his shelter. Poets have eulogized these virtues. Cowardice and tyranny have been condemned with severity. Such poems of slander and ridicule are called 'Visahar'. These trends are also found in the other school of poetry, namely the mythological and religious. Heroic deeds and assurance of protection and deliverance by Nṛsiṅha, Rām and Kṛṣṇa form the major theme of this poetry.

Poems relating to 'Nīti' or morals, right behaviour and prudence also appeared. These 'Nīti' poems are not copies of similar Sanskrit works. It is the folk ethics that they have propounded. *Rājīyai rā Sorāṭhā* heads the list of such poems.

Devotional (Sānt) Poetry

King, religion and tradition were the three important factors which shaped to a great extent the values of the people of Rajasthan in medieval times. Steadfastness to religion, tolerance and fidelity were the characteristics of the common man. In religious matters, the Rājput rulers were generous and tolerant

and their attitude appreciably touched the fringe of what we today call secular. They protected and patronized the institutions belonging to other religions. The role of a redeemer, a martyr, a hero or a saint developed into a sort of personality cult. Many such persons were raised to the status of folk deity, and the centres of their activities became places of pilgrimage. The five 'Pīrs', and Karañjī and Tejojī may be cited as instances of such deified personalities.

Due to geographical factors and for reasons cited above, many religious sects came into being, flourished and prospered. These sects had their respective saints whose traditions have survived even to this day. These saints, while laying down tenets of their respective faiths, have enriched poetry in the process.

The sphere of the 'Nāth' influence was intensive as well as extensive. Their centres still exist. Many poems are popular and go by the names of Gorakh, Carpaṭ and other Nāths of the early times. Mostly their language is Khaḍī Bolī mixed with Rajasthani. It is certain that many such poems are not the creations of those to whom they are attributed. We shall have occasion to discuss them in the chapter on 'Sant Poetry'.

Many saints have referred to Haṭhyog and its process, and have used the 'Nāth' diction. The inclusion of Yog in some form or the other is common in Sant poetry. Exceptions apart, the ten incarnations of God have been popular in the poetry of some of the major sects. Nāmdev (1270-1350) is the pioneer sant poet and the trend that started from him spread soon over Rajasthan and elsewhere. We have already said a few words about the language of the Sant poetry of Rajasthan. Three language forms—Braj, Piṅgal and Rajasthani were mostly used. Some poems were also written in Khaḍī Bolī mixed with Rajasthani. We shall also take note of the poems in Piṅgal leaning towards Rajasthani and Khaḍī Bolī mixed with Rajasthani.

Sant poetry is the product of those adhering to some sects, and those who were unattached and self-willed like Mīrāñ, Dīn Darveś and others. There appear to have been some ideological differences in the poetry flowing from these two classes.

Some sects believed in incarnation of God but not in idol worship. Some sects believed in neither, but only in one

Almighty. Some believed in both idolatory and incarnation.

Naturally, the contents apparently identical were in fact different. Those who believed in incarnations had a wider field for expression. The deeds of Divine Incarnations also formed the subject matter of such poetry.

Ākhyān Kāvya have continued to appear in the Medieval Period. The Jain poets continued to compose poems on their traditional themes. They also gave some significant historical poems and secular love narratives with a slight religious tinge. They also rendered useful service to other branches of knowledge. Many poems on secular love narratives were composed during this period.

THE CĀRAṆ POETRY

Historical and Heroic Poetry

Gāḍaṇ Pasāyat, Khiḍiyā Cānaṇ and Siṇḍhāyac Caubhujā are the early poets—all contemporaries of Rāṭhore Rāv Raṇmall and Jodhā of Mārwar. All the three have composed poems on at least one common occurrence, that is, the death of Raṇmall in Cittore in 1438.

Gāḍaṇ Pasāyat's (1400-1487/88) following works are available:

(1) *Kavitt Rāv Raṇmal, Cūṇḍai rai vair main Bhāṭiyān nai māriyā, tai samai rā* (5 verses), (2) *Kavitt Rāv Raṇmal, Nāgaur rā dhaṇī Peroz nai māriyā tai samai rā* (7 verses), (3) *Kavitt Rāṇā Mokal mūān rī khabar āyān rā* (5 verses), (4) *Rāv Raṇmal ro Rūpak* (71 verses), and (5) *Guṇ Jodhāyaṇ* (75 verses).

First three poems are stray verses and describe Raṇmall's taking vengeance on Bhāṭis for his father Cūṇḍā's death, his killing of Fīroz Khān of Nāgore in an invasion by Mokal, and his vow and killing of Cācā and Merā, the assassins of Rāṇā Mokal.

Rāv Raṇmal ro Rūpak and *Guṇ Jodhāyaṇ* are narrative poems and describe the heroic deeds and salient events relating to Rāv Raṇmall and Rāv Jodhā respectively. All the poems are of much historical value too.

In *Kavitt Rāṇā Mokal Mūāñ rī khabar āyāñ rā* Raṇmall takes a vow in these words:

If they (Cācā and Merā) go up in the sky, I will bring them down. If they go beneath the earth, I will dig them up. Wherever they go, they shall be caught. How can Cācā, the ungrateful, go alive? In fighting against me, the descendant of Vīram, even the fifty two 'Vīrs' will fail to protect him. Thus, Raṇmall took the vow to kill the two assassins of Mokal, wherever they may be.

And history records that he rested only after killing them in 1438.

That Pasāyat was a popular poet is evident from the fact that Naiṇsī in his *Khyāt* has quoted Pasāyat's verses in support of his statements.

Khiḍiyā Cānaṇ of village Pāghaḍī in Mārwar was the son of Lumbaṭ, and was a famous and respected poet of his time Rāṇā Mokal and Rāv Jodhā granted him two and four villages respectively. Rāv Bīkā, the founder of the kingdom of Bīkāner, gave him a 'Lākh Pasāv'. Khiḍiyā Cānaṇ ensured the marriage of Rāṇā Lākhā with Haṇsā Bāī, the sister of Rāv Raṇmall. He cremated the body of Raṇmall and dispersed the ashes in the Ganga. The following stray verses composed by him are available: (1) *Dūhā Rāv Riṇmal rā* (20), (2) *Dūhā Rāv Riṇdhīr rā* (14), (3) *Dūhā Sattā Bhāṭī rā* (6), (4) *Bhīmotoñ ke Soraṭhe* (17), (5) *Gīt (Ḍiṅgal)* (1), and (6) *Mātājī rā Chaṇd*.

With Rāv Raṇmall, his brother Raṇdhīr and his associate Sattā Bhāṭī of Jaisalmer also fell fighting in 1438. In the first three poems, their heroic deeds and how they fell are described. The fourth depicts the fight of Bhimot Rāṭhores, including Bairsal. The *Gīt* describes the invasion by Rāv Bīkā on Mallūkhān of Ajmer. *Matājī rā Chaṇd* is composed to celebrate the goddess.

Rāv Riṇmal rā Dūhā referred to in the *Vacanikā* of Khiḍiyā Jaggā is probably by Khiḍiyā Cānaṇ. While dying, Sattā Bhāṭī says:

Raṇmall has been deceived by Mewāḍ. But what of that? I alone will face their attack, otherwise my 'Māḍ' (Jaisalmer) will be ashamed, says the dying Sattā.

O Sattā, you hurled the dagger (the honour of the family) at the enemies in the fight along with dagger-sharp words.

Similarly, Siṇḍhāyac Caubhujā says in a Ḍiṅgal gīt on Raṇmall:

An unprecedented thing is heard. In a fight warriors die day and night. They take out their daggers when awake. But, to assault the enemy, you (Raṇmall) wielded it while asleep.

Although Raṇmall was tied to a cot while asleep and then attacked, he killed many persons in that state before his death.

In 1455, Padmanābh, a Nāgar Brahmin, composed *Kānhaḍ De Prabandh*, 141 years after the events described therein, in response to the wishes of his patron Akhayrāj of Jālore, who was the fifth descendant of Kānhaḍ De. This is a narrative poem composed in an epic style, and describes several invasions by Ala-ud-din Khaljī on Kānhaḍ De, a Cauhān of Songirā branch of Jālore and his nephew Sāntal of Samiyāṇā. It is divided into four parts and contains about 1000 verses, though the poet has mentioned this number as 1100. It is a tale of honour, love of freedom and the country, protection of religion, culture and ideals, the keeping of promises, the lofty human virtues and benevolent deeds of the Rājput heroes in medieval times. The brutality and ruthlessness of the invaders and their attempts to get victory by any means stand clear by contrast. It painfully records how prosperous kingdoms fell to ruin through petty conflicts of individual interests. We gather from the poem that the Rājputs could not fight in a well organised way. It is a heroic poem of much historical value. Social customs, popular beliefs, cities, army, war and its after-effects are described in a picturesque and powerful way. The portrayal of characters, particularly those of Kānhaḍ De, Vīram and Fīrozā, is vigorous. The depiction of inner feelings and human qualities and weaknesses is touching. The poem makes us feel proud of the bravery and

the sacrifices of the heroes for freedom, lofty ideals, and noble traditions and yet a lingering agony blended with pathos at the ruin of those kingdoms persists. The poet has portrayed the age in an effective manner.

The language shows the old forms a+i and a+u, though in the beginning of the 15th century new forms 'ai' and 'au' are not rare. This may be due to the Jain influence which is also evident when Fīrozā not only tells of her six previous births, but also about her future one. This motif of re-birth is popular in the Jain poems. The poem ends on a note of pathos when Fīrozā performs Satī to get Vīram as her husband in her next birth.

Some important Cāraṇ poets of the latter half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century are Khaṅgār Meḥḍū, Vīthū Sūrā, Bārhaṭ Harisūr, Bārhaṭ Cauhath, Lālji Meḥḍū, Cāraṇ Haridās Kesariyā and Sodā Bārhaṭ Jamnājī. They composed stray Ḍiṅgal gīts on contemporary rulers and chiefs and their heroic deeds, mostly on the Rāṭhores of Jodhpur and Bikaner and also on the rulers of Mēwar. Here are a few lines of a Ḍiṅgal gīt by Jamnājī Bārhaṭ, who consoled Rāṇā Sāṅgā after his defeat in the battle of Khānwā:

Why feel dejected? Kṛṣṇa fled a hundred times from the battlefield before Jarāsaṅdh. But ultimately he found the chance to kill him. Arjun had to withdraw himself once in Hastināpur seeing Draupadī in utter distress. It is known to everybody what Duryodhan did and afterwards what Arjun did with the Kauravas. Once Rāwaṇ took away Sītā. But after building a bridge over the sea, what did Rām do? Why feel despondent on one defeat, O Sāṅgā! You are a thorn in the bed for the enemies.

Following the style of *Kānhaḍ De Prabāṅdh*, Bhāṅḍau Vyās wrote in 1481 *Hammīrāyaṇ*, a narrative poem in 327 verses (caupaī, dohā, gāhā, vastu, chappay and paddhaḍī). There is also similarity between the two in some respects. The battles between the celebrated Cauhān hero, Hammīr of Raṅthambhor and Ala-ud-din Khaljī have been described in it. The immediate

cause was the refusal of Hammīr to hand over the two Maṅgol Mīrs, to whom he gave refuge. Due to betrayal by his followers, Raṅmall and Rāypāl, no hope of victory was left. Women performed 'Jauhar' (self immolation), warriors died fighting and Hammīr cut off his head with his own hands. The story takes a speedy turn after Raṅmall and Rāypāl join the enemy camp with their followers (after verse 240). This part is the best in poetic beauty. The portrayal of characters has a remarkable insight. The turmoil of Hammīr, the dedication and fidelity of the two Mīrs to Hammīr, valiant declamations by Jāj and Vīram, 'Jauhar' and eye-witness to all this, Nalha Bhāṭ taking vengeance by ingenuity have been described in a vivid and moving manner. A glimpse of the inner life of the fort has been shown. Delineation of human feelings according to the context is revealing.

Here is a glimpse of the march to the battle:

Setting aside the love of fort and its inmates, Hammīr rode the charger. He saw his younger brother Vīram, who never went on foot even for the sake of courtesy, fighting on foot in the battle. Deeply moved at this, Rāv Hammīr felt 'why should I ride a charger when my brother is fighting on foot?' The Rāv left the charger and fought on foot. His feet struck the stones and were soaked in blood.

The poet extols the way of life for the heroes:

Those having wealth should enjoy it or spend it on good causes. Let not wealth imprison you for it is neither immortal nor free from decay.

Kānhaḍ De had the support of the rich, but the foibles of the wealthy were not spared by the poet, as they also led to the downfall of Hammīr.

Hammīrāyaṅ is also important as being one of the early narratives on Hammīr. Many poems have been written on Hammīr.

From 1534 to 1541, three notable narrative poems on the invasion (in 1534) by Kāmarāṅ of Lāhore, the son of Bābar, on

Rāv Jaitasī of Bīkāner, and Kāmarān's defeat at the hands of the Rāv, were composed by three contemporary poets. One is Viṭhū Sūjo and the other two are anonymous.

Rāv Jaitasī ro Pāghaḍī Chaṇḍ (401 verses) is by Viṭhū Sūjo. Sūjo was the son of Nagrāj and was also a contemporary of Rāv Bīkā and Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ. Rāv Jaitasī granted him the village Khileriyo. The poet first describes the achievements of the ancestors of the Rāv, Cūṇḍā, Raṇmall, Jodhā, Bīkā, Lūṅkaraṇ and then those of Jaitasī. Kāmarān, after conquering Bhaṭner, reached the outskirts of Bīkāner. Rāvji left the fort, leaving his trusted lieutenants inside, for better preparations and an opportunity to attack. He and his selected warriors rode their chargers and attacked the enemy at the dead of night. The Mughals could not withstand the attack and fled from the battle. The Rāv was victorious.

Rāv Jaitasī Chaṇḍ or *Rāv Jaitasī ro Pāghaḍī Chaṇḍ* (485 verses) is by an anonymous poet. The poem starts from Rāv Salakhā, the grandfather of Rāv Cūṇḍā and descriptions relating to Salakhā, Vīram and Gogā are extra in it. All other descriptions are either similar or supplementary to Sūjo's poem. The two poems are independent of each other. Both are of utmost historical value. They provide reliable information about the early rulers of Bīkāner and their ancestors. If we connect the relevant statements made in the *Vīrmāyaṇ* and Gāḍaṇ Pasāyat's various poems with those in these poems, we get authentic information about the Rāṭhores, their rise, rise of some other clans and other events in the history of Rajasthan. Both are of equal poetic value. There is a thrilling account of battle. Prior to Rāv Jaitasī's attack, both the poets have devoted 109 verses to describe warriors and their respective chargers. (Sūjo, verses—244 to 352 and Anonymous—320 to 428). They may be important for history but are insignificant from the poetic point of view and certainly monotonous.

In the larger narrative poems of this trend there is a tradition to give an account of the ancestors of the hero of the poem. This, found for the first time in *Rāwal Mālā ro Guṇ* of Bārhaṭ Āsā in brief, appears to have matured in these poems. It is to be noted that as against Sūjo, the Anonymous follows the old style

of word-forms a + i and a + u.

The third poem *Jaitasī Rāsau*, also by an anonymous poet, describes the army, the battle and Rāv's victory, omitting other details. It is equally important from the point of view of poetic beauty.

Rāv Jaitasī's victory attracted other contemporary poets also, who celebrated it in their stray verses and gīts. Famous among them are Gorā, Śivā and Vīṭhū Bāghjī.

Gorā had also written kavitt about Rāv Lūṅkaraṇ, the father of Rāv Jaitasī. His verses represent the attitude of a true Rājpūt warrior. In one verse the Rāv, who was later killed in a battle with the Muslims at Nārnaul, says:

Vibhiṣaṇ joined Rām to get hold of Laṅkā. He persuaded Rām to do what he wanted. He saved himself at the cost of lives of crores of rākṣasas (demons). By disclosing the secrets of the House, he caused Rāwaṇ to be killed. I belong to the family of warrior kings. I am not at all afraid of the hostile armies.

I am the son of Bīkā and will not do what Vibhiṣaṇ did. I will stand steadfast on the field of battle in the way the great Karṇa and my ancestors Rāv Raṇmall and Jodhā did. If I forsake the field of battle, it will put my noble ancestors to shame. None is immortal in the world. Only charity, heroism, truth and modesty go as witness (with a man).

Bārhaṭ Āsā (1493-1593), the son of Gīdhā of village Bhādres, was a well-known poet of the age and had good relations with many rulers. Rāv Māldev (1531-1562) of Jodhpur sent him to persuade and bring back from Jaisalmer the sulky queen Umāde, who was annoyed with her husband since the very first night of their marriage on seeing the Rāv making love to her maid servant Bhārmalī. On the way back, having heard the following couplet from the poet in reply to her query, she went back to Jaisalmer:

(O Umāde,) if you go away to preserve your self-esteem, you will have to keep away from the husband. And if you

will have the husband, you should part with your self-esteem. Two elephants cannot remain tied to the same stake at the same stall.

He was also sent by the Rāwal of Jaisalmer to bring Bhārmalī who had been made over to Bāghā of Koṭḍā. The poet, pleased with Bāghā's hospitality, became his intimate friend and gave up the mission. On the death of Umāde and Bāghā, the poet composed heart-rending verses, famous in Rajasthani. The following are his poems:

(1) *Rāwal Mālā ro Guṇ* (87 verses) describes the heroic deeds of Meghrāj, the eighth descendant of Rāwal Mallināth, along with those of his ancestors giving their achievements in brief.

(2) *Gogājī ri Peḍī* (45) tells the story of Gogājī's birth, by a boon of Gorakhnāth to his mother Vāchal.

(3) *Rāv Caṅdrasen ro Rūpak* (26) is about Caṅdrasen, the son of Rāv Māldev, and contains examples of 26 metres.

(4) *Rāwal Jām rā Dūhā* (5), *Dādū rā Dūhā* and other stray verses, are in praise of the respective persons.

(5) *Umāde Bhaṭiyānī rā Kavitt* (14).

(6) *Bāghjī rā Dūhā* (35 approx.).

(7) *Guṇ Nirañjan Prāṇ* is a devotional poem.

Āsājī is the first poet in this period who has contributed much to both the trends in the poetry of Cāraṇ style.

Kavitt on Umāde and Duhā on Bāghjī rank high for the intensity of emotion. While in the kavitt a glimpse of dignity and grandeur is noticed, turmoil and pathetic feelings are depicted in the duhās. Umāde and Bāghjī have been immortalized by the poems. One kavitt is cited:

Maṅdodarī let Rāwaṇ go alone. Sagacious Kuntī remained behind the King Paṅḍu. After the departing of Kṛṣṇa, Gopīs did not even stretch out their hands for support. Kauśalyā did not keep company with Daśrath on the funeral pyre. All those great women abstained from this final duty of fidelity on this festal day, for who could endure the embrace of flames? But how can I forget this great festival? says Umā.

Here are a few dohās on Bāghjī:

He, who stretched his arms in embrace and gave away horses, is absent from the doorway. Koṭḍā, without Bāghā, is like a discarded woman.

Shall I weep for him from the hill heights or shall I laugh myself like mad. Forget him I shall, only when my body burns on the funeral pyre.

I shall make a hut on the royal road and enquire from every wayfarer so that some one may come and tell me of my by-gone friend Bāghā.

Flowers may wither, but the scent of Bāghā's glory shall ever persist.

Vīṭhū Mehā wrote in the latter half of the 16th century, Rāv Māldev of Jodhpur granted him the village Kheḍī. Vīṭhū Mehā's works are: (1) *Gogājī rā Rasāwalā*, (2) *Pābūjī rā Chaṇḍ*, (3) *Bhāṭī Somsī Ratanāwat ro Chaṇḍ*, (4) *Karaṇjī rā Chaṇḍ*, (5) *Kavitt Cauhān Karamsī* and *Sānwaldās rā*, (6) Verses on Kūmpā Mehrājot, (7) *Cāṇḍājī rī Vel*.

The poet has described the deeds and glory of the heroes. Gogājī, Pābūjī and Bhāṭī Somsī gave their lives in protecting the cows. It is significant that works on Gogājī, Pābūjī and Karaṇjī hailed as folk deities commenced during this period. The theme of Gogājī taken up by Āsājī in *Gogājī rī Peḍī* was followed by Vīṭhū Mehā and by one of his contemporaries Bārhaṭ Nāndaṇ in *Cahūvāṇ Gogājī rā Chaṇḍ* (57 in number).

A Rājput hero leads a glorious life and desires a more glorious death. Facing an attack by the Mewār army, Karamsī Cauhān, a hero of Ḍūngarpur, says:

Whither stands the Kaurav king Duryodhan who, fearing death, sought escape in the water? Whither is the prowess of Rāwaṇ, who, in order to save his life, hid himself behind the rays of the sun? Whither is Viḱramāditya who, for a

longer life, ate the flesh of crow? and king Jaycañd of Kan-nauj who left the battlefield and jumped in the Ganga to save his life? Be it known that the kings who tried to save their lives on such occasions, incurred a permanent blemish. We shall, therefore, make our death glorious.

Satirical verses by Vīrdās Rohḍiyo alias Raṅgrelo Vīṭhū (1520-1608 approx.) indicate a new ground in the Cāraṇ poetry. His *Jaisalmer ro Jas*, of which only a few verses are available, and other such verses are in point. One verse says:

The queen consort is like a beast of burden. She has no company while fetching water from the pond. Peacocks are conspicuous by their absence throughout the country (Jaisalmer). (But) there are creatures like 'jarkh', 'seh' and 'goh' in abundance.

In contrast the plenty in Goḍhwād is described thus:

If the land is full of rich and dense mango groves, rivers abound in sweet water, cuckoos greet one with their melodious notes, know ye O traveller, you have set foot on the land of Goḍhwād.

Dūdo Āsiyo Amarāwat (1528-33 to 1613), a favourite poet of Rāv Surtāṇ of Sirohī, and Bārhaṭ Isardās (1538-1618) are two significant poets inasmuch as they emphasise heroism rather than the battle and its allied events, as is usually found in other poems. Their characterization of heroes is natural and genuine. Both the poets have practised the Anyokti style. The poems are not narrative as such. The theme provides only the background.

Dūdo Āsiyo wrote 21 verses in Kuṇḍaliyā metre on Kallā Rāymalot of Siwāṇā who died in a battle with the Mughal army in 1588.

Hālā Jhālāṇ rā Kuṇḍaliyā (50 in number) by Bārhaṭ Isardās describes a battle between Jhālā Rāysiṅha of Halvad and Hālā Jasājī of Dhrol. The following example from the poem is illustrative of the accent on heroism;

Deer, with their long horns, flee from struggle. Boars, with their tiny tusks, injure and kill the enemy. Rājā Jaswañtsiñha is like a boar who, fighting alone, mauls the hostile hordes. He fights five hundred cavalry men single-handed. He keeps company of warriors who give battle like boars and not flee like deer.

Stray verses by both the poets on contemporary heroes are also available. Isardās's devotional poems are dealt with elsewhere. Recently, it has been claimed that out of the 50 kuñḍaliyās of Bārhaṭ Isardās, 24 are compositions of his uncle Bārhaṭ Āsā. However, this view cannot be maintained on a close scrutiny of all the available manuscript material.

Sāñdū Mālā Ūdāwat (1533-1623 approx.) received many gifts and grants from contemporary rulers including Rājā Rāysiñha of Bīkāner, Moṭā Rājā Udaysiñha of Jodhpur and his son Sūrsiñha. He is considered a poet of Jhūlaṇā metre. His works are: (1) *Jhūlaṇā Mahārāj Rāysiñghjī rā* (298 lines), (2) *Jhūlaṇā Akbar Pātsāhjī rā* (describing Akbar's Gujarat victory in 108 lines), (3) *Jhūlaṇā Dīwān Śrī Pratāpsinghjī rā* (describing mainly the battle of Haldīghāṭī in 302 lines), (4) *Jhūlaṇā Acal Tilokdās rā* (incomplete, 198 lines), and (5) stray poems—67 gīts, nīsāñī and kavitt etc.—on various contemporary and earlier heroes.

Attributes, achievements, and deeds of heroes have been described in a fluent language. The jhūlaṇās are narrative poems depicting the present and forecasting the future. The poet has frequently utilized historic events, hitherto not so used by any other poet as similes. Here are two examples:

Rāysiñha occupied the land and forts all round as Rāv Cūñḍā had done earlier. (*Jhūlaṇā Mahārāj Rāysiñghjī rā*)

Rāñā Pratāp retrieves the lost honour of the Hindus, as the sun restores light out of night. (*Jhūlaṇā Dīwān Śrī Pratāpsinghjī rā*)

Durasā Āḍhā (1538-1651) was more famous than Sāñdū Mālā and received gifts from many contemporary rulers and

chieftains for his poems. He is credited with the following works: (1) *Virud Chihattarī* (dohās on Rāṇā Pratāp), (2) *Dūhā Solaṅkī Vīramdevjī rā*, (3) *Jhūlaṇā Rāv Surtāṇ rā*, (4) *Marsiyā Rāv Surtāṇ rā*, (5) *Jhūlaṇā Rājā Mānsingh Kachvāhā rā*, (6) *Jhūlaṇā Rāwat Meghā rā*, (7) *Gīt Rāji Śrī Rohitāsji ro*, (8) *Jhūlaṇā Rāv Amarsingh Gajsiṅhot rā*, (9) *Kirtār Bāwnī*, and stray verses in different metres, like kavitt, nīsānī, dōhā on Rāṇā Pratāp, Devīdās Jaitāwat, Hāthī Gopāldāsot, Nawāb Mohabbat Khān, Tog Surtāṇot, Bhāṭī Bhīm, Bhīm Amarsinghot, Rāv Surtāṇ etc., and about 120 Ḍiṅgal gīt on various contemporary heroes and happenings.

All the dohās in *Virud-Chihattarī* eulogize Rāṇā Pratāp. But many of the dohās claimed to be by Āḍhā Durasā, do not appear to be his, the reasons being lack of historical sequence, and the use of what is suspected to be later diction in Cāraṇ poetry such as, 'Āraj Kuḷ', 'Āraj Bhāṇ', 'Bhārat Barṣ' etc.

It appears that the poet composed about 30-35 dohās like those on Solaṅkī Vīramdev and the rest of the verses and the titles are interpolations.

In all the other poems excepting *Kirtār Bāwnī*, deeds, attributes and achievements of the heroes are described.

It is significant that he has eulogized persons who opposed each other, such as Rāṇā Pratāp and Akbar, Rāv Surtāṇ and Jagmāl Udaysiṅhot, Rāysiṅha and Caṇdrasen, Vīramdev and Mohabbat Khān etc. Such poems idealise the persons and their virtues and have nothing to do with ideology. This was unfortunately a Cāraṇ characteristic to which Durasājī was no exception. There is, however, a slight difference in poems on recognized heroes and others. The poet hails those who opposed the Mughals as saviours of Hinduism and Hindustan, while he does not concede this virtue to others. About Rāv Surtāṇ of Sirohī, he says:

To know about the good and the bad, to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy, to promote Hindu religion and to know the mind of a poet are your gifts.

His poems depict individual qualities and bear no message

for collective resistance to the enemy. He reminds the rulers to be just:

Don't lead your horses to unrighteous fights; the world will laugh at you. Nobody knows of the direction of winds in future. But let it be known that there is God above to do justice. And He will see that the unjust is defeated and only the just rides to the victory. (*Jhūlaṇā Rāv Surtāṇ rā*)

Like *Sāndū Mālā*, *Durasājī* presents a vivid account of the battle, and the deeds of the heroes. In doing so, strings of similes from the *Rāmāyaṇ*, the *Mahābhārat* and the *Rājput* history are put forth to reiterate a point. The fall of *Rāv Amar Siṅha* of *Nāgore*, after killing *Salābat Khān* at *Agra*, is described thus:

It was as if the gods and the demons were fighting, hurling each other into the space. Like *Bhīm* whirling and throwing the elephants of *Duryodhan's* army, like the great monkey-god destroying the 'Aśok Vāṭikā' defying the fury of the demons, like *Hanumān* setting fire to *Rāwaṇ's* *Laṅkā*, *Rāv Amarsiṅh* fought the *Delhi* hordes to the last and fell at the end, as if he had brought down the fort-gates of *Laṅkā*.

All the characteristics of *Cāraṇ* heroic and historical poetry are manifest in *Durasājī's* poems. His *Jhūlaṇā Amar Singhjī rā*, a narrative poem, is a classic of this style.

In *Kirtār Bāwnī* the seamy side of life has been depicted. Citing a number of examples, the poet has presented a realistic view of life: a trader goes abroad leaving behind his young, beautiful bride, a warrior stakes his life, a poor man collects wood in the jungle under scorching sun—all for a living.

Kirtār Bāwnī, however, appears to be of doubtful authorship.

Durasājī has become more popular by his *Ḍiṅgal gīts*.

Āsiyā Karamsī Khīṅvsarot, whose compositions may be dated 1543-1563, got the village *Pasūndā*, as a gift from *Rāṇā Udaysiṅha* of *Mewār*, for his poetry. His works are *Marsiyā*

Rāv Rāysiṅgh Sirohī rā, Sūjā Bālechā rā Kavitt (61), and some Ḍiṅgal gīts.

Sūjā Bālechā rā Kavitt, a short narrative poem, is important for its description of the heroic deeds in three battles of an otherwise little known hero, Sūjā Bālechā, the son of Sāmaṅt-siṅha. He fought for Rāṇā Udaysiṅha and Rāv Māldev of Jodhpur and was killed in the battle of Harmādā in 1556. Here is one kavitt:

After winning his land, Sūjā, sitting on the throne, appears like a lion putting on a natural golden armour, or like a 'Maṅidhar' snake with wings, or as if ghee is poured into fire, or like the sun rising from the sea extending a thousand rays, or like Hanumān, the valiant who got a boon from Viṣṇu.

Sāṅdū Rāmā Dharamsiyot, the author of *Udaysiṅgh rī veli*, Bārhaṭ Akho Bhāṅaut, the author of *Devīdās Jaitāwat rī veli*, Sāṅḍhāyac Pūnā and Jādā Meḍḍū are other notable poets of the latter half of the 16th and the early 17th centuries. Pūnā and Jādā wrote short narrative poems describing respectively the battle of Kālīndrī (Sirohī) of 1574 in 76 verses and the heroic deeds of Sādūl Parmār, the son of Rāwat Māldev, in *Sādūl-Pamār ro Chaṅd* (112). In keeping with the tradition of the time, all these poets have written stray verses including Ḍiṅgal gīts on contemporary heroes and events.

Rāṭhauḍ Ratansiṅha rī Veli in 72 verses, probably by Dūdo Visarāl, is another noteworthy poem of this period. It describes a battle between Ratansiṅha of Jaitāraṅ against the Mughal army under the command of Śāh Kulikhān in 1557, some time after which the poem was composed. A notable thing about the poem is that a metaphor of battle and marriage is maintained throughout the poem. The hostile army has been likened to young 'Viṣ-kanyā' in the role of a bride; Ratansiṅha is the bridegroom. Their marriage and cohabitation have been described in a sustained metaphor. There is also a combination of Vīr-Śṛṅgār and Vīr-Bībhatsa rasas. One verse says:

'After the heroic end, Ratansiṅha rules in the Heaven. He is

now with God'—so saying and giving blessings, the carnivorous birds flew upwards. (In the marriage, the Brahmins, the Cāraṇs etc., are fed and they give blessings by raising their hands.)

The most distinguished poet of the early 17th century is Kesodās Gāḍaṇ whose compositions may be dated between 1583 and 1644. He was the son of Sadmāl Dūdāwat of village Chiṇḍiyo which was granted to the latter by Rājā Sūrsiṅha of Jodhpur in 1596. Kesodās was a favourite of Mahārājā Gajsiṅha of Jodhpur, who granted him the village Sobaḍāwās (Sojat) in 1626. His popularity is mainly due to *Nīsāṇī Vivek Vār*, a devotional poem. This and his other poems, *Chand Mahādevjī ro* (or *Śaṅkar Chand*) and *Chand Śrī Gṛakṣnāth* have been treated elsewhere. His *Gaj Guṇ Rūpak Bāndh*, *Rāv Amarsiṅghjī rā Dūhā* and stray verses, kavitt, dohā and gīt on various contemporary persons, may be taken note of here.

Gaj Guṇ Rūpak Bāndh, composed about 1625, is a narrative poem of 1301 verses, in 45 different metres. It describes the battles fought by Mahārājā Gajsiṅha of Jodhpur, as a General of the Mughal army, against Bhīm Sīsodiyā, commander of the rebel Prince Khurram's army at Hazipur (near Patnā) in 1624.

The Hazipur battle, which the Mahārājā won, has been described elaborately. War preparations, army, its mobilization and operation, its columns, corps and companies, strategy and march, the state of war-hungry warriors, combat and bloody scenes of the battle-fields are depicted powerfully. The poem is significant for these vivid martial descriptions, and the diction is important from cultural point of view. The metaphorical description of army in terms of congregation of the Nāth Jogīs, and the use of Haṭhyog terminology are new. All other poems are praises sung in honour of individuals.

Bārhaṭ Śaṅkar (1543-1623) and his wife, Padamā Sāndū, Dallā Āsiyā (1553-1643) and his wife, Depāṇ, Siṅḍhāyac Gaipo 'Tuṅkāro', Bārhaṭ Lakkhā and his son Bārhaṭ Narharidās (1591-1676) were other notable writers of the period. Till recently, a study and knowledge of Narharidās's *Awatār Cari-*

tra, a Paurāṇic narrative poem in Piṅgal and Braj, was considered a must amongst the Cāraṇs.

Bārhaṭ Aiṅjan of the village Rupāwās (Jodhpur) was a contemporary of Bārhaṭ Narharidās. Having heard his verses known as *Kavitt Solaṅkī Jīvarāj Jī rā*, the widows of Ṭhākur Jīvarāj of Rūpnagar (Kisangadh) performed satī six months after the Ṭhākur's death. He also wrote reprehensive verses on Rāthore Mohakamsiṅha, a Jāgirdār in Mewār.

Catarā Motīsar (1593-1678), Jogidās Kuṅariyā (1613-1688), Cāraṇ Bhūhardās Pālhāwat, Kalyāṇdās Meḥḍū Jāḍāwat, Gāḍaṇ Colo Meḥāwat alias Cauthjī, Hem Sāmaur and Āḍhā Kisanā I (d. 1647), the son of Durasā Āḍhā, (all belonging to the first half of the 17th Century) wrote poems mostly on contemporary heroes and happenings.

Bhūhardās's *Sekhāwatoṅ Rājāwatoṅ kī Vār* describes a battle between Rāv Manohardās of Amarsar (Śekhāwaṭī) and Rājā Mānsiṅha I of Āmer. *Rāv Ratan rī Veli* of Kalyāṇ Dās describes the battle of Caraṇārdri, near Vārānasī, which Rāv Ratan of Būndī, fought on behalf of Emperor Jehāṅgir to suppress the revolt of Prince Khurram. Metaphoric description of battle in terms of rains is striking. Colo's *Sūrsiṅghjī rī Veli* is in praise of Mahārājā Sūrsiṅha of Bīkāner. Hem Sāmaur's *Guṇ Bhākhā Caritra* describes the battle and victory of Mahārājā Gajsiṅha of Jodhpur against Bhīm Sisodiyā at Hazīpur (Patna). A lexicon *Hemī Nām Mālā* is believed to have been composed by him in verse, but it is not available. The following poems are attributed to Āḍhā Kisanā I:

Nīsāṇī Mahes Dalapatot rī, Nīsāṇī Ratan Mahesdāsaut rī, Nīsāṇī Sāhjahāṅ Pātisāh rī, Rāṇā Jagatsiṅgh rī Veli, Bhākhāḍī Mahārājā Gajsiṅgh rī, Goj Rūpak, Jhūlaṇā Mahārāv Rājsiṅgh Sirohī, and stray ḍiṅgal gīts on some contemporary heroes.

Of these, *Jhūlaṇā Mahārāv Rājsiṅgh Sirohī* and a few gīts only are available.

Mahesdās Rāv, the son of Rāv Bāghjī Lākhnaut, wrote in the latter half of the 17th century. He was patronized by Arjun Gauḍ, a trustworthy officer of Emperor Shah Jehāṅ. His available works are:

Rāv Amarsiṅgh Nāgaur kā Sākā (34 verses), *Binhai Rāsau*,

Rāṇā Rājsiṅgh kā Guṇ Rūpak (58 verses), *Gauḍān kī Vaṅśāwalī*, *Rājā Jaysiṅgh ke Chappay*, *Raghunāth Carit Nav Ras Veli*, and *Ḍiṅgal gits* on some contemporary heroes.

The *Veli*, a Paurāṇic poem, is referred to elsewhere. All the other poems deal with the brave deeds and achievements of their heroes. *Binhai Rāsau*, a long narrative, is the best of all the poems. It gives a graphic account of the three battles fought by the rebel sons of Shah Jehān, Murād, Aurangzeb and Shah Śujā against the imperial armies at Dharmāt (Ujjain), Dhaulpur (Śamūgaḍh) and Banāras (Bahādurpur), emphasising the deeds of Gauḍ heroes in particular. In the *Vaṅśāwalī* also, he has often referred to the details about Gauḍ heroes given in the *Binhai Rāsau*. The war, the warriors, and the allied events have been described in detail in a forceful way. Some heroes from Śekhāwāṭī and the others belonging to the House of the Gauḍ, the Hāḍās, and the Kachvāhās are new to history. As in other such poems, death is an occasion for celebration and fighting, a means of salvation for heroes. Apart from the prose portions of 'Vacanikā' and 'Dawāvāit', twentynine metres have been used. As in *Gaj Guṇ Rūpak Bāndh*, here also a warrior has been compared with Gorakh and the army with a congregation of Jogīs.

Girdhar Āsiyā's (1633-1718) *Sagat Rāsau* is a long narrative poem in 943 verses, and is the only poem which celebrates the valour of Śaktisiṅha (the younger brother of Rāṇā Pratāp), his son Acalsiṅha and grandson Narharī. According to it, Śaktisiṅha joined the imperial court, due to the displeasure of his father. He did not accept Akbar's proposal to become the ruler of Cittore. He came to inform his people at Cittore about the impending attack by Akbar, but was not allowed to enter the fort. After the battle of Khamnaur (Haldīghāṭī) when Mānsiṅha jeered at some wall paintings of dancing 'Bhāṅḍ' and jesters at Gogūndā palace, Śaktisiṅha became furious and left for Bhainsrodgaḍh. Thus, it is a valuable work from the historical point of view also.

Kisordās Rāv (Bhāt) of the village Cīkalwās near Udaipur, a younger son of Dāsojī, was patronized by Mahārāṇā Jagat-siṅha (1627-1652). His narrative poem, *Rāj Prakāś*, composed

around 1658-59, is of 132 'Rūpaks' containing 377 verses. It describes mainly Mahārāṇā Rājsiṅhā's attack on and plunder of Mālpurā and his reception at Udaipur. The genealogy of his ancestors, panoramic beauty of Udaipur, and the characteristics of the fourteen metres used take up about two-thirds of the poem. The descriptions of Rāṇā Pratāp and Mānsiṅha, Rāṇā Amarsiṅha and Jehāngīr and Rājsiṅha's Mālpurā attack have exquisite elegance. The poet has described the victory of Pratāp over Mānsiṅha and of Amarsiṅha over Jehāngīr.

It is a notable feature of *Rāj Prakāś* that the last line, or a part of it, of one 'Rūpak' is repeated in the beginning of the following 'Rūpak'. This pattern is maintained in all the Rūpaks, a rare practice. Curiously enough, the poet has referred to *Prithvīāj Rāsau* in the description of Samarsiṅha. In the *Rāsau*, this pattern is found and the verses, which adhere to this pattern appear to be nearer to the original. The indication is that the intervening metres are interpolations. Caṅd Vardāyī, its author, was also a Bhāṭ by caste. Kisordās might have been inspired by the *Rāsau* in adopting this pattern. If it is so, we get at least one strong clue to establish the genuineness of the text of the *Rāsau*.

Khiḍiyā Jaggā's *Vaṇanikā Rāthauḍ Ratan Singhjī Mahes-dāsaut rī* (composed about 1658) is an artistic narrative poem. It describes the battle of Dharmāṭ (Ujjain) between the combined forces of the rebel princes, Aurāngzeb and Murād, and the imperial army commanded by Mahārājā Jaswaṅtsiṅha of Jodhpur, and the fall of Rāṭhore Ratansiṅha of Ratlām who fought on after the flight of the commander. The poet has given a detailed description of the army, strategy, elation of the warriors, their fight and fall, and saṭī by Rājput women. Use of analogies, similes, and elegant diction are the characteristics of the poem. "To the battle-field came the Rāṭhores like the Kauravas, and the princes like the Pāṇḍavas. The Rāṭhores uttered Harinām (name of Hari) and they (the Mohammedans of Aurāngzeb's army) Rahmān and Allāh". The use of words of opposite sounds is deliberate.

It has been said, and to some extent rightly, that the poet was inspired and influenced by poems like *Acaldās Khicī rī*

Vacānikā by Gāḍaṇ Sivdās, *Goj Rūpak* by Āḍhā Kisanā I, *Rāv Jaitasī rō Pāghaḍī Chaṇḍ* by Viṭhū Sūjo and *Jaitasī Chaṇḍ* (author anonymous). This and mention of couplets to be sung relating to many heroes giving names of seventeen of them, show that the poet was well-read. The *Vacānikā* is a good example of artistic prose.

Jaggā's devotional kavitts are taken note of elsewhere.

It appears that the battles of Shah Jehān's sons for succession had attracted many poets. The compositions of Āḍhā Kisanā I, Mahesdās Rāv and Jaggā have already been noticed. Here are two more poets. In his *Kesarīsīnghjī rā Jhūlaṇā, Dohā vā Nīsāṇī* (176 lines), composed about 1663, Kaviyā Lūṅkaraṇ describes the heroic deeds of Kesarisīṅha, the son of Mahārājā Karaṇsīṅha of Bīkāner, in four engagements – the battles of Dharmāṭ, Dhaulpur, Ajmer, and the one against Prince Sūjā which he fought as a trustworthy warrior of Aurangzeb. The poet has given a chronology of the Kings of Delhi, to whatever house they belong, and not that of any particular royal house or family, as is usual.

Another poet is Kumbhkaraṇ Sāṇḍū who wrote, between 1663 and 1723 approx., *Ratan Rāsau, Jaycaṇḍ Rāsau, Mahārājā Rāysīnghjī rī Satiyoṇ rā Kavitt* (33) and stray verses including dohās and gīts on contemporary heroes and events. *Ratan Rāsau* deals with the battle of Dharmāṭ and is in Piṅgal. *Jaycaṇḍ Rāsau* is no longer available. *Mahārājā Rāysīnghjī rī Satiyoṇ rā Kavitt* gives a moving account of the satī after the death of Rāṭhore Rāv Rāysīṅha of Nāgore at Meḍ near Śolāpur in 1676.

Gāḍaṇ Vīrbhāṇ Ṭhākarsīyot and Dwārkādās Dadhwāḍiyā are other poets of the latter half of the 17th century whose works *Kuṅwar Śrī Anūpsīnghjī rī Veli* (prior to 1669) and *Ajītsīnghjī rī Dawāvait* (composed in 1715) sing the praises of their heroes

It is said that Mahārājā Abhaysīṅhā of Jodhpur asked his three court poets, Ratanū Vīrbhāṇ Bhojrājaut (1688-1735), Kaviyā Karaṇīdān Vijāyrāmut (1693-1783) and Khiḍiyā-Bakhatā, to describe the battle of Ahmedabad which he had fought against Sar Bulaṇḍkhān, the Governor of Gujarat, in

1730. Accordingly, they composed respectively *Rāj Rūpak*, *Sūraj Prakās* and *Ahmedābād rā Jhagḍā rā Kavitt* (165 in number).

Rāj Rūpak and *Sūraj Prakās* are long narrative poems. *Rūpak*, divided into 46 'Prakās' (chapters), consists of 3317 verses and 25 vacanikās (the rhyming prose). According to the poet, the number of the verses in *Prakās* is equal to seven thousand five hundred 'Anuṣṭup' couplets. In *Rūpak*, after a brief mention of the ancestors from Setrām to Mahārājā Jawsantsiṅha, a detailed account of Mahārājā Ajitsiṅha and Abhaysiṅha is given. But in *Prakās*, about half the poem is devoted to an account of the Rāṭhore dynasty on mythological and historical basis, from the age of Rāmāyaṇ up to Ajitsiṅha. Both the poems together present a useful account of the Rāṭhore House and particularly of Ajitsiṅha and Abhaysiṅha. Being court poets, both avoid mentioning incidents like the ignominious death of Ajitsiṅha. Both the poems are dominated by heroic sentiments and are replete with descriptions of warriors and battles. Practically all the characteristics of the historical and heroic forms of Cāraṇ poetry are found in these poems, such as, lists of warriors, their abodes at different heavenly places after death, their marriage with celestial damsels, the main 'ras' being vīr with a mixture of śṛṅgār, bībhatsa, karuṇ and adbhuta at places. The *Rūpak* is written in a comparatively simple language. Both the *Rūpak* and *Prakās* are classical poems of the Cāraṇ style. Further, the latter is encyclopaedic in nature.

Other works by Ratanū Vīrbhāṇ are *Ekākṣarī Nām-Mālā* (a monosyllabic lexicon), *Bhāgwat Prakās* (a poem based on the 10th canto of this Purāṇ) and stray verses on several heroes.

Apart from *Sūraj Prakās*, the extant poems of Karaṇīdān are: *Viḍad Siṅgār* (138 verses), *Mahrī Majej* (123), *Jain Jawār* or *Jatī Rāsau* and stray verses, dohās and gits.

Abhay Bhūṣaṇ and *Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmsiṅh rā Kavitt* are believed to be his compositions but they are not available.

Viḍad Siṅgār describes in a vigorous style the battle between Abhaysiṅha and Sar Bulaṅdkhān, fought at Ahmedabad. *Mahrī Majej* is a poem of amorous sentiments and unrestrained love. *Jatī Rāsau* hits out at the dissimulations of the Jain Jatīs at Kāṭhiyāwāḍ.

Abhaivilās by Sāndū Pṛthvirāj (18th century) is a narrative poem in sundry metres, such as paddharī, kavitt, dohā, bhujāngī, udhor, sañjutā, gathā, troṭak, ārdhnārāj, nārāj, motīdām, haṇūphāl etc. It chiefly describes the life, and battles of Mahārājā Abhaysiṅha of Jodhpur, who ruled between 1724 and 1749, and also gives his genealogy beginning with Jaycaṇḍa. There are fine descriptions of hunting, spring, 'phāg' etc. The poet was a contemporary of the Mahārājā. The poem is impressive for its racy diction and significant for its account of Abhaysiṅha and his times. Dates of salient events mentioned in the poem make it a source for history.

Like some other poets, including Kaviyā Karaṇīdān, Sāndū Pṛthvirāj has also shut his eyes to the truth about Mahārājā Jaswaṅtsiṅha's flight from the decisive battle of Dharmāt (Ujjain). After describing the fall of Rāṭhore Rāv Ratan Mahesdāsaut, the poet summarises the event simply by saying:

The Rājā (Jaswaṅtsiṅha) returned to the fort of Jodhpur and Aūraṅzeb reached Delhi with the rest. The rightful claimant Dārā had to flee for life and destiny brought the domain of Delhi to Aūraṅzeb.

Unfortunately the available manuscript of the poem is incomplete. From its colophon it appears that probably the poet himself could not complete it.

Varsalpur Gaḍh Vijay or *Sujān Rāsau* (composed about 1712) by Jogīdās, describing an attack of Mahārājā Sujānsiṅha (1700-1746) of Bīkāner on the Bhāṭīs of Varsalpur, is important from the historical point of view as mention of this attack is found nowhere else.

Rādhā Kṛṣṇajī rā Dūhā and *Vaidyaksār* are Jogīdās's other poems.

In *Māhav Yas Prakās* (about 1711-1714), the poet Mānsiṅha Āsiyā describes the battle of Bāndhanwāḍā of 1711, in which Rāwat Māhavsīṅha of Kānauḍ (Mewār) fought against Raṇbāzkhān Mewātī, the commander of the imperial army, and killed him.

Surtāṇ Guṇ Varṇan (1715) of Pattājī Āsiyā describes the deeds of Rāwat Cauhān Surtāṇsiṅha of Bedalā (Mewār).

Hammīrdān Ratanū (the first half of the 18th century) of the village Ghaḍoī in Mārwar was patronized by Mahārāwal Desaljī I (1717-1751) and his son Lakhpāt of Kacch. He is believed to be a many-sided genius, and the author of about 175 books of all sorts including those on lexicon and prosody. His *Desaljī rī Vacanikā* is a narrative poem of 'vīr ras' describing the battle of 1728 between Desaljī and Sar Bulaṅdkhān, the Governor of Gujarat. The poet has not used rhyming prose, as in other vacanikās. Most of the works of Hammīrdān Ratanū are in manuscript-form and are not easily accessible.

Purohit Āskaraṇ and Purohit Sobhācaṅd, who wrote between 1718 and 1747, are famous for their Ḍiṅgal gīts and stray verses. They are of historical importance.

Āḍhā Pahāḍ Khān wrote between 1723 and 1754 and his *Gogāde Rūpak* is yet another important narrative poem on the Rāṭhore-Johiyā affairs described in *Vīmāyaṇ* of Bādar Ḍhāḍhi. Here also the reader's sympathy remains throughout with Johiyā Dallā.

Guṇmāl Śāh Dev Karaṇ rī (1733) by Rav Veṇā and *Guṇ Sivcarit Prakās* (1744) by Nāthā describe respectively the deeds of Śāh Dev Karaṇ (a minister of Mewār in the time of Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmsiṅha II (1710-1733), and two battles, one of Fatehpur (Śekhāwāṭī) and the other of Gaṅgrāṇā (near Ajmer) fought by Rāv Śivsiṅha of Sīkar (1721-1748).

The life of Mahārājā Gajsiṅha (1746-1787) of Bīkāner attracted many poets, particularly Gāḍaṇ Gopīnāth, Siṅdhāyac Fateh Rām and Āsiyā Dānā, who composed respectively *Graṅthrāj*, *Mahārājā Gajsiṅgh ro Rūpak* and *Virud Prakās*.

Graṅthrāj is a heroic poem of the latter half of the 18th century. The deep knowledge of Cāraṇ traditional poetry, command over language and mastery over metres that Gāḍaṇ had, are rarely found in other poets of this period.

Indrasiṅgh Rūpak is a narrative poem of 597 verses by Sagatā Sāṅdū (latter half of the 18th century) who was patronized by Ṭhākur Indrasiṅha Jodhā of Khairawā, and describes the battles (including the famous Ahmedabad battle of 1730)

fought by the Thākur and his ancestors, as trusted warriors of the Jodhpur army.

Mahārājā Śrī Śivsiṅghjī rā Kavitt (192 in number, composed some time prior to 1790) describes the heroic deeds, attributes and achievements of Rāṭhore Śivsiṅha, the ruler of Iḍar and his loyal warriors and includes a genealogy of his ancestors from Rāv Sīhojī of Mārwar onwards. It is a powerful poem of much historical importance. The five sons of Mahārājā Ajītsiṅha say:

The life of a Cāraṇ is meaningful if he loves God, that of a Bhāṭ if the kings rise to receive him, that of a Paṇḍit if he recites the Bhāḡwat, that of a Jogī if he attains the steadiness of mind, that of a Rājput if he wields the sword and gives alms, and a person is meaningfully born in a royal house if he wins the lands of others.

The author of this work is not known.

Hukamicaṇḍ Khiḍiyā, who wrote between 1743 and 1803, is known for the artistic excellence of his Ḍiṅgal gīts on various heroes and events. The gīts are vivacious, picturesque and are perfect from prosodical point of view. He has adopted Nīsānī metre. It has become a tradition to memorize his gīts.

Most of the works of Bārhaṭ Ummedrām Pālhāwat (1743-1821), e.g. *Brahma Kavac*, *Vāṇī Bhūṣaṇ*, *Bhāṣā Cāṇakya*, *Bhāṣā Rājnīti* and *Satyopadeś*, are in Braj but *Marsiya* is in Rajasthani. It was composed after the death of Rāvrājā Bakhtāwarsiṅha of Alwar in 1814. The intensity of Queen Mūsī's grief, with memories of the Rāvrājā, and the satī by her have been touchingly described

The queen made the sixteen śṛṅgārs. Her hair was flowing like liberated snakes. The strings of pearls worn round the neck knock each other. Carrying a garland of flowers in her hands, the queen walked with a graceful gait and multitudes cried 'khamā-khamā' in deep reverence. Satī Mūsī embraced death with the dead body of the Rāvrājā. The

Sun, with a feeling of affinity and esteem, stopped His chariot to view the satī.

Rāmdān Lālas (1761-1825) composed *Bhīm Prakāś*, *Karaṇī Rūpak* and *Khiciyoṅ kā Itihās*. *Bhīm Prakāś* describes the grandeur of Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṅha of Mewār. *Karaṇī Rūpak* tells the story of Goddess Karaṇijī. The *Itihās* is a systematic account of the Khicī branch of the Cauhān clan.

Mañch (1770-1833) is well known for his book on prosody *Raghunāth Rūpak Gītān ro*. His *Ghāṇerāv rī Gazal* gives a description of the town Ghāṇerāv of Gauḍhwāḍ and the political conditions there.

Dev Guṇ Prakāś, a narrative poem of 536 verses, composed between 1780 and 1795 by Cimanjī, describes the battles fought by Rāv Devīsiṅha (1763-1795) of Sīkar against Najaf Kuli Khān at Sirohī and Murtzā Alī at Khāṭū, the commanders of the imperial army. The poet has given an account of the Rāv's ancestors from Rājā Kuṅtildev. Descriptions of armies and battles are forceful and captivating.

Mahādān Mehdū (1781-1843) is known for his Ḍiṅgal gīts. His *Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṅh rā Jhūlaṇā* describes the Pīcholā lake and ceremonial procession of the Mahārāṇā.

Bhīm Vilās by Āḍhā Kisanā II, in Piṅgal, is yet another narrative poem on the Mahārāṇā, giving his genealogy.

Mahādān Bāī in her *Satī-Sujas* (1843) gives a graphic description of how queen Dewaḍī, the daughter of Rāysiṅha Dewaḍā along with other women became satī on the death of Mahārājā Mānsiṅhā of Jodhpur in 1843.

Vīṭhū Bhomā of Deśnok, who wrote between 1828 and 1848, was a favourite of Mahārājā Ratansiṅha and his son Sardārsiṅha of Bikāner. His works are:

Kuṅwar Sardārsiṅhjī ro Viṅdoṭau, *Mahārājā Sūratsiṅhjī rā Marsiyā*, *Mahārājā Ratansiṅhjī ro Rūpak*, *Mahārāj Kuṅwar Sardārsiṅhjī rā Kavitt*, *Ratan Vilās*, *Mahārāj Gaṇpatsiṅhjī rā Kavitt* and stray gīts. They are all encomiastic versifications. *Ratan Vilās* is comparatively a better poem.

With the poems of Kaviyā Karṇidān this trend of Cāraṇ poetry reached its apex by the end of the 18th century, whence

a period of decline begins. The pattern of describing persons, events, warriors, battles and their effects, diction and style became conventional. This tendency, found even earlier, became rigid and morbid in the succeeding years. On account of continuous political changes, upheavals and instability, the traditional trend with the same or similar subject matters and style could no longer remain effective. It is in the poems of Bāṅkīdās that we witness a remarkable change and hear an echo of the new age. He is the fore-runner of the Modern Period.

Kavirājā Bāṅkīdās Āsiyā (1781-1833), a court poet of Mahārājā Mānsiṅha of Jodhpur, was a scholar as well as a historian. His *Khyāt* is a collection of stray historical notes in prose. A collection of 27 of his works was published in 3 parts under the title *Bāṅkīdās Granthāwalī*. His other works are *Thaḷvaṭ Battīsī*, *Ṭhākur Rūpsīṅgh Rāypur rī Jhamāḷ*, *Anyokti Pancāsikā* and miscellaneous verses. About a dozen more works, not available so far, are also said to have been composed by him. He is a versatile poet, and is among the earliest to express nationalistic feelings.

Many of his poems deal with social evils and their solutions. They are sometimes satirical and condemn contemporary social evils. *Vaisak Vārtā*, *Māwadīyā Mijāj*, *Kṛpaṅ Darpaṅ*, *Cugal Mukh Capeṭikā*, *Vais Vārtā*, *Kukavi Battīsī*, *Vidur Battīsī*, *Kāyar Bāwnī*, etc., are such poems.

His discerning portrayal of heroes is inspiring and significant. Having seen practically all the rulers of Rajasthan dwindling, staggering and eager to submit to the British, Bāṅkīdās probably thought of this device to inspire people. Such poems are not addressed to individuals but to whole classes which answer the descriptions. This pattern was found so appealing that a great poet Sūryamall, who followed Bāṅkīdās, also adopted it for a similar effect. *Sūr Chattīsī*, *Sīh Chattīsī*, *Vīr-Vinod*, *Dhawal Paccīsī* etc., are such poems.

Other poems of Bāṅkīdās such as *Bhurjāl Bhūṣaṅ*, *Jehal Jas-Jaḍāv*, *Siddhrāv Chattīsī*, *Hamroṭ Chattīsī* and *Thaḷvaṭ Battīsī*, are historical and include verses describing places and towns.

Gaṅgā Laharī, *Jhamāḷ Rādhikā Śikh-nakh*, *Moh-mardan*, etc., are religious poems,

Nīti Mañjarī, Sañtoṣ Bāwnī, Vacan-Vivek Paccīsī, Anyokti-Pañcāsikā etc. are didactic in nature and preach about moral behaviour.

In some of his poems, a note of warning about the changing political conditions is explicit. A few stanzas of the *Cetāwanī kā gīt* are cited below:

The British invaded the land and extinguished the valour of its masters. Earlier they would die rather than yield their land to the enemy. The British took away the land and the masters stood like dumb witnesses.

Their arms forgot how to fight in the face of the enemy hordes and they saw the pitiful sight of their land passing on to others, in the way a coward husband quietly bears his wife taking another husband

'Chatrapatīs' and 'Gaḍhpatīs' eagerly accepted this evil destiny and the land passed out of their hands before their own eyes and none dared to resist.

There are but two occasions for courting death: one, when your land is seized from you and the other when women cry for protection. Is there no bravery left among Hindus and Musalmāns to protect their land and women?

It is obvious that Bāñkīdās deviated to some extent from the traditional style.

A sense of nationalism had started taking root when he wrote. Hence, the call to all the brave, whether Hindus or Musalmāns. Bāñkīdās's poems, therefore, are a landmark on India's road to nationhood. Some other poets, including Sūryamall Miśraṇ, carried forward this ideal, but a clarion-call was given by Śaṅkardān Sāmaur in the beginning of the Modern Period.

Mythological and Religious Poetry

In the poems of this school, a singular feature is the combi-

nation of the rasas of 'vīr' and 'bhakti' or 'vīr', 'śṛṅgār' and 'bhakti'. Pṛthvīrāj Rāṭhore's *Veli* is the best example of this school. Many poets like Bārhaṭ Ḍsardās and Khiḍiyā Jaggā have contributed equally to both the major trends of the Cāraṇ poetry: the historical and heroic and the mythological and religious. We shall here take note of the mythological and religious poems.

Cāraṇs trace their origin from the Śakti. They believe in eighty-four extraordinary incarnations of the Goddess in their community. Āwaḍjī, Mahmāy, Cāḷairāy and Karaṇjī are a few such names. A good number of poems, mostly invocations to these goddesses incarnate, and particularly on Karaṇjī and on Śakti legend based on Mārkaṇḍey Purāṇ were written. The warrior is a Śakti-worshipper and naturally Śakti-worship has been popular in Rajasthan. Similarly, poems on Lord Śiva, describing the legend of his two marriages with Satī and Pār-watī, were composed.

Many charming and impressive poems on Rām and Kṛṣṇa legends, describing particularly their heroic and redeeming aspects, a characteristic of this trend, were written. The only exceptions are two small poems on Rādhā by Sāṅyā Jhūlā and Bāṅkīdās in this period of 400 years. Other legendary characters like Pāṇḍavas, Abhimanyu, Prahlād and the ten incarnations of God had also been the subject of the poems. Mention of twenty-four incarnations of God in Rajasthani poetry, as by Kaviyā Karaṇidān, is only an exception and appears to have been due to later influence of the Bhāgawat and Braj-Bhāṣā poetry. Apart from this, certain poems on Nirguṇ Bhakti, like Kesodās Gāḍaṇ's *Nīsāṇī Vivek Vār*, were also written. There are a few other works which contain praise of God.

Saptsatī rā Chaṇḍ by Śrīdhar Vyās and *Mātājī rā Chaṇḍ* by Khiḍiyā Cāraṇ were written in praise of Śakti in the 15th century. Tejojī Cāraṇ and Kānhojī Bārhaṭ are other important poets of this century who wrote devotional verses decrying the prevalent social evils.

Jaysiṅha, probably a Brahmin poet, has narrated in his *Hari Rāsu*, composed in the early 16th century, the attributes of God for self-purification and pleasure, with feelings of devo-

tion, in simple language.

Allūjī Kaviyā (1468-1568 approx.) is well-known amongst the Cāraṇ Bhakt poets of Rajasthan. His stray verses, mostly chappayas (about 85 in number), and some Ḍiṅgal gīts are available. They sing the praises of Rām, Kṛṣṇa, and Siddhas like Gorakhnāth, Jāmbhojī and others. Emotional intensity and devotion make his chappayas most appealing.

In Bārhaṭ Āsā's (1493-1593) *Guṇ Nirāṅjan Prāṇ*, a poem of 45 verses, the invocation and exaltation of 'Nirguṇ Brahma' and in Ḍiṅgal gīts, līlās of 'Saguṇ Brahma' have been described. Synthesis of Saguṇ and Nirguṇ, oneness of Rām, Kṛṣṇa and Allah and 'Salām Alek'-'Alek Salām' with 'Namaskār' and 'Praṇām' in deferential salutations of Mohammedans and Hindus indicate Āsā's religious thinking. In *Guṇ Nirāṅjan Prāṇ* he says:

O Invisible, Transcendental! Thou art the only Truth, the rest of the world is guile. Thou alone creates, fosters and destroys.

Cūṇḍojī Dadhwāḍiyā is credited with *Nimaṅdhā Baṅdh* (33 verses), *Guṇ Cāṅak Veli* (41), *Guṇ Bhākaḍī*, *Rām Līlā* and stray verses, but only the first two are available. Both these poems sing the praises of God in various ways. The second one is in the numerical style starting from ½ to 21. They were composed between 1563 and 1568.

Cūṇḍojī and Allūjī Kaviyā are two of the fourteen Cāraṇ Bhakt poets mentioned in *Bhaktmāl* by Nābhādās.

Kriṣaṅjī rī Veli by Sāṅkhalā Karamsī Ruṅecā, composed about 1540, describes the beauty of Rukmiṅī in a very charming manner with effective similes. The available text of the poem consists of only 22 verses and appears to be incomplete. It is excellent poetry and seems to have been one of the sources of inspiration to poet Pṛthvīrāj Rāṭhore in his *Veli*. Here is a verse:

Rukmiṅī's tender soles, red with the flow of blood, appear like two inverted lotus flowers. Nails on her feet shine

like mirror or like rows of twinkling lamps on the lotus flowers.

Durgā Sāttasī by a Jain poet Kuśal Lābh (1523-1600 approx.) is based on 'Durgā Saptśati' in Mārkaṇḍey Purāṇ, and retells the Durgā legend in simple language.

We have already discussed *Hālāñ Jhālāñ rā Kuṇḍaliyā*, a heroic poem by Bārhaṭ Ṫsardās (1538-1618). In the Cāraṇ community, Ṫsardās is deemed almost a God (Ṫsarā-Paramesarā). His major works are *Hari Ras*, *Deviyāṇ*, *Guṇ Vairāṭ*, *Guṇ Niṇḍā Stuti*, *Guṇ Bhagwañt Haṅs*, *Guṇ Rās Līlā*, *Guṇ Bāl Līlā*, *Guṇ Sabhā Parva*, *Guṇ Āgam*, and *Garuḍ Purāṇ*. Besides many Ḍiṅgal gīts and songs, his minor poems include *Dān Līlā*, *Choṭā Hari Ras*, *Āpaṇ*, *Gaṅgāvatarāṇ*, *Sāmaḷ rā Dūhā*, and *Kṛṣṇa Dhyān*.

Ṫsardās's poems vividly portray the events and emotions of religious generosity, harmony and synthesis. He has eulogized one Almighty who appears in different forms and in many ways. Siddhas, Saints, Nine Nāths and Hussain are present with mythological bhaktas in his poem (*Guṇ Āgam*). He has chided God for not having granted a son to Mohammed Sāheb and for the death of Hussain (*Guṇ Niṇḍā Stuti*). He has equal regard for 'Purāṇ' and 'Kurāṇ' (*Hari Ras*). *Hari Ras* and *Deviyāṇ* are regarded as the books of recitation respectively of the Vaiṣṇvas and Śāktas. Ṫsardās is primarily a bhakt poet and for him bhakti is a means of liberation from the bonds of birth and death. To chant the praise of God and repeat His names are the best ways of bhakti and his poetry emphasizes this. In *Guṇ Niṇḍā Stuti*, ironical censure and commendation of numerous deeds of various incarnations of God have been simultaneously mentioned. Vāman's fraud on Bali and the carrying away of Jāmwañtī by Kṛṣṇa are two examples. This shows not only his devotion but also a sense of playful affinity. In *Hari Ras* he raises two fundamental questions about karma and Brahma. Whether the living being originated first or karma? The bond of birth and death follows the living being from the very beginning and it is due to the previous karma. If he is, therefore, not free to do karma, why should he undergo suffer-

ings? On the other hand, the scriptures declare that the living being is free to do karma. So, either the scripture or the karma theory is wrong.

The second question Īsardās raises is how the Nirākār Brahma originated and how this origin was brought about? The poet answers the first question by saying that in the beginning there was only Parbrahma and nothing else, not even Ātmā or karma. With regard to the second, he only bows down in the spirit of 'Neti-Neti'.

Veli Kriṣṇ Rukmaṇi rī by Rāṭhore Pṛthvīrāj (1549-1600), consisting of 304 verses, was composed in 1580. Based mainly on the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ*, it describes the legend of the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. Artistic excellence, depth of emotion and sublimity of thought mark this poem. The poem ranks high in this type of poetry. The poet has successfully combined the main characteristics of the three trends of Rajasthani poetry, viz., the secular love poetry, the historical and heroic poetry and saṅt (devotional) poetry. Basically, it is an erotic love poem concluding in bhakti. The heroic description in it is to strengthen, and for perfection of, śṛṅgār ras. The poet has not only depicted the exciting erotic emotions but, wherever possible in the context, has also fired the imagination and stimulated the senses. Erotic depictions are endowed with delicate grace. The innermost emotions of Rukmiṇī have been delicately reflected in her outward demeanour. The similes, complete in all respects, are suggestive and picturesque. The poet is cautious in the choice of appropriate words. In the use of Sanskrit words, he follows the style of *Raṅmall Chāṇḍ*. The language is literary Rajasthani. Since its composition, the *Veli* has become popular among the scholars. More than a dozen annotations, in Sanskrit, Braj and Rajasthani were written by scholars in the Medieval Period. And in modern times more than half a dozen editions of the *Veli* have been brought out.

Rāṭhore Pṛthvīrāj composed many miscellaneous verses, dohās and gīts. They sing praises of Rām, Kṛṣṇa, the river Gaṅgā and many heroes. But the *Veli* is the basis of the poet's perennial glory. Here are two verses from the *Veli*. The poet describes the young Rukmiṇī playing dolls with her mates:

The mates of princess Rukmiṇī, similar to her in modesty, parentage and age, are like tender and charming lotus buds. The princess playing with her mates on the grounds of the palace looks like the moon among the stars in the clear sky.

Description of evening and the feelings of Rukmiṇī waiting for Kṛṣṇa, after marriage:

With the sun-set shrink the rays of the sun, the eyes of the beloved waiting for her departed lover, the wings of the flying birds and petals of the lotus. And likewise shrank the love-longing fair damsel, Rukmiṇī.

The poet plays on the word *saṅkucit* in the context of the evening and with regard to the feelings of Rukmiṇī.

Mahādev Pārwatī rī Veli, composed during the latter half of the 16th century by Kisanau, probably a Brahmin poet, consists of 382 verses. It is a narrative poem on the legends of Gaṅgāvataṛaṇ and the marriages of Śiv with Satī and Pārwatī. The descriptions are elaborate and charming, particularly those relating to Śiv's marriages. But the emotional content is comparatively less. The poet aims to eulogize the attributes of Śiv.

We have already referred to Gāḍaṇ Kesodās (1553-1663). His major poems of the mythological-religious nature are *Nīsāṇī Vivek Vār*, *Chāṇd Mahādevjī ro* and *Chāṇd Śrī Gorakhnāth*.

The subject of the *Nīsāṇī* is mainly Śaṅkar's Vedānt, though Bhakti and Yog-Sādhanā have also been dealt with. The poet's message is to know the self and to liberate oneself from the bonds of birth and death. The *Nīsāṇī* has been very popular and provides examples of religious synthesis. The language is Khaḍī Bolī mixed with Rajasthani. It is easy and idiomatic. The other two are minor poems and are 'stutis' (praises) of Śiv and Gorakh respectively. The poet appears to be more inclined towards Nirguṇ Brahma and Nāth-Sādhanā. In his poem *Gaj Guṇ Rūpak Bāṇdh* (referred to earlier) references to the Nāth-Sādhanā are found.

Rām Rāsau by Mādhodās Dadhawāḍiyā (1553-1621), the

son of Cūṇḍā of village Balūṇḍā kā Wās, is a well-known narrative poem of 1034 verses, composed on epic scale, around 1595. It describes the story of Ram and is mainly based on *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇ*. The poet is also influenced by *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ*, *Ānaṇḍ Rāmāyaṇ*, *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇ* (by Mādhodās), the *Mahābhārat* and the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ*. The emphasis is on characterization of Ram as a redeemer and a hero. There is an idealistic presentation of the heroism of not only Ram but also of several other characters. Jaṭāyu is dejected because Rāwaṇ took away Sītā while he was still alive. Dying Bāli chides Ram for having struck him by guile. Hanumān does not beseech Surasā to allow him to pass but defeats her and proceeds to Laṅkā. On learning about the unconsciousness of Lakṣmaṇ, Ram challenges Rāwaṇ, but Rāwaṇ escapes in the dusk. On these points and many other matters difference between Tulsīdās and Madhodās Dadhawāḍiyā is culturally very significant. Tulsīdās has depicted profusely the disappointment and dejection of Ram. This passive attitude goes against the grain of the Rajasthani poet, whose hero may regret an enemy's blow at leisure, but immediately inflicts a stronger one on the opponent.

At places the language is very exquisite and depicts action in an objective and picturesque manner. The dialogues are brief, befitting and meaningful. They are natural and flow effortlessly. There are also contextual depictions of human weaknesses and sensibilities. On seeing the vastness of the sea, each monkey warrior asks the other one to jump across. On the death of Jaṭāyu, Ram is moved by pity. The poet has followed many folk beliefs and conventions.

There is an occasional anachronism. For instance, the poet makes Sugrīv say that the armies will march into Laṅkā after Daśaharā, forgetting that the institution of Daśaharā was not in vogue then and came up only after Ram's victory over Rāwaṇ.

Mādhodās Dadhawāḍiyā's *Nīsānī Gajmokh* is a short narrative poem on the theme of 'Gajendra-Mokṣa' of the *Bhāgwat*. His *Haḍūmān gīt* is in praise of god Hanumān.

Here are a few lines from *Rām Rāsau*:

137030

(Death of Mārīc, Sītā's harsh words to Lakṣmaṇ)
 'Lakṣmaṇ, (I know your intention) you were asked by the mother of Bharat to accompany us. My Lord is simple-hearted. He believes everybody is good. For him everything white is milk'.

Wherever Sītā goes, the deer (Mārīc) follows her. Again and again it bows down and touches Sītā's feet humbly. At every step of hers, it shows deep affection for Sītā. And earning Sītā's trust, the Rākṣas intends to dupe her.

Sānyā Jhūlā (1523-1623 approx.) of village Līlchā was a favourite of Rāv Kalyāṇmal Rāṭhore of Iḍar. Besides many stray verses, he wrote these narrative poems: *Rukmaṇī Haraṇ* and *Nāg Damaṇ*, describing respectively the legends of the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, and the crushing of Kāliya Nāg by Kṛṣṇa in the Jamunā; *Aṅgad-Viṣṭi* narrating Aṅgad's mission and the battle between Ram and Rāwaṇ; *Nīsānī Rādhikājī rī* (incomplete) on the 'Kuñj Līlā' of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and Caṅdrāwalī; *Raṇ Jaṅg* on the battle between Rāṇa-Pratāp and Mughals; *Guṇ Vasaṅt Līlā* and *Rās Līlā*. He is also credited with *Bārah Māsā*, *Aṅgad Baḍsālo*, *Nāgdamaṇ Caupai*, *Nāgdamaṇ Chaṅd*, *Nāgdamaṇ Kathā* and a *Vāt* (story) on *Rās Krīḍā* in Gujarati prose. But nothing can be said with certainty about these works till their authentic manuscripts are available.

The narrative poems depict the different līlās of Ram and Kṛṣṇa. *Rukmaṇī Haraṇ*, *Aṅgad Viṣṭi* and *Nāg Damaṇ* are popular and significant. The first two may be classified as heroic poetry and the third one as one of 'vātsalya bhāv'. Picturesque description and captivating dialogues are the characteristics of these poems. The descriptions mostly deal either with the scenes of battles or attributes and deeds of God-Incarnate. The dialogues are witty and eloquent. In the matter of dialogues Sānyājī is an unrivalled artist. *Rādhikā Nīsānī* is a poem of tender feelings, the first of its kind in this period. In fact only two poems pertaining to Rādhā were written in the medieval period. The other is *Jhamāḷ Rādhikā Sikh-Nakh* by

Bāñkīdās. The stray verses are mostly devotional.

Here are a few lines from a dialogue between Nāgañī and Kṛṣṇa from *Nāg Damaṇ*:

‘Whence have you come, and what brings you here? You have missed the way to your father’s home and have instead reached the serpent’s home.’

‘Good lady serpent! I have come deliberately and have not missed my way. Return my ball, if you want to preserve your grace.’

....‘O Nāgañī, your words, that I should not disturb your sleeping husband and should return, sound bitter to my ears.’

‘Save yourself from this Kāliya Nāg or your father will weep and your mother will know not whom to feed the milk of her breast!’

Surjandās Pūniyā (1583-1691), who has contributed much to this trend, is specially known as a poet of the chappay metre. He has composed about 400 chappayas, on a number of topics, mostly devotional. Depth of emotion and profundity of thought are the characteristics of his poems. Here we take note of his three narrative poems:

Kathā Hari Guṇ (192 verses) eulogizes God in various ways and to some extent follows the pattern of *Hari Ras* of Īsardās.

Kathā Gajmokh (69) tells the legend of liberation of Gaj from the clutches of the Grāh.

Rām Rāsau (176 verses), mainly composed in Ḍiṅgal gīts and chappayas, narrates the story of Ram, beginning from Śūrpañkhā’s marriage proposal to Ram in exile. She was the cause of battle between Ram and Rāwaṇ. The salient events and heroic deeds have been described with vigour, in a fluent language. A few incidents in the poem are unusual. Hanumān disguises himself as a ‘Mārjār’ (he-cat) while searching for Sitā in Lañkā. Lakṣmaṇ swoons twice, first from the bite of a snake sent by

Vārāhī Devī from 'pātāl' after the death of Mahirāwaṇ and second by a hit from Rāwaṇ while the latter was falling. Similarly, Lakṣmaṇ has been brought back to senses by two different persons on the two occasions. On one occasion Hanumān fetches the mountain of Amarjaḍī and finds on it Vārāhī chanting Śiv's name. And the next time Ram sighs deeply and is heard by Sitā who brings back Lakṣmaṇ to consciousness by chanting Sarjit-Mantra.

A reference to Vārāhī is also found in Mehojī's *Rāmāyaṇ*. Vārāhī is one of the 64 yoginīs. The lady, with whom the sādhanā of Mahāmudrā was performed, was also called yoginī. Vārāhī is also the potency of the god Heruk of the Vajrayāns. In the Buddhist tāntras, worship of Vārāhī is popular. Words like 'Avajū vāṭ', 'Ojū vāṭ' (meaning easy, simple and straight path), which are popular in Siddh poetry, have been used by Surjanjī, as also by Jāmbhojī prior to him, with the same meaning. They indicate traces of the remnants of Buddhist sādhanā in some form in Rajasthan. This, however, requires further investigation.

Here is a verse from *Rām Rāsau*. Rāwaṇ chides the envoy Aṅgad:

O, Aṅgad, you are not only low in species but also poor in intelligence. How could you talk aloud today? Better save your life and be on your heels. You black faced fool, your master could find no better envoy than you, the ill-omened one. You don't feel ashamed that you lost a kingdom through your folly. You make friends with the murderer of your own father and have become a parrot in his hands! What else could be expected of you? The acrobat and the monkey have no brains and shall strike their own head for a piece of bread!

Guṇ Govind, by Kalyāṇ Dās Rāv (Bhāṭ) of village Samelā in Mewār, was composed in 1643 and consists of 191 Rūpaks in 32 metres, besides vacanikā. It is a narrative poem dealing with the ten incarnations, particularly the life and līlā of Ram and Kṛṣṇa. In this respect, this is the only poem of its kind.

The language and style change according to the context. In the story of Ram, there is no reference to the burning of Lañkā, Lakṣmaṇ's unconsciousness and bringing of Sañjivanī by Hanumān. Similarly, in Kṛṣṇa-kathā, the legend of 'Rukmiṇī-Kṛṣṇa', a very popular theme among the Rajasthani poets, has not been mentioned. The poem prophesies that on the conclusion of Kaliyug and setting in of Satyayug, people will discard the study of Persian and go back to Sanskrit. A clear inference can be drawn from this that the study of Persian was popular when the poet wrote and that he longed for the restoration of a place of honour for Sanskrit.

Raghunāth Carit—Nav Ras Veli by Maheś Dās Rāv (1644-1698) is of 127 verses describing the story of Ram up to 'Bāl Kāñḍ', the return of the marriage party from Janakpur and its reception at Ayodhyā. From the word 'Nav Ras' in the title it appears that the poet might have thought of writing the story of Ram in the nine 'rasas' but could not complete it. Rajasthani and Braj have been used in the poem. Śatrughna has been depicted to be talkative and has been shown to have had an argument with Paśurām. ▽

Another important poem relating to the story of Ram is *Rugh Rāsau* (composed in 1668) by Muhtā Rughnāth of village Bālarawā (Jodhpur). Unfortunately, the text, in the available manuscripts, is incomplete as the portion from beginning up to the abduction of Sītā is missing. The text starts with the combat between Jaṭāyu and Rāwaṇ, and includes the happenings after Ram's coronation, Sītā's banishment, birth of Lav and creation of Kuś from 'Kuśā' by a Ṛṣi, and their heroic deeds. Bhiḍśākumbh, the son of Kumbhakarāṇ, obtained a boon from Śiv not to be killed by any womb-born child, and seized Lañkā from Vibhiṣaṇ. Ram's army came to Vibhiṣaṇ's rescue, and Kuś killed Bhiḍśākumbh. Having known from the Ṛṣi about Sītā's child, Ram again accepts Sītā and reigns over Ayodhyā.

Rukhmaṇī Haraṇ (206 verses) by Viṭhal Dās, composed between 1643 and 1670, narrates the legend of Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇī in 24 metres. The accent is on Kṛṣṇa's character. An elaborate description of the battle on the pattern of the historical and

heroic poems has been given. War-preparations at Dwārka before Kṛṣṇa's march, comparison of the two grooms, Kṛṣṇa and Śiśupāl, celebration by dance and song after marriage at Dwārka, etc., are a few innovations.

Śrī Bhawānī Śaṅkar ro Guṇ Śiv Purāṇ (incomplete) by Āidān Gāḍaṇ, a poet of the latter half of the 17th century, is based on the Śiv Purāṇ and narrates all the popular legends concerning Śiv. The available text ends with Tārakāsura's death at the hands of Kārtikey. Description of Śiv's marriage with Pārwatī is by far the most charming. Seeing the apparel of the groom and his party, Maynā, like an ordinary mother, is worried about the future of her daughter, Pārwatī. The poet has depicted her anxiety realistically.

We have already taken note of Khidīyā Jaggā's *Vacanikā*. He also wrote many devotional chappayas, of which about 30 are available. They are in comparatively easy language, and show the intensity of his devotion.

Paṅkhī Purāṇ (Guṇ Paṅkhī Pramod) by Kesarisīṅha Jaitāwat (1650-1750 approx.) is a collection of stray verses (kuṇḍaliyā). The verses have been popular in oral tradition and, as such, there might have been change in their text and fluctuation in number. Using birds, animals, trees, etc., knowledge and wisdom of the world, and human behaviour are imparted. A warning is given and devotional feelings are stirred. This pattern appears to be new even for the Saṅt poetry. In one of the manuscripts, 119 verses, the largest number, are found. One kuṇḍaliyā is given here:

In agony of separation, crying in the early hours of morning, what does the cock say? Beware, O ignorant man, night has passed and it is time to rise and remember God. The bell rings and indicates that life is getting shorter every moment. You will have to move shortly. Know ye that the time for departure is approaching nearer. So remember God, exclaims the cock, says the poet Kesarisīṅha.

By the use of popular historical similes the poet exhorts the people:

One should know that ultimately one has to die, since the body is perishable. So why preserve wealth and not give it away in alms? Everybody knows that wealth worth twenty crores of rupees, preserved under the waters of Ānāsāgar by King Viśaldev of Ajmer, was sunk in the waters.

This style was later followed by Opā Āḍhā, a bhakt poet of the 19th century.

We have already discussed Karaṇīdān's (1693-1783) poems. He has also described the story of Ram in his *Sūraj Prakās* linking it with the mythological genealogy of the Rāthores. As he says, he has followed Vālmīki and narrated the story in an unbroken sequence.

Pīrdān Lālas (first half of the 18th century) has acknowledged Bārhaṭ Īsardās (1538-1618) as his 'Bhāv Guru', and follows his religious thinking of generosity, tolerance and synthesis. *Nārāyaṇ Neh*, *Parmeśwar Purāṇ*, *Hiṅglāj Rāsau*, *Alakh Ārādh*, *Ajampā Jāp*, *Gyān Carit*, *Pātig Pahār* and some Ḍiṅgal gīts are his works. He hails one God who appears in many forms. He appears to believe in the ten incarnations and is inclined more towards Saguṇ Brahma. In *Parmeśwar Purāṇ* he has mentioned, with utmost reverence, the names of many saints, devotees and great men, who were followers of different religions and ideologies. Synthesising the ultimate wishes of persons of different faiths, he prays for liberation from the bonds of life and death, and for the boon of bhakti for future lives, if any. His bhakti is of Dāsya Bhāv. With regard to the cause for Incarnation, he follows the Gītā.

Mahārājā Ajītsiṅha (1678-1724) of Jodhpur, besides being a warrior was also a good poet and wrote *Guṇ Sār*, *Bhāv Virhī*, *Durgā Pāṭh Bhāṣā*, and *Gaj-Uddhār Granth* (670 verses). *Guṇ Sār* and *Bhāv Virhī* are collections of verses on miscellaneous topics. *Durgā Pāṭh Bhāṣā*, no longer available, is said to be a prose rendering of *Durgā Saptśatī* in Piṅgal.

Gaj-Uddhār Granth narrates the legend of 'Gaj and Grāh', based on the Bhāgwat, with minor variations of his own. The main theme covers about half the poem; the rest of the poem consists of digressions, like the ten incarnations, origin of the

universe, fourteen 'Loks', etc.

Gaj-Uddhār Granth ranks high in devotional poetry on this theme due to its deep faith and intensity of emotion, and realistic treatment of relationship. Here is one verse, in which Gaj reproaches God for the delay in coming to his rescue, full of irony and faith:

You are devoid of love and shame. In my case, you are indolent too. O Mādhav, where have you lost your sense of honour when I need your help? How could you know what affection is, for you have neither father nor mother nor brother nor relations? You belong to no class or creed, nor is there anybody to direct you, for you are all supreme. People act to save the honour of their 'pāgh' (turban) but you have no such responsibility since you wear only a 'mukaṭ' made of peacock feathers.

We may enumerate broadly the subjects with which Mahārājā Ajit Siṅha deals, as follows—

Mythological, including poems on Devī or Śakti and her praises; religious and didactic; expanse of the Universe; and historical and secular, including 'Ratan Kañwar Ratanāwatī kī Bāt' contained in *Guṇ Sār*.

Though the poet hails the Yugal-Swarūp of the Deity, his inclination is more towards the Śakti.

Mātājī rī Vacanikā by Jatī Jaycaṅd, a Jain poet (first half of the 18th century), was composed in 1719. It narrates the Durgā legend after *Durgā Saptśatī*, with a tinge of local colour. It is a heroic poem giving vivid descriptions of the events. Subject apart, it follows the pattern of historical heroic poetry in phraseology, diction and conventions. It is a luminant poem in the tradition of Durgā poetry. The poet has reflected upon the prevalent political conditions by designating the army of Śumbh-Nisumbh as that of the 'Mlechas'. The poet has used seven 'vacanikās', and a variety of metres.

History records that after the death of Mahārājā Jaswant-siṅha in 1678, Jodhpur was ransacked by Emperor Aurangzeb's army. During those days of anarchy, cruelty and destruction

of the Hindu religious places and monuments, it is very significant that a son of the late Mahārājā Jaswantsiṅha and ruler of Jodhpur writes *Gaj-Uddhār-Grāṅth* and a Jain poet writes *Mātājī rī Vacanikā*.

Guṇ Vijay Vyāh, consisting of about 250 verses in the Troṭak metre, was composed by Bārhaṭ Murārīdās, in 1718. The poet narrates the Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇī legend and hopes thereby to attain bhakti. The unusual aspect of the work is revealed by the following few events included in the poem:

Bhīṣmak sending a messenger to Rukmaiṇī to enquire about the outcome of the battle, remarks of Śīsupāl's wives on their defeated husband, the psychological state of Rukmaiṇī and Śīsupāl after their defeat come in a sequence and are described in a very sarcastic manner. Rukmaiṇī, ashamed, hides in the jungle under pretence of hunting and Śīsupāl hides in his own house like a jackal in its hole. Thus the poet gives a new touch to the legend. There appears to be an impact of *Veli* of Rāṭhore Pṛthvīrāj on some of its verses.

Another poem *Kisan Kilol* on the same legend was composed by Ās in 1730. It appears to be an interesting poem, but its text in the beginning and middle is missing.

Guṇ Chabhā Prab, a narrative poem based on Śabhā Parva of the *Mahābhārat* was composed by Haridās Lālas in a comparatively easy language. Haridās was the son of the bhakt poet Pīrdān Lālas, already taken note of, and was living in 1750, in village Juḍhiyā in Mārṅwār.

Guṇ Rām Vār Nīsāṇī by Bārhaṭ Narharidās Sāṅwlot (1723-1763 approx.) narrates the story of Ram in 209 nīsāṇīs in a flowing and easy language.

Kṛpārām Khiḍiyā (1743-1833), a favourite poet of Rāvrājā Devīsiṅhā of Sīkar, is famous for his couplets on Nīti known as *Rājiyāi rā Dūhā* (or *soraṭhā*), about 165 in number. They are addressed to Rājiyā, a faithful servant of the poet. Hence his name occurs in every couplet. Being issueless, Rājiyā was always grief-stricken for fear of the end of his line. Knowing this, the poet immortalized Rājiyā in these couplets. To the common man, the couplets go by Rājiyā's name. They are wise sayings in a few effective words, popular similes, and easy

language. This has brought wide popularity to the poet which no other poet could reach.

Many poets, including Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā of recent times, have composed couplets on this pattern. Here are a few examples from Kṛpārām:

O Rājiyā!

The ocean is full of innumerable pearls; but if no effort is made to obtain them, the fault does not lie with the ocean.

Black and ugly looking musk is weighed in delicate scales by 'Māsā' and 'Tolā' and fetches a high price. (Contrary to it) sugar, white in colour, cannot compare with it in value and is weighed by stones.

- One who has an aim makes all efforts to achieve it and does not mind obstacles, just as a sick man is not deterred by the bitterness of a drug.

Hornet, leech, fish and frog inhabit the same waters with the lotus, but are ignorant of its fragrance. It is only the 'bhramar', or the lover, who knows the taste of its sap.

Say, which task an alert and true friend will not perform? Even Lord Kṛṣṇa drove the chariot of Arjun with his own hands.

Kavitt Cālairāy, Cālaknecī, Saṭrut Varnaṇ, and a treatise on rhetoric with some miscellaneous verses are Kṛpārām's other works.

Opā Ādhā (1752-1843 approx.), son of Cāraṇ Bakhtājī of village Peśawā (Sirohī), is a well-known bhakt poet and is said to have composed many Ḍiṅgal gīts, but only twenty of them have survived. These gīts show a path to Bhakti. They are highly moving, and are replete with easy expressions and similes chosen from history and folk life. Indicating the supremacy of God's will, he gives the example of the fall of the Mughal Empire and the rise of the Marāṭhā power:

None knows the tenets of the Divine Destiny. For some time a boat carries the cart and at another time, the cart carries the boat. Strange are the ways of God. He destroys Delhi and brings Deccan to Power. All human efforts fail, God's will prevails and makes Aurangzeb's throne sink and Satārā-Gaddī swim.

In one of the couplets of the gīt he says:

Those who give alms will be saved but those who hide the wealth will lose it. Bīsaldev's wealth worth twenty crores hidden in water was lost in those very waters.

Such gīts are unique in devotional poetry. No other poet, except to some extent Kesarīsīnha Jaitāwat, can be compared with Opā in this respect. Opā says:

The body is subject to decay. One should, therefore, remember Viṣṇu, speak sweet and be charitable. The human life scatters like water, flowing down a mountain.

Human power cannot move even a particle. Life and Death lie under the Divine control. Man is proud that he has killed another man, little knowing that he is merely an instrument in the hands of the Destiny.

Opā Āḍhā is the last great poet of the mythological and religious branch of the Cāraṅ poetry in the Medieval Period.

ĀKHYĀN KĀVYA

The emergence and growth of the Ākhyān Kāvya, besides Saṅt Poetry, is a notable feature of Medieval Rajasthani poetry. Of many Ākhyān Kāvya composed, we shall here take note of only a few important and popular ones.

Kathā Ahmanī by Ḍeljhī (1433-1493), an Ākhyān Kāvya of 717 verses (dohā, caupāi and chaṅd), meant to be sung in musi-

cal modes like dhanāsi, mārū, sorāṭh, gawaḍī, dhawal and āsādhaḍī, is the only major narrative poem dealing with the story of Abhimanyu, a hero of the *Mahābhārat*. Many popular beliefs, accreditations and bold impressions of local colour have shaped the legend of the poem.

Lord Kṛṣṇa killed the demon Ahlocan, whose pregnant wife later gave birth to Ahdānav. In order to take revenge Ahdānav planned to imprison Kṛṣṇa in an amulet. But Kṛṣṇa outwitted Ahdānav, turned him into a black-bee and caged it in the amulet.

Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa, opened the amulet out of curiosity. Then the black-bee entered her womb through the mouth. She was later married to Arjun. Ahdānav, who had already entered her womb in the form of a black-bee, was born to her as Abhimanyu, the son of Arjun. Abhimanyu's marriage with Uttarā at Bairāṭ, his decision to fight the Cakravyūh battle, the travel of camel drivers—the Raibārīs—to Bairāṭ to bring Uttarā to Hastināpur, the family's grief at Bairāṭ over this, Subhadrā's vain efforts to avoid the calamity, her and Uttarā's sorrow, Abhimanyu's death and Arjun's return and later events have been described very effectively. It has also been indicated towards the end that Abhimanyu's death was intended by Kṛṣṇa himself as he was Ahdānav incarnate, Kṛṣṇa's enemy.

It is a poem of homely atmosphere where a sort of helplessness prevails all over and the common human emotions are expressed. It is mostly in dialogue form, crisp and to the point. Omens, dreams and belief in them, social customs and behaviour, sentiments of different characters, and descriptions of apparel have been presented in a simple and charming manner.

At Bairāṭ, Uttarā's mother asks the Raibārīs who came to escort Uttarā:

Say, what Kuṅtī has done? She kept back her sons, the five Pāṅḍavas, and asked the young grand-son (Abhimanyu) to face the challenge, while warriors like Bhīm, Nakul and Sahdev stood by! How brave of them indeed! The King (Yudhiṣṭhir) asking the tender grandson to proceed alone to

battle is certainly strange! Perhaps such conduct from them is not unexpected, being born of a brazen mother who gave birth to Karṇa even while unmarried.

When the Raibārīs protest, she says:

We have deep love for our daughter, but alas! even that fails to help. O travellers! Please consider what I said a weakness of mother's love, and report it not to the Pāṇḍavās. We are like a gambler who, after losing everything, stands up and goes off. We feel as if we have lost all our wealth on a bet.

When Kuṅtī tried to pacify Subhadrā and made an attempt to persuade her to permit Abhimanyu to go to the battle, Subhadrā says:

O mother-in-law! if you wish me well, go and ascertain from the King if he would be happy that warriors like Bhīm stay at home and a mere child should go to the battle. Abhimanyu's father is away in the land of gods to help them in the battle and I, the mother, am left alone to protect the child. Will it, therefore, be fair, if you keep back your own sons and send my lone child to face death?

Krisanjī ro Vyāñwalo (or *Rukmañī Maṅgal!*), composed by Padam Bhagat between 1493 and 1500, is so popular and held in such veneration by the people in the Northern and the Western regions of Rajasthan that it may be called their *Bhāgwat*. It is an Ākhyān Kāvya of about 265 verses, meant to be sung in popular musical modes like mārū, rāmgiri, sorath, kedāro, siñdhu, hañso, dhanāśrī, velāulī and devśākh etc. A few later manuscripts present a larger recension of the poem. But that is due to addition of the poet's other stray songs of similar nature. It is a bhakti poem with notes of vīr ras at places and describes the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. Kṛṣṇa is seen throughout as a hero and a redeemer. With the intention of abducting Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa proceeds to Kuṅḍanpur with his

brother and army, and not alone as in other poems on the legend. He does not carry her off in a clandestine manner but seizes and seats her in his own chariot and announces his valiant act by blowing the conch-shell. The poem gives a vivid account of the popular customs and traditions of marriage.

Padam Bhagat also composed many songs on this legend, which collectively present a charming picture of the whole incident. This style is later found in *Sūr Sāgar*. A few songs in which Rukmiṇī's pangs are described remind us of Mīrāñ's songs. In the domain of devotional Ākhyāns, the *Vyāñwalo* ranks high.

Here are a few lines from the *Vyāñwalo*, which are sung by ladies at the time of marriage:

Welcome to you Kanhaiyā, but why have you brought Mahādev with you? He relishes Āk and Dhatūrā and frightens children. O Kanhaiyā! with Mahādev in your marriage party, eat the Lapasī which we lovingly offer you. Forget not that your sister Subhadrā eloped with Arjun. And Kuṅtī, your Bhūwā, gave birth to Karaṇ while unmarried. Your devotee Padam worships you through these ridicules, as reproaches for you are known to grant devotee's prayers when so pressed.

Rāmāyaṇ by Mehojī (1483-1544), composed about 1518, in 261 verses (dohā and caupāī) deals with the salient points of the life-story of Ram and is the earliest Ākhyān Kāvya in the tradition of Ram-poetry. It was meant to be sung in popular musical modes like dhanāsī, rāmgiri, hañsā, malhār and jaitśrī. Certain variations in the story appear to have been taken from the popular tradition of the age about the Ram legend. Mehojī has created two new characters: Bhoj, a trustworthy companion of Rāwaṇ, and Vārāhī, Rāwaṇ's sister, who are not found in other Ākhyāns of Ram legend.

Rāwaṇ enquires from Bhoj about the man who took away Sitā by marrying her at the Swayamvar. Bhoj comes to Pañcmaḍhī and, pretending to be a sick man, seeks Sitā's permission to stay there for the night. He studies Sitā's personality and

reports about it to Rāwaṇ. He tells him that she is the prettiest woman on the face of the earth. Rāwaṇ asks him to compare Sitā's beauty with that of his own queens including the legendary Maṇḍodarī. Bhoj still maintains his statement. Thereupon Rāwaṇ decides to abduct Sitā and proceeds to do so after consultation with his astrologers.

Vārāhī enquires from a traveller about the welfare of her kith and kin at Laṅkā, her parental home. Then she comes to know about the battle raging in Laṅkā, in consequence of her brother's abduction of Sitā. The traveller also gives his assessment of the likely result of the battle as Rāwaṇ's defeat.

The poem is important from the point of view of poetic excellence, language and style. Most of the story is in dialogues. It depicts many popular beliefs and customs.

In almost all the characters, human sentiments predominate.

Rāwaṇ says, 'A castle's glory lies in its battlements and that of a wall in its murals. Where stands Sitā in comparison with the beauties in my queens' apartments? What praise to Sitā you have?' Bhoj says to Rāwaṇ, 'Sita is far superior in beauty to your sixty-four thousand queens and even to Maṇḍodarī, your chief queen. How can I describe Sitā's beauty?'

In exile Ram causes a tank named Rāmsarowar to be dug. Lakṣmaṇ puts embankments to it and Sitā, the Paṇihārī, fetches water in a pair of golden pitchers on her head and with a bowl in her hand. With what she brings, she waters the Magnolia, Maruā and Pandanus in the forest. This is a scene common, enchanting and dear even today in the North-Western parts of Rajasthan. After Sitā's abduction Ram sighs in grief and Lakṣmaṇ tries to console him. Hanumān, with his rustic sympathy, exclaims, 'Why grieve for one Sitā? I can get twenty Sitās for you.' Ram says, 'O Hanumān! you are mad. Sitā is one in thousands. How can you bring twenty like her, my dear lad?'

In Laṅkā at Aśok Vātikā, Sitā finds the ring of Ram dropped by Hanumān and exclaims, 'How came this ring? Either Ram is dead or is killed or it's all a dream. How can this ring otherwise appear here?' Hanumān says, 'Ram is neither dead,

nor killed, nor do you see a dream. This ring of Ram is brought here by Hanumān.'

Parsūrāmdevācārya (16th century), of Nimbārk Sampradāy, wrote thirteen Līlā poems, such as *Amar-bodh*, *Nām-nidhī*. Though these are in the nature of Ākhyān kāvyas these have been taken note of elsewhere together with other Līlā poems under 'Sānt Poetry.'

Out of many narrative poems and stray verses, Kesodās Godārā's (1573-1679) four Ākhyān kāvyas deserve notice here: *Kathā Bhīṅv-Dusāsaṇī* (66), *Kathā Surgārohaṇī* (217), *Kathā Bahsowanī* (550), and *Prahlād Cirat* (596).

They are meant to be sung in musical modes like mārū, dhanāsrī, kedāro, sorath, haṅso, malhār, gawadī, sindhu, and are mostly in dohā and caupāī metres. *Kathā Bhīṅv-Dusāsaṇī* tells the story of Duśāsan's death at the hands of Bhīm for insulting Draupadī, *Kathā Surgārohaṇī* tells the story of the ascent of the Pāṇḍavas to Heaven, *Kathā Bahsowanī* tells of Rājā Paṇḍu's descent to Hell and the Pāṇḍava's Swarṇyagya for his salvation. *Prahlād Cirat* retells the Prahlād legend.

In all these poems the poet has deviated from their mythological sources in minor detail. He has interpreted the legends in terms of the beliefs which were popular during the time when the works were composed.

Prahlād Cirat ranks high among all the poems of Kesodās Godārā on account of its poetic excellence and popularity. Rājā Jamghat used to kill animals indiscriminately. To prevent this, all the deer decided to send daily one deer to him. A lame deer, at its turn, made love to a doe on the way. Both of them went to the Rājā, who, on seeing their deep love, let off the deer. The doe who had become pregnant did not give birth to a young one for 18 months. With acute pain she sat on the way through which Śankar and Pārwatī were passing. Pārwatī requested Śankar to relieve her of this pain. After securing many boons from the Lord, the child came out. It was Hiranya-kaśipu.

The rest of the story is in consonance with the received legend. Human emotions, weaknesses, sorrows and joys have

been depicted in the poem. A few lines from the *Cirat* are given below:

The doe sat on the way through which Mahādev and Pār-watī were passing and started chanting 'Hari' 'Hari' loudly. On seeing it, Pār-watī asked Śankar, 'Listen, my all-knowing Lord! How long will this pregnant doe remain alive in this agonising condition? Please relieve her of this. I, being a mother, can realize its pain.' Śankar said, 'O beloved, if her karmas are such, she will have to bear torment not only in this but also in the lives to come.' Out of anger Pār-watī said, 'You are a Jogī wearing ear-rings and having Jaṭā over your head. You are naked and without any possession. All this would put a householder to shame. You are an ascetic and live in jungle. Riding on a bullock, you go begging. You consider all these things, which will embarrass others, to be a decoration. With one who neither listens to any advice, nor takes, nor agrees to do anything, it is impossible to have a home-life.' So saying, she cajoled the Lord, but in vain. Then she threatened the Lord. 'If you do not feel moved even at such a sight, there will no more be the relation of husband and wife between us.'

The threat worked and the Lord relieved the doe of her pain.

Kathā Uṣā Purāṇ (232 verses) by Surjandās Pūniyā (1583-1691), meant to be sung in popular tunes, describes the love-affair and marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the legendary persons. The battle, which, in popular mythology, is said to have occurred between Kṛṣṇa and Śiv, has been depicted in this work as one between a Kṣatriya and a Jogī.

Gordhanjī, a Siṅāwā Rāj-pūt of the village Inpālsar (Churu), was a poet of Jasnāthi tradition of the 18th century. His *Gaur Vyāñwalo* (121 verses) is meant to be sung, and tells the story of the marriage of Śiv and Pār-watī on mythological lines. The poet has introduced an anecdote of Rājā Sabairāj of Sabainagarī who wishes to marry Pār-watī on an invitation by her mother in preference to Śiv. Ultimately Sabairāj is killed and the Lord

marries Pārwatī. The Ākhyān, rich in local colour, depicts folk customs and traditions then prevalent. The mental disposition of Pārwatī's mother Caṅdrāwatī and narration of some incidents are remarkable.

Harcaṅd Purāṇ and *Prahlād Purāṇ* by Dudojī who died in 1673, *Kisan Vyāñwalo* by Rustamjī who died in 1718, *Sīt Purāṇ* and *Harkīrat Purāṇ* by Sarwanjī (17th century) are some other notable Ākhyān kāvyas of this period.

SAṆT (DEVOTIONAL) POETRY

Under this title is considered the poetry concerning Saguṇ and Nirguṇ types of bhakti. Poems which cannot be so classified but are devotional in nature, are also taken note of. Emergence and preponderance of Saṅt poetry and Ākhyān poetry are the main features of the Medieval Period. Rajasthan is as rich in the Saṅt poetry as it is in the folk literature. The main characteristic of Saṅt poetry is that it deals with the Nirguṇ bhakti which inclines towards the Saguṇ bhakti (*Saguṇonmukh-Nirguṇ Bhakti*), also indicating at times the Yogsādhanā or using the yog-terminology, particularly popular in the Nāth-Sādhanā.

Five main historical factors form the background and causation of this Saṅt poetry:

(1) Nāmdev (1270-1350) and his Hindi poetry. He was the forerunner of this type of Saṅt poetry.

(2) Rāmānaṅd (1299-1410) and the Bhakti Sādhanā of his disciples.

(3) The Nāths, their yog-sādhanā and literature.

(4) The popular customs and traditions relating to religious, cultural and philosophical currents drawn mainly from the Upaniṣads, Purāṇs, the Rāmāyaṇ, the Mahābhārat, Prasthān-Trayī, Smṛtis and Śāṅkar Vedānt.

(5) The then existing social and historical conditions including the reaction to the advent of Islam.

The poets who have enriched this tradition may be grouped into two categories: the originators, propounders and followers of different sampradāyas, and those who were free from any

traditional bond of religion or sampradāy.

Different Sampradāyas and their Poetry

Many Sampradāyas originated and flourished in Rajasthan during the Medieval Period. A list of prominent Sampradāyas whose contributions, literary, cultural, or ideological are of high significance, is given below:

<i>Name of the Sampradāya</i>	<i>Originator or Propagator</i>	<i>Seats, places and regions in Rajasthan</i>
1. Nāth	Goraḥnāth and others	Whole of Rājasthan
2. Rasik (In Rām-Bhakti) (Rāmāvat vairāgis)	Agradāsji	Raiwāsā (Sikar), Jaipur region.
	Anantānañdji	Galtā, Jaipur region.
3. Viṣṇoi	Jāmbhoji	Pipāsar, Mukām, Sambharāthal, Jāmbholāv, Jānglū etc., north-western and southern regions.
4. Jasnāthi	Jasnāthji	Katariyāsar, north-western regions.
5. Nirañjani	Haridāsji	Didwānā, Nāgore, Jodhpur region.
6. Nimbārk	Parśurāmdevji	Salemābād, Ajmer, Kishangarh region.
7. Dādū	Dādūdayālji	Narāyaṇā, Jaipur, Śekhāwāṭi region.
8. Lāldāsi or (Lāl Pañth)	Lāldāsji	Naglā, Rasgaṇ etc., Alwar, Bharatpur region.
9. Carañdāsi or Śuk	Carañdāsji	Dahrā, Alwar, Jaipur region.
10. Gudaḍ	Sañtdāsji	Dāntḍā, Bhilwārā
11. Rām Snehi	Rāmcarañji	Shāhpurā, Bhilwārā Udaipur region.

12. Rām Snehi	Dariyāvji	Reṅ, Nāgore, Jodhpur region.
13. Rām Snehi	Harirāmdāsji	Siṅthal, Bikaner region.
14. Rām Snehi	Rāmdāsji	Kheḍāpā, Nāgore, Jodhpur region.
15. Alakhiyā	Lālgiriji	Bikaner.
16. Āi Pañth	Jiji Devi (Āiji)	Bilāḍā, Pāli and Jodhpur region.

We give a very brief account of their contributions taking note of only a few selected and prominent poets from each:

(1) *Nāth Sampradāy*

It is believed that Lord Śiv is the Ādi Nāth (the primordial Nāth) and basically the Nāth Sampradāy is Śaivite. Gorakhnāth is said to have flourished in the 11th century. He organised and regulated all prominent yog-sampradāyas, which later developed in the framework prepared by him. His main emphasis was on Haṭhyog and Kāyā-Siddhi or culture of the body. The aim of the Nāth-Sādhanā is Jiwan-Mukti or attaining liberation from the body while living. It is thus, a way of Sādhanā. Before Gorakhnāth, there was a powerful tradition of the Sādhanā of Yog and Tañtra prevalent in one way or the other among Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and followers of other religions.

The Yogis of Nāth Pañth are divided into twelve branches known as Bārā Pañth. There are mainly four views about this regulation. The acceptable view appears to be that there were as many as thirty branches of the yogis, out of which eighteen were basically Śaivite and 12 were of those who decided to follow the dictates of Gorakh. The Yogis of the eighteen branches became latent in course of time. Out of the twelve following Gorakhnāths, six became the spiritual successors of the latent eighteen branches. Thus, these and the remaining six branches of Gorakh, constitute the present twelve branches of the Nāth Yogis, the list of which is as follows:

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Satya Nāthi, | (2) Rām Nāthi, | (3) Pākal Nāthi, |
| (4) Pāv Pañthi, | (5) Dharma Nāthi, | (6) Man Nāthi, |
| (7) Kapilāni, | (8) Gaṅgā Nāthi | (9) Nāteśwari, |
| (10) Āi Pañthi, | (11) Vairāgya Pañthi | (12) Rāwal Pañthi. |

The lists vary in different traditions but this twelve pañth theory is more reliable. This order is accepted and adhered to in the twelve-yearly Pātra Dev Yātrā at the time of Pūrṇa-Kumbh which starts from Tryambak on the banks of the river Godāwari, halts at many centres, 73 or more in number, and finally reaches Kadri Maṭh. This 'Yātrā' tradition is centuries old and ample indications of its antiquity are available. Similarly, nine Nāths are famous but their common list and tradition are not found. Nāths are also called Siddhas. In *Varṇa Ratnākar* a list of 76 Siddhas, including the Nāths, has been given. From this we may conclude that the nine Nāths were famous before 1328, the date of its composition. There is an inscription dated 26 September 1078 in the Nāth-Maṭh of Nohar (Śrigaṅgānagar—Rajasthan) which shows the prevalence of Nāths in the 11th century. From the available materials it appears that out of the twelve branches of the Nāths mentioned above, numbers 1, 4, 6, 7, 11 and 12 were comparatively more prevalent in Rajasthan and out of the nine Nāths, Gorakh, Jālaṅdhar, Gopicaṅd, Bharthari and Carpaṭ were better known. Many references about them are available in the history and literature of Rajasthan. What is important is that in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Nāth sampradāy was very much prevalent in Rajasthan and was also well organized. Seats and Gaddis of Nāths were spread here throughout. Common people viewed them with awe and respect. The newly emerged Saṅts like Jāmbhoji sharply reacted against the Nāths for their remoteness from normal life, aversion to common people, perverted and corrupt ways of Sādhanā.

In the language of the available poems said to be the compositions of the early Nāths, traces of Rajasthani are clearly discernible and their form appears to be basically of Khaḍi Boli. However, it cannot be said with certainty that these poems are in fact the compositions of the persons to whom they are

ascribed. It is definite that certain poems of other poets have been deemed as the works of some Nāths. There is also an intermixing of Vāṇis said to belong to many Nāths. The language is not so old. The conclusion is that they could not be earlier than the 16th century. Critically edited texts of the Vāṇis of various Nāths are still awaited. Due caution, therefore, is necessary in this matter.

This poetry mostly deals with the Sādhanā, its processes, the state of Siddhi, its philosophy and preachings. But this is important from many other points of view also.

The Nāths and their Sādhanā, diction and style have influenced to some extent the Rajasthani literature, particularly the Saṅt poetry. The Haṭhyog-Sādhanā has been indicated or described in almost every Saṅt's poetry. Some Saṅts have also adopted Nāth diction but with a slightly different meaning.

Besides Gorakhnāth, two other Nāths also deserve notice. Jālaṅdharnāth, also known as Jālaṅdharipā or Hāḍipā, is said to be the originator of Pāv Paṅth, the seat of which was at Jalore. This Paṅth was related at some time to the Vajrayān branch of the Buddhism. In some Rajasthani poems a faint semblance of the Buddhist traditions, such as the existence and actions of Vārāhi Devī, are found. The *Rāmāyaṇ* of Mehojī and *Rām Rāsau* of Surjanjī are examples. The reason for this appears to be the impact of Jālaṅdharnāth and his Paṅth.

The other notable Nāth is Carpaṭ who, according to Rajjab, was born of a Cāraṇ woman and as such may be said to belong to Rajasthan. He is also credited with the exploration of Rasāyan-Siddhi. He is the earliest Nāth who has deprecated the importance of mere apparel and appearance of the Nāths. The irony is that he himself had pierced ears and wore ear-rings and was therefore known as a Kānphaṭā Nāth. Exposure of defects and vices, and suggestion of remedies are the main notes of his poems. Here is an example:

A laughing Jogī, a sloth she-camel, a bashful poet, a buffoon, a prostitute, a person inclined to evil, a shameless woman, all of them, says Carpaṭ, should be condemned outright.

According to Gorakh and other Nāths complete brahmacharya is the ideal of life. Hence their attitude towards the gr̥hastha is far from generous. They deem a householder a slave of passion and anger (Kām, Krodh), etc. Once a man becomes a gr̥hastha, he is no longer entitled to talk about Gyān.

It appears that the Nāth-Vāṇis in the Deśī Bhāṣā were consolidated in the 16th century. Amongst many reasons which led to consolidation, one was that about the 16th century there was a strong reaction against the evil aspects of the prevalent forms of Nāthism and the Nāths, therefore, felt it necessary to give their scriptures a respectability by consolidating them as the Vāṇis of recognized masters.

Pr̥thvināth (1450-1550 approx.) is the most celebrated Nāth poet of this period. The genuineness of his poems is also beyond doubt. Till recently, only four of his poems (graṇthas), *Sādh Parikhyā*, *Nirañjan Nirwāṇ*, *Bhakti Vaikuṇṭh Jog* and *Sabadī* were known. But as a result of research in different manuscript collections, as many as 25 more poems (graṇthas) and some padās have become available. Most of these 25 poems carry 'Jog Graṇth' at the later end of their title. Some of these are: *Prāṇ Paccīsī*, *Sikh Sambodh Ātmā Parcai*, *Gyān Paccīsī*, *Bharam Vidhūns*, *Tat Saṅgrām*, *Man Thamb Sarīr Sādhan*, *Mūl Padam Mahāgyān*, *Solah Kalā*, *Solah Tithī*, etc.

The frame of Pr̥thvināth's language is Khaḍī Boli mixed with Rajasthani and sometimes Braj also. His poems deal with various aspects of Nāthism. The important point is that in these 'graṇthas' there are adequate indications of his inclination towards Bhakti also. And this, a turning point in the Nāth-tradition, was later followed by Banānāth and others. It clearly shows the influence of Bhakti on the Nāth Sādhanā. Here is one of his verses:

The world is full of thorns which pierce the exterior and prick the interior, says Pr̥thvināth. Persons devoid of the divine devotion are like thorny branches of a Babūl tree.

He has used some typical Rajasthani words, such as 'Pālo' (from 'Pallav'), in their colloquial sense.

Mahārājā Mānsiṅha of Jodhpur (1782-1843) was a poet, scholar and musicologist. Though his poetry is varied and extensive, his contribution to the Nāth poetry and Nāthism is of utmost importance. Next come his songs and verses depicting erotic emotions. Both types of poems are of literary value. He composed about 60 poems of all sorts, small and large, in Rajasthani, Braj, Khaḍi Boli, Pañjābi and in a mixed form of any two or more of these languages. His poetry mainly deals with the following four subjects:

(1) There is a long list of his poems (about 31 in number) on Nāth Bhakti, Nāthism and its philosophy. *Anubhav-Mañjarī*, *Sarūpāṅ rā Dohā*, *Jalaṅdhar Gyān Sāgar* etc. are in Rajasthani and the rest of his poems, such as *Jalaṅdharnāthjī ro Carit-Grāṅth*, *Jalaṅdhar-Caṅdroday*, *Nāth-Carit*, *Siddh-Sampradāy Grāṅth*, *Siddh-Muktāphal*, *Tej-mañjarī*, *Pañcāwalī*, *Nāth-Kīrtan*, *Nāth Stotra*, *Jalaṅdharnāth rī Nīsānī*, *Nāth Pad-puṣpāñjalī*, *Ṣaḍ Cakra Varṇan*, etc., are in Rajasthani mixed Braj.

(2) His erotic works such as *Dūhā Saṅyog Śṛṅgār*, *Dūhā Viyog Śṛṅgār*, *Śṛṅgār Pad*, *Rāg-Ratnākar*, *Śṛṅgār Śiromaṇi Nām-vārtā Grāṅth* (in prose) are in Rajasthani and Rajasthani mixed Braj.

(3) His works dealing with nature, such as *Udyān Varṇan*, *Ṣaḍṛtu-Varṇan* are in Rajasthani.

(4) His works on Ram and Kṛṣṇa themes such as *Rām Vilās* (incomplete), *Kṛṣṇa Vilās*, and *Ras-Caṅdrikā* are in Braj.

The number of his padas (songs) relating to Bhakti and eroticism is very large. These are meant to be sung in different musical modes. Many songs popular among Mārwar folk go in his name, the authenticity of which is, of course, a matter of dispute.

Ratanā Hamīr rī Vārta, a very well-known love-story in Vacanikā style, is attributed by some to Mānsiṅha and by others to Uttamcaṅd Bhaṅḍāri. More investigation is called for if the authorship is to be determined definitively.

Banānāth of Jodhpur is a well-known Nāth Siddh poet of the first half of the 19th century. His works, *Anubhav Prakāś* and *Parwānā*, are famous in the poetry of Nāth tradition. From the colophon of the *Parwānā*, it appears that the poem was

composed in 1851. *Anubhav Prakāś* consists of songs to be sung in specified musical tunes. Knowledge about self is the main note of his poems. He has described the Kāyā-Siddhi and Haṭhyog Sādhanā, using popular similes. He also believes in Ram or Hari Smaraṇ as the means to achieve Siddhi. This is the influence of bhakti. He uses easy and lucid Rajasthani. Nawal Nāth, Uttam Nāth and Vivek Nāth were notable poets in his tradition. However, they lean more towards Sāṅkar Vedānt.

(2) *Rasik Sampradāy (in Ram Bhakti) and Rāmāvat Vairāgī*

Rāmānaṅd (1299-1410) was the fountain of inspiration for progressive ideologies in the social, religious and devotional fields in the Northern India. It was he who opened the door of bhakti for every one without any distinction of caste or status. Prior to him, Ram Bhakti did not attain the form of any sampradāy. He did not found any sampradāy himself, but sampradāyas were, however, later founded by persons in his tradition. He was the first Ācārya of Ram Bhakti, in which not much importance is given to 'gyān' and 'karma'. It is sufficient for the Bhakt to surrender himself completely at the feet of the Lord who is all kind and is only fond of love. He was a follower of Viśiṣṭādwaitvād. For him what was important was bhakti, not metaphysics or philosophical speculations. Names of his twelve famous disciples, including Anaṅtānaṅd, Sukhānaṅd, Pipā and Kabir, have been mentioned in the *Bhaktmāl* of Nābhādās. It is doubtful whether all of them were his direct disciples.

Out of the eight prominent disciples of Anaṅtānaṅd, particularly notable are Kṛṣṇadās Payhāri, Agradās and Karamcaṅd. Kṛṣṇadās, a Dāhimā Brahmin of Rajasthan, established for the first time the Gaddi of Rāmānaṅd Sampradāy at Galtā near Jaipur. From his book *Rājyog*, it appears that he was a propagator of the philosophy of Sāṅkhya-Yog. This seat was formerly under the control of Kānphaṭā Nāth Jogis, but Kṛṣṇadās by displaying his Yog-Siddhi outwitted them and occupied it. This was also one of the reasons why the yog-sādhanā entered into his tradition. Two of his disciples, Kīlhadās and Agra-

dās, were even more famous. Kilhadās was also inclined towards yog-sādhanā besides Ram Bhakti, and this was the main reason why he was made the Ācārya of Galtā Gaddi. In the Vairāgi tradition of Rāmānaṅd, the Galtā tradition is known as Tapsi-Śākhā. The literature of this branch is mostly in Braj

Agradās, however, established his separate Gaddi at Rai-wāsā near Sikar (Rajasthan). He was the propounder of the upāsanā of Madhur-Bhāv in Ram-Bhakti and the Sampradāy he originated is popularly called Rasik. Originating in Rajasthan, the Rasik Sampradāy travelled to and flourished at Ayodhyā, Janakpur and Citrakūṭ, places more connected with the Yugal-Swarūp of Ram and Sitā. It could not gain much ground in Rajasthan as the 'maryādā', heroic and redeemer aspects of the incarnations of the divine found more acceptance here.

The Rasik tradition continued only in a slender way till the 17th century. After the death of Aurangzeb, in the beginning of the 18th century, it started flourishing again. The literature of this Sampradāy is mostly in Braj, Awadhi and Awadhi mixed with Maithili, but a few poets such as Siyāsakhi (Gopal Dās) and Kṛpārām have also composed verses in Rajasthani and Rajasthani mixed with Braj. The last important poem of this tradition is *Rām Rās* composed in Braj by Rūpdevi in 1861.

Siyāsakhi, a Gauḍ Brahmin of Baḍāgānv (Jhūñjhūnun), was a poet of the first half of the 18th century. His stray verses are available. One of them is:

O Sitā! my mistress, heed my request. I have none but you to depend on. Don't look at the evil of my actions. You have to look to your own greatness. Let not people say that I have prayed to you in vain. Admit me, O beloved of Awadhbihāri, into your chamber. You are everything to me and I have none else to look to, says Siyāsakhi.

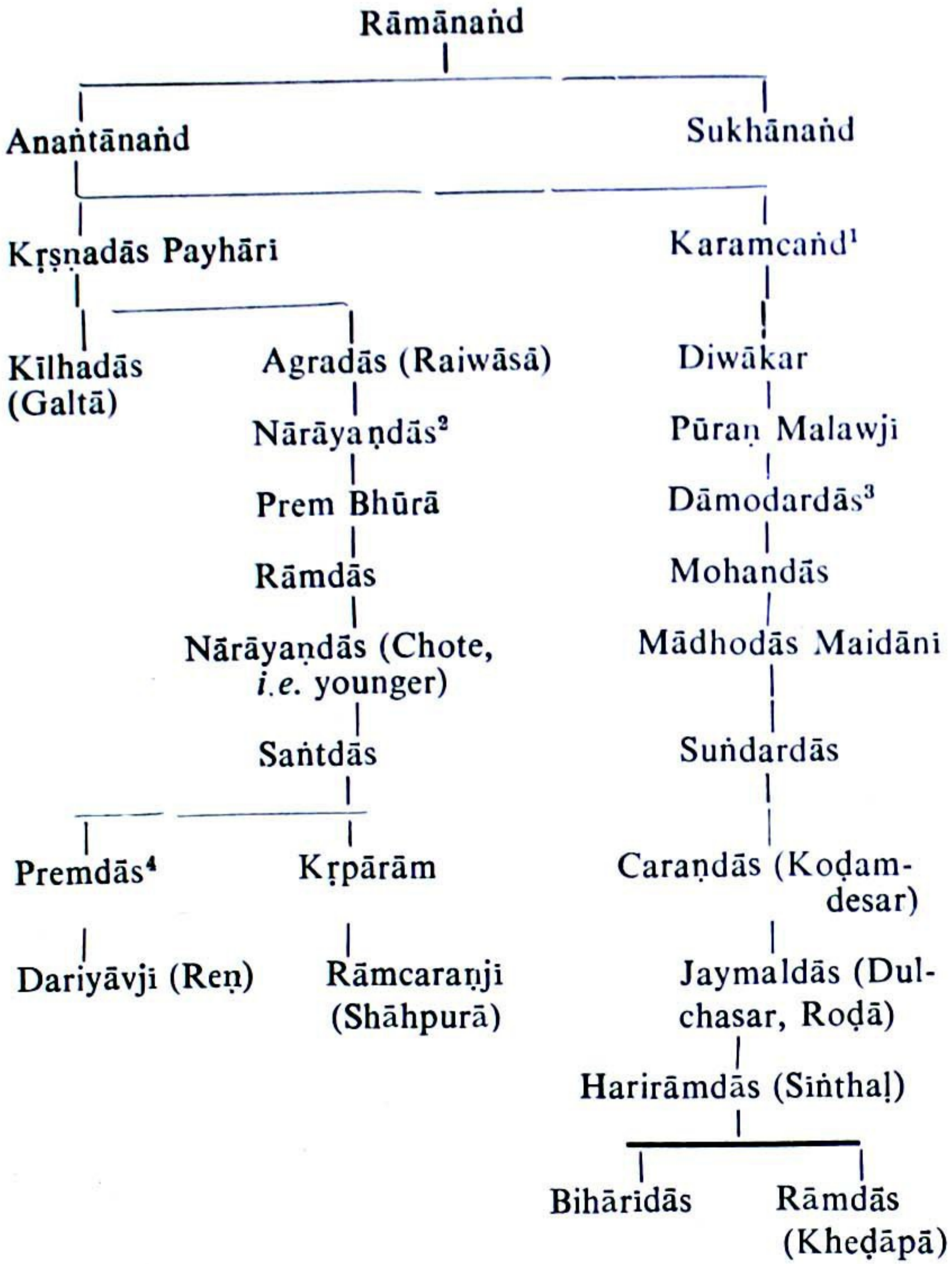
Kṛpārām was living in the latter half of the 18th century. One of his verses says:

O Rāghavji! my eyes long for a glimpse of your face. Come, therefore, and appear before me. The garden of my heart grows welcoming Jasmine flowers. O come, like a bhañwarā to take their fragrance. Kṛpāniwās is thirsty for your look, come and quench my thirst.

The traditions of both these branches continued mainly in the Jaipur region and outside Rajasthan. A mention of them is relevant to this study inasmuch as the four Ram Snehī Sampradāyas of Reṇ, Shāhpurā (Bhilwara), Sīnthal and Kheḍāpā, which came into being in the 18th century, connect their traditional affinity with Agradās and Karamcañd, the disciples of Anañtānañd (Anañtdās).

In the tradition of Agradās was Sañtdās who was a great Nirguṇ saint poet, having his seat at Dañtaḍā (near Shāhpurā, Bhilwara). He used to wear Gūdaḍ or Gūdaḍi (tattered garment); hence his tradition came to be known as Gūdaḍ Pañth. Rāmcarañji, the founder of Shāhpurā (Bhilwara) branch of Rām Snehī Sampradāy took initiation from his disciple, Kṛpārām, in 1751. Premdās, another disciple of Sañtdās initiated Dariyāvji in 1712 who founded the Reṇ (Nāgore) branch. According to some scholars Premdās was Kṛpārām's disciple.

The third branch, that of Sīnthal, draws its traditional connection with Karamcañd. In the 9th line of his disciples there was one Jaymaldās of Dulhasar (Bikaner). Jaymaldās, initially a Saguṇ Bhakt, is said to have turned to Nirguṇ Bhakti in response to some celestial indications. Harirāmdās, the founder of Sīnthal branch, was initiated by him in 1743. Harirāmdās's disciple Rāmdās who took initiation in 1752, established the Kheḍāpā Gaddi in 1763. This is deemed to be a branch of Sīnthal, but has its separate traditions. For a clear understanding of the above affinities, we give below a line of disciples from Rāmānañd.



1. According to some, Karamcaṅd was the disciple of Sukhānaṅd.
2. Between Nārāyaṅdās and Prem Bhūrā, the name of Prempaṭhā is also given.
3. Between Dāmodardās and Mohandās one more name, Nārāyaṅdās, is also given.
4. According to some, Premdās was the disciple of Balakdās, the disciple of Saṅtdās.

It is clear from the above that all these branches of Rām Snehī Sampradāy (Reṅ, Shāhpurā, Sīnthal, Kheḍāpā) are separate and have their own traditions, but so far as sādhanā, bhakti, ideals and ideology are concerned, there is more similarity than diversity. Utmost emphasis is laid on Rām-Smaran and bhakti. Ram is Nirguṅ, Nirākār. Primarily these are Nirguṅ-Bhakti Sampradāyas, but influence of Saguṅ Bhakti is also noticed. Many of the saints of these traditions have high regard for the devotion and upāsanā of Prahlād, Dhruva, Nārad etc. However, we shall have occasion to take note of the above four traditions hereafter.

(3) *Jāmbhojī, Viṣṇoī Sampradāy*

Jāmbhojī (1451-1536), a Pañwār Rājput, born at Pipāsar (Nāgore), was the son of Lohaṭ and Hānsā (Kesar). He was a brahmacārī (celibate) and leaving the home for ever at the age of 34, founded the Viṣṇoī Sampradāy in 1485, at Sambhārāthāl, a high sandy hill near the present village Mukām (Nokhā, Bikaner). This is the first Saṅt Sampradāy of the Northern India. He was a great synthetist and saviour of religious traditions and culture. Sikaṅdar Lodi was enlightened by his preachings. He admitted both Hindus and Musalmāns to his fold. There are 29 Jus-Sācrum (tenets) credited to this sampradāy. He revived the old yagya tradition. To perform hawan by pouring ghee into the fire, reciting his sabad vāṅi, daily in the morning is one of the tenets. Some of the other tenets are Viṣṇu-Smaran, compassion for all living beings, to keep fast on Amāvasyā, to control the passions, like kām, krodh, to speak after considering all aspects, to give up theft, ill speaking, lie and argumentation, never to fell green trees. He believes in the Incarnations of God but deprecates idolatory. He is more inclined towards the *Gītā* among the sacred texts. The note of monism is conspicuous in his Vāṅi. According to him, one should be industrious and work hard with honesty and sincerity without desiring the fruit of it, in whatever position one may be. One should continue with righteous deeds in spite of impediments and should have no repentance or regret about them. The object of the human life is to realize the self and to

attain Jiwan-mukti. He believes in rebirth and karma. He warns against ostentation and hypocrisy. His Vāṇī, known as *Sabad Vāṇī* consists of 123 sabads. The language of the Vāṇī is unsophisticated Rajasthani, popular among the village folk. He was the propagator of Saguṇonmukh-Nirguṇ Bhakti. Here is a sabad:

Heavy eating is no virtue, the body is already full with filth. It only makes a bulging body and a wandering mind. Age is no proof of greatness. Such apparently great flounder through the ocean of wordliness and fail to reach the shore. A high birth makes not a noble man. Noble is one who does something noble. A mere vision of Gorakh does not make one a Siddh. Only purity of heart and deeds bring salvation. Kaliyug is on. Beware, all those awakened in soul. The Satguru has shown you the path of righteousness and acquainted you with the substance of the Vedas.

There have been many great poets in Viṣṇoī tradition. We shall take note only of a few of them. Tejoji Cāraṇ (1423-1518), Samas Dīn (1433-1493), Sivdās (1443-1513), Amiyā Dīn (1443-1513), Kānhoji Bārhaṭ (1443-1523), some of the earlier poets in this tradition, composed stray verses on miscellaneous topics.

Ūdoji Naiṇ (1448-1536) expresses lucidly his spiritual experiences. His *Sākhīs*, *Harjas*, *Kavitts* and *Grabh-Citwaṇī* are extant.

Vilhoji (1532-1616) provided a firm footing to the Sampradāy by his deeds and writings. His seven Kathās (*Dhaḍābandh*, *Autārpāt*, *Gugaḷiyai kī*, *Pūlhojī kī*, *Draunpur kī*, *Jaisalmer kī*, and *Jhorḍān kī*) narrate episodes in the life of Jāmbhoji. *Kathā Gyāncarī*, *Sac-Akharī Vigatāwaḷī*, *Visan Chattīsī*, *Harjas*, *Sākhī*, *Chappay* and *Dūhā* deal with miscellaneous topics. The poems are full of emotion and express his deep devotion. *Sac-Akharī Vigatāwaḷī* is a unique work inasmuch as it provides a list of many words and phrases which are commonly used in a 'wrong' sense but to which the author has given their appropriate meaning and right usage. His object was to make people veridical in speech and use right diction, as truth leads to Mokṣa. Three

examples are given here:

<i>Colloquial expression</i>	<i>Right use</i>
1. <i>Taiñ kitkai varsāyo meh?</i> (Where did you get it rained?) <i>Kahai-varsāyo umkai gāny.</i> (I got it rained in such and such village.)	<i>Tūñ kit tho jadi vūṭhau meh?</i> (Where were you when it rained?) <i>Meh mahiñ hunto uñ ṭhāny.</i> (It rained when I was in such and such place.)
2. <i>Nadī vuhī āi.</i> (The river came flowing.)	<i>Pāñi vuhau āyo.</i> (The water came flowing.)
3. <i>Pañth kit jaysī?</i> (Where this path will go?)	<i>Iñ pañth jāijai kiñi gāny?</i> or <i>kis gāny ko pañth?</i> (Which village this path leads to?)

The *Sākhīs* and *Harjas* are meant to be sung in various musical tunes.

We have already taken note of Kesodās Godārā's (1573-1679) four Ākhyān Kāvya. Like his Guru Vilhojī, he also composed seven Kathās relating to the life of Jāmbhojī (*Bāl Līlā*, *Ūdai Atlī kī*, *Saiñsai Jokhāñi kī*, *Meḍtā kī*, *Iskañdar kī*, *Jatī Taḷāv kī*, and *Lohā Pāñgaḷ kī*). These Kathā poems of both the poets, along with those of Surjanjī, are complementary to each other and constitute a comprehensive life story of Jāmbhojī and are of historical value. His other poems consist of *Sākhī* (19), *Harjas*, *Kavitt* (81), *Savaiyā* (27), *Cāñdrāyāñ* (85), *Dohā* (120), *Stuti Awtār kī*, *Das Awtār kā Chañd*, all collections of stray verses on various topics. His *Kathā Mṛglekhā* is a narrative poem and *Kathā Vigatāwalī* mainly deals with Viṣṇu and His Incarnations. Like Vilhojī, he has also given a few words and phrases used wrongly, giving their right usages. His poems provide valuable material concerning the contemporary society, particularly the Nāth Jogis, their deeds and their so-called Sādhanā. The dialogues, of which he appears to be fond, are

crisp and effective. A few lines of a *Harjas* are given below:

You speak profusely of gyān but are yourself in darkness. You pretend to show the path of righteousness to others while yourself are all ignorant. You claim to lead others to heaven when you deserve nothing better than hell. The armourer forges a million swords but has none for himself. One pretends to provide others with milk and curd but can afford only poison to oneself. Says Kesodās, how can one, who falls into a well while carrying a burning torch in one's own hand, save himself?

Surjandāsji Pūniyā (1583-1691), of the village Bhīyānsar (Phalaudī), was a poet of deep learning and saintliness. His *Rām Rāsau*, *Gajmokh* and *Uṣā Purāṇ* have already been discussed. His *Kathā Cetan*, *Citāwaṇī* and *Dharmcarī* are didactic poems recommending good deeds to get rid of the cycle of re-birth. *Kathā Hariguṇ* is like *Hari Ras* of Bārhaṭ Īsardās and describes with devotion the attributes of Hari. *Kathā Autār kī* and *Kathā Prasiddha* narrate in brief the story of Jāmbhojī. *Gyān Mahātām* and *Gyān Tilak* are allegories (Rūpak Kāvya) like *Tribhuwan Dīpak Prabandh* of Rāj Śekhar. The body has been likened to a fort and different instincts have been presented as human characters. Ultimately the good ones gain victory over the evil ones. In *Bhogal Purāṇ*, a brief account of the Bhūgol or the universe, its creation, destruction and the ten Incarnations, has been given. The other poems, such as—*Sākhī*, *Ḍiṅgal gīt*, *harjas*, *Sākhī Aṅg Cetan*, *Das Awtār Dūhā*, *Asmedh Jig kā Dūhā*, *Chand*, *Kavitt*, *Kavitt-Bāwnī*, *savaiyā*, etc., deal with various topics.

His language is easy and literary Rajasthani. His poetry is an effort towards the elevation of humanity to higher planes of consciousness. It is also important from the point of view of culture, ideology, sādhanā and language. He has contributed to all the major trends of Rajasthani poetry except the erotic. He has used all the popular metres and forms. He is the representative poet of the 17th century. Here are a few lines from a 'sākhī':

Father and mother, who are like two wings of a bird, disappear one day, as the grains in a pot, which has a hole at the bottom, gradually disappear. One gives Him the name of Rahīm and the other calls Him Ram. Both are the names of one Omnipotent. Why, therefore, two names for one? The poet, who frames verses in many metres and in many forms, only wastes his breath if he does not sing the praises of the Lord. This life is wasted if it passes without saintly company and without the Divine devotion. Only those survive who sing of the Lord, says Surjan.

Harjī Vaṇiyāl's (1688-1778) *Sākhīs* deal with the mind, its nature and fickleness, and are very impressive. He says:

O Sādho! The mind has many bad habits. Don't follow its dictates. Very cunning is the mind. Carefully secure it by putting barriers on all sides. Call up this fugitive mind, catch it by the arm, and imprison it within the fortification of thy own self. Post guards on all sides, for the mind is very clever and knows many ways of escape and runs out like the gust of wind.

Parmānañdjī (1693-1788) was one of the great saint poets of the 18th century. His poems consist of 836 dohās and 30 kavitts on 104 topics (prasaṅgas such as, Guru, Sādhu, Cetāwanī, Nām smaraṇ, Virah, Vīnatī, Karma and the like), besides *Harjas*, *Sākhī* and *Visan Astotra*. His prasaṅgas depict in easy Rajasthani his experience and philosophy of sympathy and magnanimity. His similes are very effective. Here are a few lines:

A person loves one for good qualities, beauty or out of selfishness. The real love is one which is not based on either of these.

Don't indulge in self-praise or in maligning others. Every mother praises her own child but who believes in such praises?

Don't delay in giving alms according to your capacity and in praying to God with all your heart. This life runs out like heat from a hot piece of iron.

Harcañdjī Ḍhukiyā (1718-1803) and Ūdojī Aḍīng (1761-1816) followed the tradition of writing narrative poems on mythological themes such as Prahlād. Harcañdjī's *Laghu Hari Prahlād Carit* (172 verses), mainly based on the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ*, is in dialogue form. Ūdojī's *Prahlād Carit* (348 verses), *Viṣṇu Carit* (110 verses), *Kakkā Chattīsī* (37 verses), *Lūr* and stray verses show his deep devotion, intensity of feelings and spiritual contemplation. These poems are important in their respective traditions.

Dīn Sudardī, Rahmatjī, Durgdās, Rāmū Khoḍ, Gokaljī and Goviñd Rāmjī are some other important poets in this tradition.

(4) *Jasnāthjī: Jasnāthī Sampradāy*

Jasnāthjī (1482-1506) founded the Jasnāthī Sampradāy sometime about 1500 at Katariyāsar (Bikaner), now its main seat. Most of his thinking and preaching is similar to that of Jāmbhojī. There are 35 tenets of the Sampradāy, including the daily performance of hawan. Like Jāmbhojī, Jasnāthjī also believes in the Incarnations. He has accepted the Vaiṣṇav ideology and yog, but has not, as some believe, followed the Nāth tradition. The Agnī Nṛtya or the fire dance by the Jasnāthīs is well known. The language of Jasnāthjī and the poets of his tradition is popular Rajasthani. Jasnāthjī's vāṇī consists of about 50 sabads, including *Simbhūdhadā*, and *Koḍ* and a minor poem *Gorakhchañd*. Here is a sabad from Jasnāthjī:

Make your life righteous. Don't speak evil. This is the symbol of yog. Write the praise of the Lord on your life's page with the mind's pen. Let words bearing sweetness of nectar come from your mouth. Follow the dictates of the guru. How absurd it is to kill the cow, the buffalo, the goat and the sheep when they are store-houses of nectar and give you plenty of milk to drink? If killing be good, why not cut your own throat?

Karamdās, of the village Kharāḍiyo (Nāgore), composed in 1603 *Hari Kathā* in 116 kaḍīs (a kaḍī consists of a number of verses). Culling examples from the *Mahābhārat*, the poet propounds the virtue of noble deeds and bhakti. Durwāsā tells Duryodhan about the human destiny:

Only the Lord's name is immortal. There is no other name equal to it. There is no sanctity without truth and no devotion without singing God's praise. Those who surrender to the Lord are sure to be in Heaven. O Kaurav! you and your people are destined to damnation after death while the righteous Pāṇḍavas shall rise above the cycle of re-birth.

Devojī died in 1667. *Guṇ Mālā*, *Desūṅṭo*, *Nārāyaṇ Līlā*, *Dharat Pūrāṇ*, *Sūraj Līlā*, *Oḷambo*, and *Sabad* (30 in number) are his poems. These are minor poems and deal with guru, God, Mother Earth, bhakti and nīti. *Desūṅṭo* tells of the secret dwellings of the Pāṇḍavas. The poems are mostly drawn from oral traditions and, therefore, indicate their popular appeal. One dohā says:

Cautiously keep out of untrodden path, the evil progeny, abitter-tongued woman, lazy bullock and an unkind preceptor.

Lālnāthjī (18th century) may be said to be a representative poet of the Jasnāthī Sampradāy. His works include *Jīv Samjhotarī*, *Varaṇ Vidyā*, *Har Ras*, *Harilīlā*, *Nikaḷaṅg Purāṇ*, *Sūraj Stotra* and stray sabads. They deal with karma, gyān, bhakti, yog, nīti and stuti in various ways. *Nikaḷaṅg Purāṇ* describes the Kalki Incarnation. Here is a verse from *Jīv Samjhotarī*:

Youth responds to all efforts, the old age does not. It is like dry wood which one cannot straighten.

Cokhnāthjī's (died in 1783) stray verses and sabads (about 15 in number) describe Jasnāthjī's life and some līlās of Ram

and Kṛṣṇa. He ridicules the degenerating standards of human behaviour.

Hāroji, Sobhoji Sonī, Karamoji Bhāmbhū, Pāñcoji, and Nāthoji were other poets of this Sampradāy whose stray verses and sabads deal with human duties, divine attributes and other preachings.

(5) *Haridās Nirāñjanī: Nirāñjanī Sampradāy*

Haridās is said to be the propounder of the Nirāñjanī Sampradāy. His life-time, which is said to range from 1417 to 1645, is disputed. On an examination of all the available material, his time appears to be from 1455 to 1543. He was a Rajpūt of the Sāñkhlā clan of village Kāpḍod (near Ḍīḍwāṇā, Nāgore). Ḍīḍwāṇā is the main seat of his Sampradāy. He is said to have been a dacoit, and, by precept of some sādhu, he renounced the world in 1499. Two editions of his poems have been published from Jodhpur and Jaipur. Haridās's poems such as *Byāwalo*, *Cālīs Padī*, *Caudah Padī*, *Pañdra Tithi*, *Jog Samādhī*, *Nirapakh Mūl Jog*, *Grañth Vīrā Ras*, *Hañs Pramodh*, *Grañth Man Haṭh ko*, and stray padas are also available in a manuscript¹ scribed in 1625, discovered recently. From a comparative study of the texts of this manuscript with those of the published ones, it appears that all the poems of Haridās have not been included in the published books, that a few poems included in the published books probably do not belong to this Haridās Nirāñjanī, that there is a modification in the language of the published books and that the possibility of the existence of two persons of the same name (Haridās), one after the other, cannot be ruled out. The poems of both Haridāses appear to have been included in the later manuscripts, taking them to be one poet. One example will suffice. In the published *Bhrama Vidhūñś Jog Grañth* (which is not available in the manuscript cited) there is a mention of Emperor Akbar and 'Nauroj' in a way as if some time has passed since Akbar's death. Akbar died in 1605. And it does not appear probable that this verse

1. Available with Śrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Newaṭiyā, 52 Zakariyā Street, Calcutta. Photostat also available with the author.

was composed by this Haridās Nirañjanī, many of whose poems, duly divided into 'aṅgas', were scribed in 1625 or before. However, the issue requires further examination and caution is necessary till a critical edition of his text is available.

Brahma absolute or Brahma bereft of māyā is called Nirañjan. The upāsanā of only Nirākār Nirañjan is accepted. Hence, this name. Haridāsji has laid emphasis on nām-jap also. Ram is a synonym for Nirañjan. Elements of yog and love are equally important in his poems. Senses should be pacified by love, and not suppressed. Mental discipline is essential to achieve siddhi, for which he has preferred prāṇ-sādhanā, hence his reference to yog. Thus, Nirguṇ bhakti and yog are the means of self-realization. He does not believe in the Incarnations and idol-worship. But he is quite tolerant, when he says:

Neither shun the temple nor go to it. Avoiding the artificial and addressing the prayer to the real Lord is the way of saints.

His poems, quite large in number, consist of aṅgas (topics), padas and stray verses such as kavitt, kuṇḍaliyā and cānd-rāyaṇ.

Up to the end of the 17th century, the original thought and sādhanā were maintained and propounded but from the 18th century onwards, the poets were gradually influenced by Vedānt and Saguṇ bhakti of the Vaiṣṇavas. Thus, this Sampradāy later on lost its original character. Temples were built and the worship of idols of Ram and Kṛṣṇa began. 'Mālā' and 'tilak' became popular among the sādhus.

The language of Haridās and other poets of his tradition is not Rajasthani as such, but a mixed form of easy Rajasthani, Braj and sometimes Khaḍī Bolī. We shall refer to a few important poets of this Sampradāy. Rāghavdās, a follower of Dādū Pañth, has mentioned in his *Bhaktmāl*, composed in 1660, the names of twelve great 'mahañtas' of the Nirañjanī Sampradāy including Haridās. They are Lapaṭyo Jagannāth, Śyamdās, Kānhaḍ Dās, Dhyāndās, Kheṃ, Nāthji, Jagjīwan, Turasīdās,

Āndās, Pūrṇadās, Mohandās and Haridās. Some of them were great poets.

Turasīdās (16th century) was a contemporary of Haridās. He and Sewādās are well known for the large number of their compositions. Turasī's poems consist of sākhīs divided into 200 prakāś (topics), padas and stray verses on miscellaneous topics concerning the Nirguṇ bhakti with accent on upāsanā of Nirguṇ, Nirañjan. The padas, 461 in number, record his mystic experiences, tranquillity, entreaty and warnings. His expression is natural and simple and the language easy.

Jagjiwandās is believed to be a disciple of Haridāsji. His poems *Citāvaṇī*, *Prem Nām* and a few padas celebrate love, Nirañjan upāsanā and certain precepts.

Dhyāndās's (16th century) *Guṇ Māyā Saṁvād*, *Guṇādi Bodh* and *cāṇdrāyaṇ*, over 100 in number, are available. His poetry is didactic and the language heavily inclined towards Rajasthani.

Narīdās, of Fatehpur (Śekhāwāṭī), was the disciple of Haridāsji. His padas, about 1200 in number, are didactic and depict his emotions in an effective manner.

Sewādās's (1640-1741) poems record his experiences and preachings, and consist of sākhīs (dohās), padās and stray verses such as kuṇḍaliyā, chappay, savaiyā and cāṇdrāyaṇ. His contribution to the Saṅt poetry is remarkable.

Bhagwāndās Nirañjanī (latter half of the 17th century approx.) was a scholar and a poet. With his poems begins a deviation from the original form of the Sampradāy. He is more inclined towards Vedānt and the Saguṇ bhakti. His extant poems are: *Amṛtdhārā*, *Kārtik Mahātmya* (composed in 1685), *Gūā Mahātmya*, *Vairāgya Vṛnd*, *Jaimiṇi Aśwamedh*, *Prem Padārth*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ*, *Pañcīkaraṇ*, *Siṅhāsan Battīsī* and a few stray verses. Their language is easy and simple.

Manohardās Nirañjanī, a contemporary of Bhagwāndās, was a great scholar of Vedānt. Almost all his works deal with Vedānt and allied topics. They are: *Gyān Mañjarī*, *Vedānt Paribhāṣā*, *Ṣaṭ Praśnottarī Śat Praśnottarī*, *Gyān Vacan Cūrṇikā* and *Saptabhūmikā Gyān Mañjarī*. The last, composed in 1659, is in verse and the rest are in campū style (prose mixed with verse).

Harirāmdās (18th century) was a versatile scholar. His compositions are also important from the point of view of poetic beauty and history. These are: *Chaṇḍ Ratnāwalī*, *Parmārth Satsai*, *Mahārāj Haridāsji kī Paracī* and many stray verses. His favourite metre is kūṇḍaliyā.

Ātmā Rām's (died in 1759) stray verses in dohā, jhulaṇā, cāṇḍrāyaṇ, etc., deal with traditional and spiritual matters lucidly.

Raghunāthdās's only available poem is *Swāmī Haridāsji kī Paracī*, composed about 1773. It narrates the life of Haridāsji.

Similarly, Rūpdāsji's *Sewādās kī Paracī*, composed in 1775, narrates the life of the famous poet Sewādās.

Bhaktmāl of Pyāre Rāmji, composed in 1826, gives an account of many saints, mainly the Nirāṇjanīs.

The *Bhaktmāls* and *Paracīs* are important poems in their traditions (Śaṅt Sampradāyas), with much historical value.

Swāmī Uday Rāmji's (latter half of the 19th and early 20th century) *Sār Saṅgrah* is an anthology of the poems of many poets, mainly of the Nirāṇjanī tradition, and includes his own compositions as well. This is another important collection in the tradition of Rajjabji's *Sarvaṅgī*, Jagannāthji's *Guṅgaṅj Nāmā*, Parmānaṇḍ Dās's *Poṭho Graṅth Gyān* and Nawal Rām Maṅtri's *Sarwāṅg Sār*.

(6) *Parśurāmdevācārya: Nimbārk Sampradāy*

Nimbārk Sampradāy is one of the four well known Saṅu bhakti sampradāyas, with its main seat at Salemābād (Parśurāmpurī) in Rajasthan. This was established by Parśurāmdevji, the disciple of Harivyāsdevācārya. He is said to be a Gurjar Gauḍ Brahmin of village Ṭhīkariyā, 15 miles from Khaṇḍelā, now in Sīkar district. His life-time is still a matter of conjecture. According to one view, it is from 1393 to 1540, and according to the other from 1543 to 1623. Recently a collection of all his poems has been published in four volumes. About this we are told that all his poems, except the padas known as *Vāṇī*, were scribed in 1620. Later, in a manuscript dated 1780 one Manasā Rām compiled under the title *Parśurām Sāgar* all

the poems of Parśurāmdevjī, contained in the earlier manuscript, besides 630 more padas. This is the basis of the published work.

The above views about Parśurāmdevjī's life-time require scrutiny and the text re-editing on scientific lines of textual criticism, considering all his poems available in other manuscripts also. In a manuscript¹ scribed in 1625, recently discovered, some poems of Paraśurāmdevjī such as, *Samjhañī*, *Hiñḍolo*, *Vipramtīsī*, *padās* and *sākhīs* are also found. On a comparison of the poems in this manuscript with the published ones, it appears that all his padas have not been included in the latter. Below is given a pad from this unpublished manuscript, not included in the published text. The language of the published text differs from that in the manuscript. There is a strong possibility that somebody else's padas have crept in, in Manasā Rām's manuscript of 1780.

On a critical examination of the available material the life-time of Paraśurāmdevjī cannot be brought beyond 1600 in any case. The conclusion is that he flourished during the 16th century, most probably from 1520 to 1600.

His poetry consists of 2225 sākhīs (dohās), 15 Carit and 13 Līlā poems respectively in kavitt, savaiyā and dohā-caupai metres and about 600 padas. The sākhīs are on 250 miscellaneous topics called Joḍau, such as *Pardeśī Prītam ko*, *Virah Agani ko*, *Virhanī ko*, *Hari Bhagati Hīn ko*.

Being the Ācārya of the Nimbārk Sampradāy, Parśurāmdevjī was a devotee of the Saguṇ bhakti. The Carit and Līlā poems are narrative and describe various incidents relating to the famous bhaktas, līlās of Incarnations, and exaltation of God. The Carit poems such as *Dās Awtār*, *Raghunāth*, *Srīkr̥ṣṇa*, and *Prahlād* and Līlā poems such as *Amar Bodh*, *Nām Nidhi*, *Sāñc Niṣedh*, *Nij Rūp*, *Nirwāṇ* and *Hari Līlā* are his major narrative poems. Besides his sākhīs, many padas dealing with the Nirguṇ bhakti are equally important. The main note of the sākhīs is virah and love of God. These and the padas record his mystic experiences. The padas, besides other topics, also

1. See p. 117n.

deal with the Saguṇ and Nirguṇ bhakti. Straight-forward self-communication and the spirit of surrender are notable in his stray verses. In his poems the heroic and redeemer aspects of Ram and Kṛṣṇa are prominent, which is the main tendency of the Rajasthani Historical and Heroic poetry.

All the aspects of Navadhā and five types of bhakti, including the Nirguṇ type of Kāntā bhakti and mysticism are depicted in the padas of Paraśurāmdevjī. The Nikuṅj bhakti and upāsanā of Sahcarī-Bhāv are the accepted forms of upāsanā in this Sampradāy. This is deemed to be a strict secret. It is important that Paraśurāmdevjī has kept this sort of upāsanā as quite personal; it has not been indicated in his poems. Some of his expressions are so profound that they have become popular sayings in Rajasthan. His language is simple Rajasthani with a sprinkling of Braj here and there. His poetry is an example of synthesis, harmony and co-existence in the cultural and religious fields. His padas and Līlā poems are meant to be sung in various musical modes. The Līlā poems are a sort of Ākhyān Kāvya.

The pad (*Jab lag apṇo man nahīn sojhai, tab lag bhagati mukati kāhe khojai*) referred to earlier¹ is given here:

All search for devotion or salvation is in vain till one has purified one's heart. One who leaves home and takes to the forest is not a real devotee. Desire for heaven or fear of hell means lack of trust in the lotus feet of the Lord. Parsā says, let one's mind be a preceptor to oneself and that is the way to God-realization.

Tatwavettā (Ṭīkamdās) (16th century) is said to be the disciple of Paraśurāmdevācārya. His main seat was at Jaitāraṇ (Pālī). There he founded the Gopāl Dwārā, where a collection of his poems called *Tatvettājī kī Vānī* is said to have been preserved in the manuscript form. In another manuscript called *Tatwavettā rā Savaiyā* (no. 73/1893, Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur) about 198 chappayas are available. It is

1. See p. 121.

not certain whether both are independent poems or the first includes the second. The chappayas are in praise of God, the Incarnations and of famous mythological figures such as Nārād, Janak, etc. The *Vāṇī* mainly deals with perception and precepts. The language is Rajasthani mixed with Braj

(7) *Dādū: Dādū Sampradāy*

Dādū (1543-1603) is said to be a dhuniyā (cotton carder) by caste. Though his place of birth was Ahmedabad (Gujarat) he did his sādhanā at Karḍālā (Jodhpur), and Sāmbhar. Āmer, Āndhī and Narāyaṇā were other places of his stay. He breathed his last at Narāyaṇā and was cremated at Bhairāṇā near it.

Several editions of his *Vāṇī* have been published. It consists of over 2500 sākḥīs (dohās) classified in 'aṅgās' (topics) and 445 padas. One more poem, in his name, consisting of 270 verses called *Ādibodh Siddhānt Granth* is found in a manuscript¹ dated 1625. It is said that this is the work of Mohandās Mewāḍā (Bhāngaḍh), a disciple of Dādū, written in the name of his guru. This is a matter for further research. This book deals with yog and through it kāyā-sādhanā and is an important work on the subject.

Like other saints, the ultimate object of Dādū was to know the self and to attain jīwan-mukti. Many of his sākḥīs and padas depict his deep love and pangs of separation, together with mystic experiences. Like a Saguṇ bhakt, his longing for only bhakti instead of mukti, is also noticed in a few padas. The following padas are found in the manuscript (referred to earlier) dated 1625 and also appear in his published works *Dādūjī kī Bāṇī* (Bombay, 1904), *Śrī Dādūdayālji kī Vāṇī* (Jaipur, 1951) and *Śrī Dādūvāṇī*, (Jaipur, 1969):

Bhagatī māṅgauṅ bāp bhagatī māṅgauṅ munaiṅ tāharā nāṅm
nau prem lāgau.

Darasan de darasan de hūṅ tau tāhnī mukati naṅ māṅgauṅ.

1. Referred to on p. 117n.

But the main element of his bhakti is the upāsanā of the Nirguṇ Brahma. His expression is pleasing and lucid throughout. His language is mainly Rajasthani with occasional tinge of the Western Hindi, Gujarati and Puñjābī.

At the age of about thirty, he founded the Brahma Sampradāy in Sāmbhar which was later named Dādū Pañth, after him. In course of time, this Sampradāy was divided into four branches based on differences in modes of living, settlement at different places, local reasons and apparel. These are Khālasā, Nāgā, Uttarādhā and Virakta. However, there was no difference of basic ideology among them.

Bakhnājī (1553-1623 approx) of Narāyaṇā, said to be a Mūsalmān by birth, was a disciple of Dādū. His sākḥīs, classified into 40 'aṅgas', and padas, 167 in number, are available. He has quoted Dādū in support of his views. Dedication to God, Nām smaraṇ, and realisation of the absolute Truth through love, are the main notes of his 'Vāṇī'. The language is simple Rajasthani with a few colloquial Dhūṇḍhādī words.

Rajjabjī (1567-1689) was a Paṭhān of Sāngāner. While proceeding to Āmer for marriage, he heard two couplets of Dādū. He gave up the idea of marriage and became Dādū's disciple. He wrote a large number of poems, which include sākḥī, pad, savaiyā, tribhaṅgī, arill, kavitt and thirteen short poems, mainly in caupai metre. His perceptive and empirical knowledge and experience are profound and evident in his Vāṇī. Many of his disciples, such as Caindās, Rāmdās, Khemdās, and Kalyāṇdās have expressed their admiration for his personality, sādhanā, and poetic genius. Expression of deep love, bhakti, intensity of emotion and the brilliant way of illustrating a point with lucidity are the characteristics of his poetry. The language is Rajasthani, with occasional words of other languages too.

Rajjab's anthology, *Sarvaṅgī*, consisting of poems of about 65 poets including himself, irrespective of their religion or tradition, is a reliable source book for knowing many obscure or little-known poets and their poems.

Suṇḍardās (junior) of Fatehpur, a disciple of Dādū, was a great saint and scholar, but his poems are in Braj and as such

out of the purview of the present survey.

Prayāgdās Biyāṇī of Ḍiḍwāṇā, who wrote between 1598 and 1623, is a well-known saint and poet. His poems, about 60 sākḥīs and 20 padas, depict his deep devotion and experience in a lucid way.

We have already pointed out that a tinge of Saguṇ bhakti is seen in some of Dādū's padas. In the poems of Jangopāl Rāhorī, his disciple (early 17th century), the influence of Saguṇ bhakti is clearly noticed. His works are:

Dādū Janma Līlā Paracī, Dhruva Caritra, Prahlād Caritra, Moh Vivek Saṁvād, Jaḍ Bharat Caritra, Kāyā Prān Saṁvād, Śuk Saṁvād, Anaṅt Līlā, Bārah Māsā, Bheṅ ke Savaiye, Padas, and Sākḥī. The language is mostly Rajasthani.

Saṁtdas Bārah-Hazārī was a disciple of Dādū and died in 1639 at Fatehpur (Śekhāwāṭī). His Vāṇī named *Ālam Gaṅj*, consisting of 5000 sākḥīs (dohās), 1442 padas, 613 savaiyās and 3 āratīs, was first compiled in his life-time in 1631 by his disciple Haridās, the Mahaṅt of Cāvḍyā branch. The poems are equivalent to twelve thousand anuṣṭup ślokas in number and so he came to be known as Bārah-Hazārī, a title he acknowledged. The sākḥīs are classified into 27 aṅgās (topics) such as *Guru Mahimā ko, Gurdev ko, Sumiraṅ ko, Birah ko, Bairāgī ko, Paracā ko*, etc. Rāghavdās in his *Bhaktmāl* has praised him for his sākḥīs and padas. He was a great Nirguṇ poet of the age. *Ālam Gaṅj* is voluminous, extensive and scholarly. The treatment is lucid, communicative and effective. The language is mostly popular Rajasthani.

Bhīkhjanjī, who wrote between 1620 and 1630, was a Brahmin (Ācāraj) of Fatehpur, and disciple of Saṁtdāsji Bārah-Hazārī. Till recently only two of his poems were known: *Sarvāṅg Bāwnī*, and *Nām Mālā*, a translation of *Amarkoś* in Rajasthani mixed Braj, in 525 verses, mainly in dohās. But the writer of this history has been able to discover the following five more poems: *Dhrū Caritra* (161 dohās and caupais, composed in 1623), *Tithi Paṅdrah* (76 caupai and dohā-soraṭhā), *Niraṅjan Stuti* (20 caupai, tribhaṅgī and kavitt), *savaiyā* (19), and *sākḥīs* (6 dohās).

Profundity of emotion and thought as also lucidity of style

are the main characteristics of his poems. His inclination towards the Saguṇ bhakti is also noticeable. The language is mainly fluent Rajasthani and Rajasthani mixed Braj.

Lāldās was in the tradition of Garib Dās, and composed *Nām Mālā* and *Citāwaṇī* around 1778. In the *Nām Mālā* names of 152 disciples of Dādū have been mentioned.

Vājiṇḍ, a Paṭhān, was also a disciple of Dādū. It is not possible to determine his life-time exactly on the basis of evidence available now. It may roughly be said to have been 1550-1650. Of his many poems, *Cāṇḍrāyaṇas* (or the 'arills'), about 135 in number, are by far the most important and popular for universality of their appeal and effectiveness of expression. Often devotional they prescribe precepts, taking examples from real life. The object is to improve human life in a practical way. Some of the *Cāṇḍrāyaṇas* have become popular sayings. Here are two:

Those who wore proud pagarīs, looked from high balconies, rode magnificent steeds, led lofty armies to the beating of drums, and roared like lions, have all disappeared from the earth, says Vājiṇḍ.

Those who destroy the moral tradition and rush toward sin, who feast the brothers-in-law and humiliate their fathers, who side with the wife and shun the sister—all such people find their way to hell and have no place on the earth, says Vājiṇḍ.

It is also a tradition with poets of these Sampradāyas to write the life-sketches of bhaktas or about their attributes. This is another notable aspect of the Saṅt Poetry.

Rāghavdās composed his famous *Bhaktmāl* in 1660 (v.s. 1717). Later on Catardās, of the tradition of junior Suṇḍardās, wrote a commentary in verse on it in 1800.

Anaṅtdās (latter half of the 17th century) composed the following brief biographies in verse, known as paracī, in Rajasthani mixed Braj: *Nāmdevjī kī*, *Kabīrjī kī*, *Raidāsjī kī*, *Pīpājī kī*, *Aṅgadjī kī*, *Trilocanjī kī*, *Raṅkā Baṅkā kī*, *Seu Samman kī* and

Dhannā kī. More or less under this category may also be taken the *Nām-Mālā* (the garland of names) books. *Nām Mālās* of Mohandās Mewāḍā, Lāldās, Hirdai Rām (Siyaṇā) are some such works.

On the pattern of *Sarvaṅgī* of Rajjab, Jagannāth Dās of Āmer compiled a selection named *Guṇ Gaṇj Nāmā* which includes vāṇis of many poets, and is important likewise.

Garibdās (of village Narāyaṇa), Kalyāṅjī, Cainjī, Khemjī (Rajjab's disciple), Mādhau Dās (Jagjīwanjī's disciple) are some of the many notable poets of this Sampradāy.

(8) *Lāldās: Lāl Pañth or Laldāsī Sampradāy*

Lāldās was born at Dholīdūp near Alwar (Rajasthan) in 1540, in a poor family of a Mev Musalmān. His mother was Samadā and father Cāṇḍmal. After some time he shifted to Bāṇdholī (16 miles north-east of Alwar) and thence, residing temporarily at some places, including Ṭoḍi and Rasagaṇ, finally settled at Naglā where he remained for 40 years till his death in 1648 and was buried at Śerpur (Bagherā). These five places are considered most sacred in the Sampradāy. He was a householder and earned his livelihood by manual labour. His sons, Pahāḍā and Kutab, and daughter, Sarūpā, were also well-known for their devotion and sādhanā.

Lāldās soon became famous due to his benevolent deeds and sādhanā and people used to flock to him. He started preaching, and among his disciples were Haridās, Ḍūṅgarsī Sādh, Prāṇī Sādh, and Bhīkhaṇ Sādh, poets of high merit. Although a Musalmān by birth, Lāldās practically adopted Vaiṣṇav Hindu way of life and so did his disciples who were Mev Musalmāns and Hindus of all castes. According to him, even a sādhu or ascetic should earn his living by honest work.

After his death, the Sampradāy was named after him. Lālādās, a Mālī by caste, succeeded Lāldās, on his Gaddī. The Mahant tradition still continues. Rām smaraṇ and kīrtan are the main ways of sādhanā in this Sampradāy. Lāldāsīs are mostly found in Alwar and its neighbouring regions.

No old or fully reliable manuscript of his Vāṇī has yet been found. However, an important collection of poems of Lāldās

and some other Lāldāsī poets, compiled in 1930 by Dulīcañd Gupta, a teacher in Alwar (formerly of Bahadurpur), is available. The basis of this compilation, we are told, is oral tradition and a manuscript-collection of poems, the date of which is not known. Over 700 sākhīs (dohās) and 400 padas go in the name of Lāldās in this compilation of 1930. All these poems, however, are not really his own compositions.

Lines from Kabīr, Parmānañd Dās Vañiyāl, Kāzī Mahmūd, and Tulsīdās, and some verses of unknown poets popular among Rajasthan folk have also been given under his name with little or no change. Leaving aside all such poems, about 60 padas and 125 sākhīs appear beyond doubt to be the work of Lāldās. Their original form and language may have undergone change in the process of oral tradition. Basically his language must have been Rajasthani popular in Mewāt with a slight mixture of Khaḍī Bolī and Braj.

A poem named *Citāvañī* has been attributed to him by scholars. But on examination, it is found to be the work of Lāldās of Dādū Sampradāy.

The main note of Lāldās's poetry is Rām smaraṇ, kirtan and bhakti. His Ram is Nirguṇ and Nirākār. Glimpses of Nirguṇ type of Kāntā bhakti are also noticed in his padas. To control the mind and senses, to earn the livelihood by working, to be kind to others, and similar preachings are the themes of his poems. Far from saying anything about yog, he has discarded yog in favour of bhakti and gyān. Both the sākhīs and the padas are classified under various musical modes. Lucidity and naturalness are the characteristics of his poems. Here are three sākhīs:

A Sādhu should serve God, earn his living by the sweat of his brow and should never go about begging.

If you wish to be a householder, earn your living by labour. Going about begging is the surest way to hell.

It is easier to throw oneself into burning fire and die than to bear the daily torture of yog. It is like a constant fight

with oneself and without arms.

Haridās is a great saint poet of this Sampradāy and is known for his quality and quantity, scholarship and sādhanā. In a manuscript dated 1835, his following works are available: *Vivek Gītā*, a summary of Gītā in 515 verses; *Sār Saṅgrah*, in 131 verses dealing with the origin, creation, expansion, extent and elimination of the universe, five elements, organs of senses, jīv, its condition in the womb and attitude after birth; *Ātma Dhyān Jog Saṅvād*, consisting of 7 chapters (Jugyās) in 131 verses on dhyān, ajpā jāp, haṭhyog, five mudrās, six cakras, serpent power, prāṇāyām, its sādhanā, jog-dhyān, five tattwas, prakṛti, organs of senses, four avasthās, ten vāyus, direction about self realization and description of the universe. These are in dialogue form, between Lāldās and Haridās. In the same manuscript is found *Haridās Pemdās Saṅvād*, in 61 verses, dealing with the object of worship, Ram and Kṛṣṇa, their Incarnations, Saguṇ-Nirguṇ, realization of Brahma by Prema-bhakti, form of universe, mind, yog, nāḍīs and ways of self-realization. This work and the preceding three are in caupai-dohā metres. The manuscript also contains *bhajans* (335), stray verses, such as rekhtā (24), sākhī (dohā 40) and miscellaneous (10).

The bhajans are also available in the manuscript compiled in 1930, already referred to. Taking into consideration both these manuscripts, the total number of bhajans comes to over 500. Out of all his works, the bhajans achieved immense popularity and fame. These are spontaneous and simple expressions of the heart and are about Nām smaraṇ, Hari bhakti, self-communication, self realization and śarṇāgati. Though he has given importance to the three traditional ways of upāsanā (of gyān, bhakti and yog), his inclination is more towards the Nirguṇ bhakti. He has also described the ten Incarnations and various līlās of Ram and Kṛṣṇa. In fact, he does not differentiate between Nirguṇ and Saguṇ. He mentions various ways of upāsanā for persons of different likings and abilities. Like Dādū's, his indictments of shams and hypocrisies are decent and effective. His poems also depict his mystic experiences and

sādhana. The language of the bhajans is Rajasthani mixed with Braj, sometimes leaning more towards Braj. Due to their continuance in oral tradition for about two centuries, the changes in language and form are not unexpected. The language of dialogues is mostly Rajasthani and can, therefore, be called his genuine language. Here are two sākhis:

Where is the difference between Sagun and Nirgun? It is all His projection. Haridās says, with all the force of self-experience, that God is within oneself and nowhere else.

When one surrenders one's heart to Ram, all differences of word and form disappear. Says Haridās, address your devout love to Ram and give up all the false forms.

Ḍūngarsī Sādh of Śerpur composed a biography of his guru Lāldās named *Śri Lāldās Mahārāj kī Paricāwali* in dohā-caupāī. This is a narrative poem divided into 31 'nuktās' (or small chapters) consisting of about 580 verses written in easy Rajasthani. It is the only old biography of Lāldās. Elsewhere, due to wrong interpretation of the word 'pāṭaṇ' meaning 'nagar' (town or city), he has been said to belong to Paṭnā.

From a bhajan of Haridās, it appears that Sobhan, Bhīkhāṇ, Ṭhākurdās and Prāṇī Sādh had passed away during his lifetime. About 40 available padas seem to belong to Prāṇī Sādh. They are about Hari bhakti, Nām smaraṇ, exaltation of God and the poet's guru, Lāldās. Prāṇī commends the worship of only the Nirāṇjan Brahma.

Bhīkhāṇ Sādh's verses (25), including harjas and cāndrāyaṇas, are in exaltation of God and guru Lāldās, emphasizing Nām smaraṇ. They are in easy Rajasthani mixed with Braj. One cāndrāyaṇ is:

Restrain the fugitive mind and nail your attention to the deep remembrance of God. Repeat His name day and night to attain the highest bliss. Bhīkhāṇ prays to satguru Lāldās that he is for ever his slave and that his follies be forgiven.

Sobhan Sādh's literary works consist of about 40 stray verses (harjas, rekhtā, cāndrāyaṇ, etc.) and a small poem *Yagya Bakhān*. While the verses deal with conventional themes, the *Bakhān* narrates the salient events in Lāldās's life.

Alahdād's (18th century) padas, about 20 in number, are remarkable for intensity of emotion, simple self-communication and modesty. Rām smaraṇ is the main note of his poems. One pad is:

O God, the Upholder of the down-trodden, it is in your power to pull the devotee from the depths of age-long condemnation. Your help readily came to Dhruv and Nāmdev. Ajāmel, who uttered the first letter of your name, while in hell, achieved salvation thereby. O my Creator, you alone know of my plight, says Alahdād.

Ṭhākurdās (Ṭhakuriyā), Prabhu Sādh, Mahānaṇḍ, Nathū-Sādh, Jan Kauṇrā, Baksā, Cānd Sādh, Maṅgalī Sādh, Bājū are some other notable poets of this tradition. They are known for their bhajans which sing of faith in God, guru, Nām smaraṇ and simplicity of life.

(9) *Caraṇdāsji: Caraṇdāsī or Śuk Sampradāy*

The poems of Caraṇdāsji and his two women disciples, Sahjo Bāi and Dayā Bāi, are in mixed language, i.e. Khaḍī Bolī, Braj and Rajasthani, with the first two dominant. The contribution of Caraṇdāsji and his tradition to religious literature in Rajasthan is immense, and therefore deserves consideration in the present work.

Caraṇdāsji (1703-1782) was born at Ḍahrā near Alwar (Rajasthan). After the death of his father Muralīdhar, his mother Kuṅjo Devī brought him, at the age of seven, to her parents in Delhi. He travelled to many places but his main seat was Delhi where he breathed his last.

Caraṇdāsji says that his guru was Śukdev, the mythological narrator of the *Śrīmad Bhāgwat Purāṇ*. He started a Vaiṣṇav sampradāy in 1753, which is called Śuk or Caraṇdāsī Sampradāy after his guru Śukdev and him. Several editions of the

collection of his poems named *Bhaktisāgar* have been brought out. His poems go under the titles of 'Varṇan' (*Braj Caritra, Amarlok Dhām, Dharma Jahāj, Aṣṭāṅg Yog, Yog Saṅdeh Sāgar, Gyān Swaroday, Bhakti Padārth, Brahma Gyān, etc.*), 'Aṅg' (*Gurudev kā, Sumiraṅ kā, Saṅt Sūramā kā, Yog kā, Vairāgya kā, etc.*), 'Līlā' (*Mākhan Corī, Maṭki, Dān, Kālī Nāthan, Anurāg, Rās, Horī, Gopīvirah, Saṅyog, Beṇī Guṅthan, Kurukṣetra, Nāsket, etc.*) and miscellaneous padas, chappayas, etc.

Carandāsji accepts and follows the *Śrīmad Bhāgwat Purān* in its entirety. He preached gyān, yog, dhyān and bhakti, but his emphasis was more on the 'Navadhā' bhakti. For him bhakti is superior to yog, as no method is successful without it. The Supreme Being is undefinable (anirvacanīya), but an attempt is made to define Him both as Saguṅ as well as Nirguṅ. In fact, He is both as well as beyond the both. He believes in the Incarnations. The Almighty's abode (dhām), name (nām), form (rūp) and deeds (līlās) are eternal. Māyā is the potency of God and is born of Him. God himself takes the form of Māyā. Thus, the universe is a manifestation of God.

His padas unfold the simplicity and depth of his heart.

Sahjo Bāi was born in a Dhūsar family and composed *Sahaj-Prakāś* in 1743. It is mainly in dohā, caupāi, kuṇḍaliyā and padas and is about guru bhakti, vairāgya, purity of life, love, Nirguṅ, Saguṅ, Nām smaraṅ etc. The expressions are natural and easy to follow.

Dayā Bāi was also born in a Dhūsar family, at Dahra (Alwar). Her two poems, *Dayā Bodh* (138 dohā-caupāi) and *Vinay Mālikā* (105 dohās) are available. *Dayā Bodh* deals with love, ajapā jāp, vairāgya, guru bhakti etc. In *Vinay Mālikā* her devotion, dedication and deep faith in God are depicted in a lucid way.

Jogjīti's (1687-1783) *Līlā Sāgar* is a detailed and authentic biography of Carandāsji, written in dohā-caupāi between 1754 and 1762 during the latter's life-time.

Rām Rūpji (1744-1790) composed *Muktimārg* in 1772. It consists of many poems on the Nirguṅ bhakti, dedication, etc. The poems are very moving and rank high in the Śuk Sampradāy. His *Guru Bhakti Prakāś* narrates the life of Carandāsji.

Nūpā Bāi, Akhairāmdāsji, Manmohandāsji and Saras-

mādhuri Śaraṅjī are other notable authors in the Śuk Sampradāy. As the language of most of the other poets in this tradition is not Rajasthani, they are beyond the scope of this history.

(10) *Saṅtdāsī (1642-1749): Gūdaḍ Paṅth*

We have already noted that Saṅtdāsī was the fifth in the line of disciples of Agradās. He used to wear 'gūdaḍ' (tattered cloth), hence he and sādhus of his tradition were called Gūdaḍ Paṅthī. The main seat of his sādhanā was Dāntaḍā (Bhilwārā). His 'Vāṅī', including sākhis (dohā), rekhtā and padas, is fairly large. The sākhis are divided into 55 aṅgas, and relate to the Nirguṅ bhakti. He condemns all kinds of ostentation and hypocrisy, particularly in the field of sādhanā. Calling attention to the transitoriness of the worldly things, he emphasizes Rām smaraṅ and extols the virtues of Saṅt and Satguru. He follows the Nirguṅ upāsanā. His ideology formed the basis of the Rām Snehī Sampradāy of Shāhpurā Branch.

It has been mentioned that four traditions of Saṅt Sampradāyas called Rām Snehī were founded, one after the other, in the 18th Century, at Reṅ, Shāhpurā, Sīnthal and Khedapā. As only the name was common to all the four Sampradāyas, a brief account of these is given below.

(11) *Rāmcarāṅjī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Shāhpurā*

Rāmcarāṅjī (1719-1798) was born in a Bījāvargī Vaisya family in village Soḍā near Mālpurā (Jaipur). He took initiation from Kṛpārām of Dāntaḍā, the disciple of Saṅtdāsī (Gūdaḍ Paṅthī). Rāmcarāṅjī gave up the 'Gūdaḍ' apparel in 1758 and in 1760 came to Bhilwārā, where he founded the Rām Snehī Sampradāy in the same year. After remaining in Bhilwārā and in Kuhāḍā, near it, for nine years, he came to Shāhpurā in 1769 and breathed his last in 1798. The Sampradāy flourished at Shāhpurā, which is the main seat of this tradition. He had twelve main disciples, of whom Nawal Rām, Rāmjan, Bhagwāndās, Rāmpratāp were great poets. Some of the disciples established Rāmdwārās at various places, such as Bikaner, Udaipur, Kota, Jodhpur. The traditions of many of

them still continue.

Rāmcaranjī's Vāṇī was first collected by Nawal Rāmjī and the remaining and newly composed poems by Rāmjanjī. Quantitatively the Vāṇī is equal to over thirtysix thousand anuṣṭup ślokas and is equally important qualitatively. The Vāṇī, later published under the name *Aṇbhai Vāṇī*, is on gyān, vairāgya, yog, bhakti, good conduct, precepts, his experiences and other topics. His emphasis is on Rām smaraṇ and bhakti. The poems are the spontaneous outpouring of his heart and very effective. They are simple, natural and lucid. The language is popular Rajasthani with a slight mixture of Braj and Khaḍī Bolī here and there. The *Vāṇī* is of encyclopaedic nature with regard to religious poetry and sādhanā.

There were many great poets in this tradition. A few of them are mentioned here.

Rāmjanjī Laḍḍhā (1738-1810), initiated in 1767, was the second Ācārya to occupy the Gaddī in 1798. His Vāṇī in padas and other popular metres such as dohā, jhūlaṇā, chappay, kuṇḍaliyā etc. is quite large. He has also composed 19 graṇths (*Updeś Bodh, Kāl Bodh, Rataṇ Bodh, Vicār Bodh, Pratīti Bodh, Vairāg Bodh, Sumiraṇ Boāh, Rām paddhati*, etc.) and a commentary on *Drṣṭānt-Sāgar*. His poems are about the Nirguṇ bhakti, the main note being Rām smaraṇ and bhakti. The diction is clear and captivating. Basically the language is easy Rajasthani.

Bhagwandās Karwā (1744-1802) of Pīpāḍ took initiation in 1766 at Bhīlwārā from Rāmcaranjī. He travelled far and wide and propagated the Ram bhakti. He holds a very high and respected place in the Sampradāy. He had twentyone prominent disciples. The traditions of some of them still continue. His 'Vāṇī' equal to about 4000 ślokas, is expressed through popular metres (dohā, caupāī, arril, kavitt, kuṇḍaliyā, rekhtā etc.). It depicts in easy Rajasthani various aspects of life, particularly spiritual life, with the preaching of Rām smaraṇ and bhakti. Two sākhis are:

Devote yourself to God, this will ensure the disappearance of all desires. Remember His name day and night and give up all other hopes.

Over my head subsists Ram, the Lord. Remember Him and recite His name, says Bhagwandās.

Nawal Rām Mañtrī of Bhīlwārā, one of the three prominent householder-disciples of Rāmcaranjī, took initiation with his family some time after 1760. It was he who first collected the Vāṇī of his guru. He died in 1785 at Bhīlwārā. The collection of his own poems is known as *Nawal Sāgar*. The poems are about Rām bhakti, precepts and preachings, his experiences and dedication. Unsophisticated and lucid, the language is popular Rajasthani.

Sarvāṅg Sar, another important work of his, is a compilation of poems of about 85 poets, irrespective of their caste, faith, ideology or sādhanā. While some of these poets such as Gorakh, Nāmdev, Kabīr, Agradās, Narasī, Pīpā, Rāidās, Dādū, Mīrāñ, Mati Suñdar, and Malūk, are well-known, others such as Kāzī Mahmūd, Samman, Kālū, Ghāṭamdās, Dwārkādās, Pemdās, Bohithdās, Bālak Rām, Murali Rām, Mādhaudās, Veñī, and Pṛthvīnāth are little known, and yet others such as Cetan, Jairāmdās, Jaimal, Bhīñv, Mañḍaṇ, Motī Rām, Mukañd, and Som are not known at all. Between the poems he has given quotations from the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ*, *Jain Subhāṣitāwalī*, the *Gītā*, *Śiv Purāṇ*, *Hanuman-nāṭak*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ*, the *Mahābhārat*, *Prabodh Cañdroday*, *Hitopadeś*, and *Nīti Śatak*, and popular books of Rajasthani and Hindi such as *Bhaktmāl*, *Vicārmāl*, *Rāmcaritmānas*, *Kavitt Māl*, *Sneh Līlā*, *Nāṭak Samaysār*, *Harcañd Sat Grañth*, *Dharma Sañvād*, and *Gyān Tilak*, etc. This shows his deep insight, vast learning and wide knowledge. The work is a unique compilation, very useful for literary history and the only source supplying specimen poems of many unknown and little known poets.

Here are two sākḥīs of Nawal Rām:

Find pleasure either in the remembrance of God or in the company of the satguru. Nawal says, disentangle yourself from all else and don't get involved in the affairs of the world.

When adversity comes, land, home and wealth are lost. Retain, however, the name of Ram till the last breath, says Nawal.

Rāmpratāp (died in 1800) composed a large number of poems in different metres and eleven short books titled 'Nirūpaṇ' such as *Guru Mahimā*, *Guru Mahimā Sār*, *Guru Sampati*, *Sumiraṇ Sār*, *Bhakti*, *Kakkā Kāyā Karnī Sār*, *Dṛṣṭānt Vicār Gūḍh*, and *Kakkā Battīsī*. The language is simple Rajasthani mixed with a little Braj. The note of vairāgya and Ram bhakti is prominent in his poems.

Dulhai Rām (1749-1824), who was made Ācārya in 1810, composed Vāṇī known to equal fourteen thousand ślokas. The Vāṇī consists of sākhī (dohā, 2945), cāṇḍrāyaṇ, jhūlaṇā, kavitt, savaiyā, kuṇḍaliyā etc. on various themes named aṅgas, and padas. He has dealt with traditional topics in a simple way, with a running note of Ram bhakti.

Muralī Rām (1745-1800) was much influenced by Nawal Rām. He took initiation in 1768 from Rāmcarāṇjī and composed a large number of stāy verses and wrote nine small books, *Cetāwanī Sār Bodh*, *Amṛt Sār Bodh*, *Nānv Yog*, *Vaiṣṇava Sār Bodh*, *Gṛhasth Sār Bodh*, *Guru Mahimā Stuti*, *Sādh Pārkhya*, etc., on miscellaneous topics concerning the Nirguṇ bhakti. Intensity of feeling and lucidity of expression are the main qualities of his works.

Jagannāth Sonī was alive upto 1824. His available poems are *Jathārath Bodh* on the Nirguṇ ideology, *Phūl Ḍol Samādhi* on the festivity of Phūl Ḍol held in every Phāgun at Shāhpurā, *Brahma Samādhi Līn Jog*, *Guru Līlā Vilās*, both telling the story of Rāmcarāṇjī, *Caurāsī Bol* listing 84 teachings and *Binatā Lachin Bodh* (*Binatā Bodh*) depicting the characteristics, behaviour and deeds of various types of women. The poems are in popular Rajasthani. The feelings described in the following extract about the Satī from *Binatā Bodh* seem to be revolutionary and original:

Satīs die with the corpses of their husbands desiring the same company in the life hereafter. This only brings worldly

fame but does not destroy the cycle of birth and death. They become the mothers of all, after burning themselves, and their kin and worshippers collect their bones and sing their praises. Even this sacrifice is not of much consequence if not accompanied by Hari bhajan. The life as a means of God-realization is precious, why reduce it to dust? says Jagannāth.

Sarūpā Bāī was the daughter of Nawal Rāmji. She is said to have left her home, due to her in-laws impeding her bhakti, and took initiation from Ramcaraṅjī at Shāhpurā. She was present at the time of the latter's demise in 1798. She composed devotional padas which reveal the purity of her heart. The language is easy Rajasthani. A few lines of her 'Marsiyā-pad' on the death of Rāmcaraṅjī are given here:

'O Sakhī! the guru has departed today. This bereavement is unbearable. I am prepared to bear all other troubles; this one, however, is beyond my forbearance. How will it be possible now to meet a satguru like Rāmcaraṅjī? My father Nawal Rāmji's departure for his heavenly abode, I can bear. Guru's bereavement, however, is so terrible as to be unspeakable. Sarūpā, the dāsī of the guru, has sunk so deep in grief that she cannot express her sorrow in words.

Saṅgrāmdās (Sagrāmdās) (latter half of the 18th century) was a disciple of Muralī Rāmji, mentioned above. His kuṇḍaliyās, about 115 in number, are on bhakti, nīti, precepts, etc., in a straightforward and artless way, using popular similes and sayings. The language is a refined form of popular Rajasthani. One kuṇḍalī is:

Hear me, O friend! says Saṅgrām. How to worship God? I am under the stress of two dire enemies. Who are they? asks the friend. Gossip during the day and slumber during the night. Under their evil influence I have destroyed all I own. Therefore, asks Saṅgrām, how and when to worship God?

Mukt Rām, a disciple of Bhagwāndās, made his stay at Bikaner after extensive wanderings. He was known for his sādhanā and bhakti and died in 1815. His Vāṇi is known to equal over 14 thousand ślokas, including 20 poems such as *Guru Stuti*, *Nām Pratāp*, *Kakkā Battīsī*, *Bhakti Mahimā*, *Citāwaṇī*, *Gyān Prakāś*, *Man Carit*, *Bhakt Virudāwalī*, *Vicār Bodh*, and *Guru Upkār*. The Vāṇi deals with gyān, bhakti, precepts and allied topics. The expression is forceful and effective and in easy Rajasthani.

Some other notable poets of this tradition are Devādās (died in 1787), Sūratrām (died in 1818), Rām Vallabh (died in 1813), Pohkardās (died in 1815) and Manorath Rām (first half of the 19th century).

(12) *Dariyāvjī: Rāmsnehī Sampradāy, Reṇ*

Premdāsji (1662-1762) of village Khīnyāsar (Bikaner) took initiation in 1689 from Saṅtdāsji Gūdaḍ paṅthī, according to one view, and according to another, from Balakdāsji, the disciple of Saṅtdāsji. His available Vāṇi consists of dohās and savaiyās in popular Rajasthani. Rām smaraṇ with deep devotion is the main note of his Vāṇi. Two of his dohās are:

Say God's name inaudibly. If audible, it is a spiritual wastage. It is only the deep-sown seed that grows, and the one on the surface is eaten away by birds and beasts.

Criticism made by others, if heeded to, is like clearing the field of wild growth. Such clearance, says Premjī, gives a richer crop of the essential grain.

Dariyāvjī (1676-1758) was born at Jaitāraṇ and, after the death of his father, came to live at Reṇ (Nāgore) at the age of seven. He became the disciple of Premdāsji in 1712. His place of sādhanā was Reṇ, which is the main seat of his tradition. His available Vāṇi consists of 412 sākhis (dohās) and about 30 padas. The sākhis are classified into aṅgas such as *Satguru ko*, *Sumiraṇ ko*, *Virah ko*, *Sūrātan ko*. The Vāṇi reveals his devoted sādhanā, deep faith in Ram and His Nam smaraṇ and his

mystic experiences. It shows harmony, synthesis and his kindly disposition. Though he was an upāsak of Nirguṇ Nirākār, he is equally generous towards Saguṇ Sākār. His language is easy Rajasthani, expression lively and lucid. Here are three sākhīs:

Of what worth is chameleon which frequently changes its colour with changing weather? Dariyā, the devotee, says, a goose is far more preferable, for it keeps a steady colour in all weathers.

A diehard cannot appreciate the truth, like an owl which refuses to recognize the daylight even after the sunrise.

Whom to praise and whom to deride? Both sides are equally heavy. Nirguṇ is my father while Saguṇ is my mother.

It is said Dariyāvji had 81 main disciples, including nine women, out of whom Kisandās, Sukhrām, Harkhārām, Pūraṇdās and Nānak were more important.

Pūraṇdās (1678-1735) of Reṇ became Dariyāvji's disciple in 1715 and spent most of his remaining life in sādhanā at Reṇ. His poems are about Rām bhakti and Nām sādhanā and are contained in two books, *Brahma Prakāś* and *Brahma Vilās* and Vāṇī in different aṅgas.

Kisandās (1688/89-1768) of the village Ṭūṅklā, near Reṇ (Nāgore), took initiation in 1716. He is said to have composed many verses in popular metres and 19 poems such as *Guru Mahimā*, *Bhaktmāl*, *Cānak Bodh*, *Nirbhai Dhyān*, *Gyān Udās*, *Sumiraṇ Dhyān*, *Citāwaṇī*, *Samarth Bodh*, and *Acal Bodh*. The poems reveal his firm faith in guru and Rām in easy Rajasthani. Two of his sākhīs are:

Just as rubbing together of two pieces of wood produces fire and churning of milk produces butter, a soulful repetition of Ram's name makes the Jiv attain the status of Brahma, says Kisandās.

O Kisanā, why do you fear? You have the support of the guru, the powerful. He will make you one with the Parabrahma.

Nānakdās, known for his bhakti and sādhanā, was alive in 1717. His short poem *Guru Mahimā*, sākhis and padas are in exaltation of God and the guru.

Manasā Rām Modāṇī, of the village Sāñjū, was one of the 72 disciples of Dariyāvji. His Vāṇī is on Nām sādhanā, characteristics of sādhu, transience of life, etc. In one kuṇḍaliyā, he says:

Everybody calls himself a sādhu, but real sādhus are rare. One who purges himself of greed, ego and extravagance can be called a real sādhu. Such a sādhu works for his salvation, gives up all the false ways and worships Brahma alone. He showers knowledge, as rain from the clouds and brings cool comfort to those who come in touch with him.

Sukhrāmdās Luhār (1701-1765), of village Harsūr, composed 15 poems, *Bhakta Vañsāwalī*, *Cintāmaṇī*, *Cāṇak Bodh*, *Bharam Toḍ*, *Vicār Bodh*, *Gyān Dīpak*, *Gyān Sār*, *Ātma Bodh*, *Aṇabhai Bodh*, *Vicār Nīsāṇī*, *Dhyān Mūl*, etc., and stray verses in dohā, rekhtā, and cāṇdrāyaṇ. His poems dealing with topics concerning the Nirguṇ bhakti are mature and deeply moving.

Harakhā Rām (1746-1804), of Nāgore, was made the Ācārya of Reṇ Gaddī after Dariyāvji and is known for his rahaṇī, i.e., pious conduct. Besides many stray verses, he composed seventeen poems, *Guru Mahimā*, *Garbh Citāwaṇī*, *Bhaktmāl*, *Śabdabhed Nīsāṇī*, *Nām Nīsāṇī*, *Karuṇā Sāgar*, *Bhram Vidhwañś*, *Bhram Toḍ*, *Ajamil kī Paracī*, *Nārāyaṇ Līlā*, *Gyān Samudra*, etc. He has described both the aspects of Parabrahma, Śaguṇ and Nirguṇ, but appears to be leaning more towards the Śaguṇ bhakti. His depiction of laudatory attributes of God and His affection towards the bhaktas is touching and impressive.

Sāñwat Rāmji (1733-1806) was a disciple of Nānak Rāmji. He is known for his Vāṇī, which is equal to about 5000 ślokas.

It consists of Līlā grañths (3), Prasaṅgas (7), harjas (42), sākhīs (dohā, 1010) and many stray verses. His concern for the amelioration of the human condition, sublimation of the worldly ways, emphasis on Ram smaraṇ and simplicity are noticed in his poems. Here is one sākhī:

Beware, O Sāṅwat, the devoted one, turn thy love to the Omnipotent. This human form, capable of worship, is not available all the time.

Ābhā Bāī (Ambhā Bāī) (1771-1853) of Ḍīḍwāṇā took initiation from Ṭemdāsī, the disciple of Dariyāvī, in 1797. Her poems include *Guru Mahimā*, *Śiṣya Sampradāy*, *Kakkā Battīsī*, stray verses and padas. The poems are on exaltation of guru, Ram, saints and preachings, presented in a simple manner. One cāndrāyāṇ says:

Old age is overhead and eyes are lustreless, yet one does not feel inclined to break the bodily bonds. Give up the lure of the body and try to attain the knowledge of the Absolute, say the saints. The devotee Ambhā entreats the human beings to remember the name of God and give up all evil inclinations.

Caturdās, Ṭemdās, Haridās, Budhā Rām, Madā Rām, Khetā Rām, Śivkaraṇ, and Dayā Rām are other notable poets of this tradition.

(13) *Harirāmdāsī: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Sīnthā!*

Jaimaldās, a carpenter of village Sāṅwatsar (near Sūḍsar, Bikaner) and a householder, took initiation from Vaiṣṇava Mahānt Caraṇdāsī of Koḍamdesar between 1683 and 1688. He stayed at Dulcāsar and thence went to Roḍā (near Nokhā, Bikaner), where he died in 1753. His gaddīs continued at both the places, Dulcāsar and Roḍā. We have already mentioned that Caraṇdāsī himself was in the tradition of Rāmānaṇḍī's disciple, Anaṅtānaṇḍ.

Only 47 padas of Jaimaldāsī are available and they record

his experiences in yog sādhanā, emptiness of wordly objects, bhakti, etc. The note of yog-sādhanā is comparatively more explicit.

Harirāmdāsī, the founder of Sīnthā branch, became the disciple of Jaimaldāsī in 1743. He was likewise a householder and died in 1778. His Vāṇī consists of sākhis (doḥā, 2283), doḥā-caupāī (354), rekhtā (32), padas (179), kavitt, kuṇḍaliyā, etc. and a *Ghaghar Nīsāṇī* (59 lines). The *Nīsāṇī* is well known and deals with haṭhyog, samādhi, prāṇāyām, etc. He was a great sādhak and bhakt. Upāsanā of Nirguṇ Ram and His nām-smaraṇ are the main notes of his poems. He has dealt with topics, which generally come under the Nirguṇ bhakti, including yog, but his inclination towards the Saguṇ upāsanā is also noticeable. His Vāṇī carries conviction because of its practicability and logic. He censured the other sampradāyas, pañths and religious traditions for their laxities. Nirguṇ can be known only through the medium of Saguṇ and he yearns for bhakti instead of mukti. On the whole he pleads for a spiritual life. Ample testimony of his sādhanā and experiences is found in his poems. The language is easy Rajasthani and effective, selection of words sharp and precise. Here are three sākhis:

A good vairagī is one who has severed all attachments and has a mind isolated from the world. Says Harirāmdās, a good householder is he who is modest and serviceable to all beings.

Hariyā is devoted to truth and not to mere traditions. Those who enslave their minds to mere traditions do not reach the truth.

Self-opinionated pretenders of God-realization are in plenty in the world. Rare are those sañts, says Harirāmā, who have realized Ram and can turn the soul to the Infinite.

Harirāmdāsī's last message to his followers was: 'Hear O worldly beings! I summarize the truth in one essential word.

Only Ram's name is the genuine word, the rest is ashes and dust.'

Haridevdāsī (1778-1807) was the grandson of Harirāmdās, and became Ācārya after him. His poems include *Sumiraṇ Bodh*, *Graṇth Karuṇā Nidhān*, *Guru Mahimā*, *Nām Mahimā*, *Gyān Vicār*, *Ātma Vicār*, *Gyān Swarūp*, *Ātma Kṛt Brahma Prāpti Jan Vicār*, padas and stray verses. They record his self-communication, exaltation of guru and Nām smaraṇ. He has copiously used the chappay metre.

Nārāyaṇdās, of village Jaitpur (Bikaner), took initiation from Harirāmdāsī in 1749, at Sīnthal. His Vāṇī is comparatively smaller, consisting of *Prāṇ Parcai ko Aṅg*, *Cetāwanī*, harjas, dohās, kavitt, etc. The subject matter is yog, guru, Ram smaraṇ and precepts. His self-confidence is evident throughout. He had 47 main disciples who were virakt or tapasvī like him. Many of them were good poets too.

Cainrāmī's two slender poems, *Karuṇā Battīsī*, *Guru Mahimā* and a Ḍiṅgal gīt are available. In *Karuṇā Battīsī* the poet's self-communication and compassion, with various well-known examples of God's kindness, are depicted.

Mūldāsī, born at village Bāmaṭsar (Bikaner), lived at Kālū (Bikaner), where he made a Rāmdwārā, the tradition of which still continues. His Vāṇī is fairly large consisting of 8 slender poems, *Guru Mahimā*, *Agam Bodh*, *Brahma Prakās*, *Cetāwanī*, *Bhaktmāl* etc., about 1400 sākhīs (dohās), 47 harjas and some kavitt, cāṇdrāyaṇ etc. The poems are on the Nirguṇ bhakti and allied topics, the expression is lucid and simple and the language easy Rajasthani.

Both Cainrāmī and Mūldāsī flourished toward the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

Pīrārāmī was by caste a Cāraṇ of Dadhwāḍiyā branch of village Mūnjāsar (Nokhā) and became a disciple of the fourth Ācārya Raghunāthdāsī in 1821. His Vāṇī includes sākhīs (about 400 dohās), two small poems, *Prakās Bhāskar* and *Guru Mahimā*, and stray verses. Emphasis on Nām sādhanā and precepts is the keynote of his poems.

Ādūrāmī, Motīrāmī and Raghunāthdāsī were some other notable poets of this tradition.

(14) *Rāmdāsji: Rām Snehī Sampradāy, Kheḍāpā*

Rāmdāsji (1726-1798), born at village Bīnkūnkaur, was a householder, and took initiation from Harirāmdāsji of Sīnthal in 1752. He founded the Kheḍāpā branch in 1763. Though considered to be a branch of Sīnthal, it has its separate tradition. His Vāṇī, in lucid and easy Rajasthani, is comparatively large and qualitatively important. It consists of over 1700 sākhīs (dohā) on about 90 prasaṅgas (topics), 72 harjas and 24 graṅths (poems) such as *Guru Mahimā*, *Bhaktmāl*, *Cetāwaṇī*, *Bālbodh*, *Gyān Vivek*, *Amarbodh*, *Nām Mālā*, *Ātmasār*, *Brahma Jigyāsā*, *Ātmaveli*, and *Niralamb*. The subject is broadly the Nirguṇ bhakti and its various aspects. Like Rāmcarāṇji of Shāhpurā, he preached the pursuit of Madhyam Mārg (middle path). Bhakti and sabad yog have been indicated as the means of sādhanā. His emphasis is on the spiritual life. The descriptions, particularly those relating to virah are intense and sensitive. One of his sākhīs is:

This body (life) is transitory and could be useful only when put to good deeds. Therefore, serve God's creatures with your limbs and remember God in your speech.

Dayāludās (1759-1825), son of Rāmdāsji, became the next Ācārya after his father's death in 1798. He was also a householder. His Vāṇī includes 19 poems, *Bhaktmāl*, *Man Pratibodh*, *Cetan Bodh*, *Pragaṭ Bodh*, *Nirṇay Bodh*, *Ātma Gyān*, *Karuṇā Sāgar*, *Citāwaṇī*, *Śabda Prakāś*, *Guru Prakaraṇ*, etc. and many verses on different topics, particularly on the Nirguṇ bhakti. Along with the devotion to the Nirguṇ Nirākār Ram, he had also faith in the Saguṇ Sākār Ram and has described the various Incarnations. His poem *Karuṇā Sāgar* propounds the Saguṇ bhakti and extols humility and deep dedication. His *Bhaktmāl* and *Guru Prakaraṇ* (the story of Rāmdāsji's life) are important source books for the literary history and socio-religious tendencies of the time.

Parśurām (1767-1839), of Bīṭhṇok (Bikaner), took initiation from Rāmdāsji at Kheḍāpā in 1788. He travelled widely and ultimately took residence at Jodhpur (near Sūr Sāgar). He is

considered to be the founder of Virakta or Tapasvī branch in this tradition. He is said to have composed the following poems, dealing mainly with gyān and bhakti sādhanā: *Sikh Praśna Soran*, *Guru Śiṣya Sañvād*, *Gṛh Kūp ko Prasāṅg*, *Guru Mahimā*, *Ātma Bodh*, *Arath Siddhānt* and *Sajīvan Bodh*.

Pīthodās (1742-1794) was the disciple of Rāmdāsji and died at Ratlam. His vāṇī includes padas, stray verses and three poems, *Behad Bodh*, *Guru Mahimā* and *Jugal Granth*. His padas are known for intensity of emotion and lucidity.

Pūraṇdās (1771-1835) was born in village Mālakī (in Mālwā) and was dedicated by his parents to Pīthodāsji. Pīthodāsji sent him to Kheḍāpā where Dayāludāsji initiated him in 1781. Pūraṇdās became Ācārya in 1828. He too was a householder. *Guru Mahimā*, *Bhaktmāl*, *Janma Līlā*, *Sumiraṅ Sār*, *Karuṇā Chattīsī*, *Sikṣā Battīsī* are his short poems, besides various padas and verses. His poems give information about many saint poets, and are important.

Murārī Rām, a Bhāṭī Rājput, was the disciple of Rāmdāsji. He died in 1833 at Kheḍāpā. His poems consist of *Agyāt Bodh*, *Mahimāsār Nīsāṇī*, *Ātmasār*, *Sumiraṅsār*, *Garbh Cetāwanī*, *Ātmaparacī*, *Guru Mahimā*, many harjas and sākhīs. His language is straightforward and simple.

Arjundāsji's *Janma Līlā* and *Purv Janma* and Bālakdāsji's *Jan Prabhāv Paracī* are significant poems from the socio-historical point of view.

(15) Lālgiri : Alakhiyā Sampradāy

Lālgiri was born in the village Sulakhaṇiyā (Churu, Rajasthan) in a cobbler family in the early years of the 19th century. In the boyhood he was taken by a sādhu said to belong to the Nāgā branch of Dādū Sampradāy. After about fifteen years he returned to Bikaner in 1829 and started preaching. Many became his disciples. He was instrumental in the construction of the famous gigantic well of Bikaner known as Alakh Sāgar. Once when Mahārājā Ratansiṅha was on the way to the temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṅjī, Lālgiri asked the Mahārājā to do the smaraṅ of only Alakh, as idol-worship was quite useless. At this, the angry Mahārājā banished him. Lālgiri came to Jaipur

and remained at Galtā till his death.

His available vāṇī is in easy Rajasthani and consists of only 29 sabads. It deals with the swarūp of God, means of realizing God within one's own self by sādhanā, illusory nature of the world and Nām smaraṇ. He reproached idol-worshippers, imposters, deceivers and the exhibitionists. To him Alakh, who is Nirākār, Nirlep and Nirāñjan, is the only ultimate truth. Upāsanā of this Alakh alone is worthwhile. Hence the sampradāy was named Alakhiyā. He has used the Nāth style and terminology and is inclined towards the sādhanā of Haṭhyog. The accepted system of deferential salutation is 'Alakh-Maulā'. The Sampradāy was popular in Bikaner and the adjoining regions. His followers mostly came from the backward classes of the society. Here is an example from his poetry:

Jatīs (Jain sādhus), mullās and brahmins are all traders in spirit. Their followers feed them and they are in turn bound to that following. The pāṇḍiyās only recite the Vedas, the mullās pretend to put a call to God and the dhūṇḍhiyās sing the praises of their own tradition. Says Lāl Gusāññ, the people of the world are prone to delusion and, therefore, the above three have put faith on sale in the market.

In this tradition Gyāngirijī was a sādhak poet whose poem *Alakh Stuti Prakāś* (*Alakh Mahimā Stuti*) is available.

(16) *Āījī (Jījī Devī): Āī Pañth*

Religious poems concerning other minor or less known pañthas and sampradāyas are also popular amongst people in Rajasthan. One such pañth is Āī Pañth, the followers of which are mostly the persons of Sīravī caste, who thickly inhabit Pāli and Jodhpur regions and certain parts of Madhya Pradesh. The main temple of Āījī is at Bilāḍā (Jodhpur). It is a Śākta pañth. Jījī Devī (Āījī) is said to be the daughter of Vikā, a Rājput of Dābī gotra. She flourished in the 15th century and breathed her last in 1504. She is believed to be the Śakti or Durgā Incarnate. The Āīpañthīs refrain from all sorts of intoxicants and meat-eating.

Jiji Devi herself entrusted her Gaddi to her disciple named Goyaṅd in 1500 by initiating him into all the tenets of the pañth. This may be taken as the date of the Āī Pañth's origin.

Bhawānīdās Vyās of Jodhpur has narrated lucidly in easy Rajasthani the life of Āīji and the salient features of the pañth, in his *Āī Āṇad Vilās* composed in 1736. It consists of 603 verses including dohā, sorāṭhā, chaṅd, kavitt, cāṅdrāyaṅ, bhujāṅgi, caupāī, nisāṅi, jhamāḷ, haraṅ kalā and prose vārtās. This is deemed to be a sacred book in the pañth.

Tārācaṅd Vyās of Bilāḍā composed *Āī Ugra Prakāś*, which likewise tells the story of Āīji's life with a brief history of the pañth, in a straight and simple way, in easy Rajasthani. Dohā, sorāṭha, chappay, chaṅd, paddhari, tribhaṅgi etc. are the metres used.

Both the books are an important source of information about Āīji and Āī Pañth.

Many other poems, including *Āī Mātā rī Vel* and stray verses by Lūmbā Bābā and others are popular in the pañth.

We have elsewhere taken contextual note of poems pertaining to Śakti or Devi and goddess Karaṅji and other folk gods like Gogoji, Pābūji, Rāmdevji, and Tejojī.

Poets free from any traditional bond of religion and sampradāy

Out of a large number of poets coming under this category, we shall take note of a few prominent ones. As with other earlier saint poets, the life, time and vāṅi of Pipā are in obscurity so far.

From *Khilcīpur kī Khyāt*, we find that he was an ancestor of Acaldās Khicī of Gāgrongarh (Kota), ascended the throne in 1360 and ruled up to 1385. The pedigree is: Kaḍvā Rāv—Pipā—Kalyāṅ Rāv (adopted by Pipā)—Bhojrāj—Acaldās.

According to another view, Pipā was the brother of Acaldās. This view appears to be more acceptable as it also tallies with the statements in his padas. Acaldās died in 1423 at Gāgrongarh in the battle against Sultān Hoṣāṅ Ghorī of Māṅḍū. *Acaldās Khicī rī Vacanikā*, an authentic poem, gives an account of this battle. There is no mention of Pipā in it. It may be presumed that Pipā renounced the world before the battle.

By then he should be about forty and so might have been born around 1383. From two of his padas, it appears that Nāmdev, Kabir and Raidās were not alive then. Kabir died in 1448 or even earlier and so also Raidās. Thus, Pīpā died after them, say at the age of seventy or so, around 1453. A reasonable inference is that Pīpā might have lived between 1383 and 1453. He is said to be one of the twelve famous disciples of Rāmānaṅd but there is no mention of this in his padas.

His stray padas are available in various manuscripts of different traditions. The earliest one so far available is dated 1625¹ in which 17 of his padas were written. From a study of padas available in this and other manuscripts, it appears that 25 padas belong to Pīpā (including the one given in *Śrī Guru Granth Sāhibjī*). They are meant to be sung in various musical tunes. Besides, 13 sākhis also go in his name.

The padas sing of Nirguṇ Rām bhakti, exaltation of God, deep devotion to find Him within oneself with glimpses of yog sādhanā, and futility of external practices like pilgrimage. In two padas, he has highly praised Nāmdev, Kabir and Raidās for their bhakti. The language is Rajasthani mixed with Braj, with a slight tinge of Khaḍī Boli in a few padas. One verse says:

Open your eyes and see O being! the colour of your hair has changed. Black has become grey. Sing the praise of Govind now at least. The hermit of soul has come to reside in the hut of body only for a period of ten days. This hermit will withdraw the projection of his good and bad deeds and quietly desert the hut. The mind, like the mouse, is threatened on one side by the cat of māyā and on the other side by the poisonous serpent of greed. Pīpā says, seek shelter with Rām-nām, if you wish to be safe from the triple enemies. (The reference seems to be to kām, krodh and lobh).

Kāzī Mahmūd (15th century) is one of the early saint poets

1. MS. referred to on p. 117.

whose padas are still popular in Rajasthan. The padas, about 45 in number, are scattered in different manuscripts. In the earliest available manuscript dated 1625, 16 of his padas are found. In 1525, Sahaj Suṅdar, a Jain poet composed a 'ḍhāl' (poem), (found in his *Ratnasār Caupāī*) based on the tune of one of Kāzi Mahmūd's padas, the refrain of which runs as, *Bhūlā bhamarlā kāñ bhamai e*. It is evident that his padas were very popular during the early 16th century. They are on vairāgya, transience of life and worldly objects, love and virah of God and mystic experiences. Natural, sensitive, and lucid expression depicting depth of emotion and universal truth is the hallmark of his poems. The language is easy Rajasthani with a slight tinge of Khaḍi Boli. In *Bhūlā bhamarlā Kāñ bhamai e*, Kāzi Mahmūd says:

What are you wandering after O black-bee mine! Day and night, you are on rounds. This soul, hankering after worldly pleasures, is caught and sent to the world of death. What if one is surrounded by father, mother, children and wealth? This soul has to travel alone, only good and bad deeds keep it company. You have amassed immense wealth and have neither spent nor enjoyed any of it. You seem to forget that even the wealthiest has to lie naked on his funeral pyre. Mahmūd Sāh beseeches all his fellow beings to preserve what genuinely belongs to the soul, and the destiny lies in the hands Divine.

Mirāñ Bāī (1498-1547) is a household name throughout the country. Yet her life and work have been an enigma to the scholars. Many legends and anecdotes have grown around her name, her gurū and her sādhanā. The corpus of her padas remains undertermined and reliable historical material and manuscripts are not available. Therefore the scholar's task has become all the more difficult. Without going into any detailed discussion, we give below our conclusions in brief.

She was the daughter of Rāv Ratansī, the son of Rāṭhore Rāv Dūdā of Meḍtā, and was born in 1498 (v.s. 1555), in village Bājoli (near Degānā). After the death of her mother in

her childhood, she was brought up by Rāv Dūdā. She was married to Kuñwar Bhojrāj, the son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Cittore, in 1516. Bhojrāj died about 1522. Due to her independent nature, and preference for the company of saints, she is said to have been tortured by her in-laws. She left Cittore about 1531-32 and came to Meḍtā for a short period. Around 1534 she went on pilgrimage and finally remained at Dwārkā. She left for her heavenly abode in 1547.

Her works are also shrouded in mystery. The following works have been attributed to Mirān Bāi: *Gīt Goviṇḍ kī Ṭikā*, *Narasījī ro Māhero*, *Satyabhāmājī nū Rūsnūn*, *Rāg Sorath*, *Rāg Goviṇḍ*, and padas (*Padāwalī*). However, *Gīt Goviṇḍ kī Ṭikā*, *Narasījī ro Māhero* and *Satyabhāmājī nū Rūsnūn* are not her compositions. *Rāg Sorath* and *Rāg Goviṇḍ* are collections of her padas, and are not independent works. They are included in the *Padāwalī*. The conclusion is that only the padas are the composition of Mirān Bāi.

Mirān's popularity rests on her padas which have had a far-reaching effect on the life of the common people. So natural and spontaneous is the expression of her emotions and feelings that her padas came to be adapted in Gujarati, Braj and many colloquial speeches, with the result that it has become difficult to determine their original form.

As many as over fifty collections, including translations stated to contain her padas, have been published in Hindi, Gujarati and Marāṭhī and translated into Bengali and English. A number of padas have also been published in many journals. The editors of some of these padāwalis claim to have collected their material from old manuscripts, mostly of the latter half of the 18th and 19th centuries. Her padas have found place in the 'vāṅīs' of many saints. These manuscripts themselves, however, have taken their contents mostly from oral tradition. Many padas are found in different forms with intermixtures and some of them are also popular under somebody else's name. No critically edited text of her padas has yet been published. At present about 2000 padas, published and unpublished, are available in her name, but it cannot be said with certainty that all of them are her compositions. A careful scrutiny reveals that

only about 250 of them are her own.

Her padas reveal deep devotion, Saguṇ and Nirguṇ bhakti of Kānta Bhāv, yog, and reflect the state of her sādhanā, and life. Self-confidence, unbounded faith in the Lord, love, whether in the state of saṅyog (fusion) or viyog (separation), profound and sublime passion, expression of joy, sorrow and trance—all in simple, natural, inimitable and unadorned manner—are the characteristics of her padas. She has revealed the deepest emotions of her heart with spontaneous lucidity in the simplest language. It is for these reasons that she is popular equally with the scholars and the masses. However, she is really the poetess of the people. Traditionally she is deemed to be a devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa. One of her padas is given below:

O mother mine! I have bought Govind. Some say, I have done it in secrecy, some say in the open. I say, I have done it with the beat of drums. Some say, the deal is costly, some call it cheap. I have measured Him fully. Some say, He is black, others call Him fair. I have, however, purchased the Precious One with all I possess. Everyone knows that I have accepted Him with eyes open. O Lord mine! You have to give darśan to Mirān, for You are bound by a promise made in an earlier life to do so.

Saṅt Māwji (1714-1744), an Audicya brahmin of village Sābalā (Ḍūngarpur) left home at the age of twelve to perform tapasyā. He preached devotion to God and service to the humanity. His vāṇi called *Caupaḍā* teaches gyān, preaches niti and makes many predictions.

Din Darveś (1753-1833 approx.) was born at Guḍali (Udai-pur Division) and took initiation from one Bāl Bhārati (Bāl Guru) of Girnār. He used to reside at Kailāśpurī, near Udai-pur. Mahārāṇā Bhimsiṅha (1777-1828) had high regard for him. He is said to have gone to Kota after the Mahārāṇā's death, and was drowned while taking bath in the Chambal. His poems are *Dīn Prakāś*, *Grāṅth Adalānaṅd*, *Parmārth Prasaṅg*, *Citāwaṇ Sār*, *Īsar Astut*, *Rāj Cetāwaṇī*, *Bharam Toḍ*, *Kakkā Battīsī*, *Gagaḍ Nīsāṇī*, padas and stray verses. He has used popular

forms, such as jakāḍi, bārah māsā, garabī, and phāg.

The poems deal with a variety of subjects, including the Brahma-gyān and contemplation, futility of worldly pursuit, falsity of caste and community, yog, vairāgya, devotion to God, and record his mystic experiences. His inclination is more towards the Nirguṇ bhakti. He not only believes in the Incarnations, but also has no patience with those who speak ill of them. The Incarnations, according to him, were for the deliverance of bhaktas. His songs describe a few lilās of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The garabī is in praise of Devī. Of his metres, the kuṇḍaliyās are popular. His language is Rajasthani mixed with Khaḍī Bolī, with a slight tinge of Braj. Two kuṇḍaliyās are cited below:

Only a lion lives alone in isolated glory. Such a person acquires neither sin nor sanctity. He roars like a lion in the forest growth of knowledge. His roar makes all attachment disappear. Dīn Darveś says, let not people be proud of their following. The lion is one, who cultivates a lonely link with the Creator.

The world knows that the heart of such a person is full of pious knowledge. The Almighty makes him His own and gives him the gift of salvation. After getting the gift, there is nothing more to acquire. For him the earth, the wealth and the hope only mean Brahma. Dīn Darveś says, such a one is transformed through Almighty's grace from beastliness to divinity and becomes known to the world as jīvan mukta.

Gawari Bāi (1758-1808) was born in a Nāgar brahmin family of Dūngarpur. She was a child-widow and was well-versed in scriptures, and known for the pursuit of knowledge and devotion. On knowing this Mahārāwal Śivsiṅha (1730-1785) of Dūngarpur built a temple for her. She went to Kāshī in her last days and died there. She is considered to be an incarnation of Mīrāñ Bāi.

She is said to have composed over 600 padas in easy Raja-

sthani mixed with Braj and Gujarati. They are on exaltation of God, gyān, bhakti and vairāgya. Many padas are popular for their simplicity and absorption.

Saṅt Gyānījī, Gadda, Pūlī Bāi and Nāmdev Srī Kṛṣṇadās are a few other poets whose contribution is significant.

We have already mentioned many such poets in the section on the mythological and religious poetry of Cāraṇ style. Many devotional songs are popular among the people, some of which are compositions of unknown poets. We shall have occasion to refer to them in the section on 'Folk Literature'.

JAIN POETRY

We have already taken note of the main features of the Jain Poetry in Chapter II.

Carit, Kathā and Ākhyān Kāvya are biographical and essentially narrative. Their aim is to secure nirwāṇ (salvation) for the devotees. The hero of a story generally belongs to a family of higher strata. Before, or after, marriage, he comes into contact with a Jain sādhu or other noble company or is moved by a touching incident, and thinks of freedom from worldly attachment. He wishes to take initiation. Parents (and wife, if married) urge him not to do so, but he remains firm, and adopts a Jain sādhu's life. In this state he faces many difficulties, but ultimately overcomes them and attains kewal gyān and thus becomes entitled to mokṣa. The stories are mainly taken from the Jain tradition. Some are popular folk-tales which are moulded to the Jain way of life. Generally this is the pattern of the stories chosen by the Jain poets.

Generally the Jain poetry was not written for the sake of poetry. Its main aims are the pursuit of knowledge, propagation of religion and building of character. The Jain poet writes narrative poems for fulfilment of these aims. Of the large number of Jain poets, we take note here of only a few.

Brahma Jinadās (1388-1468) was a great scholar and poet of the 15th century. Besides a dozen poems in Sanskrit, he has composed over fifty narrative works, mostly the Rās in Hindi

and Gujarati mixed Rajasthani. They are mainly based on legends popular in the Jain religion. His *Rām Sītā Rās* (*Rāmāyaṇ*), based on *Padma Purāṇ* of Ravisenācārya, is the first major work of its kind.

Chihal wrote around 1518. His available poems are *Pañc Sahelī Gīt*, *Pañthī Gīt*, *Udar Gū*, *Pañcendriy Veli* and *Nām Bāwnī*. *Pañc Sahelī*, composed in 1518, describes the pangs of separation of five women from their husbands and their reunion after some time. They are the wives of a gardener, a betel-seller, a cloth-printer, a liquor-seller and a goldsmith. Each woman describes her pangs in the phraseology connected with her profession. The wife of the gardner says:

My body-tree which had started growing orange-fruit, juicy and full, has started drying up, for the beloved, who would water the plant, is away.

I prepare a garland of campā petals. But it burns my body if I wear it in the absence of the beloved.

The *Bāwnī* consists of miscellaneous verses composed with deep involvement.

Kuśal Lābh (1523-1593 approx.) wrote on a variety of subjects: popular folk-tales like *Mādhavānal Caupai* and *Ḍholā Mārwaṇī Caupai*; stories and stray verses like *Agad Datt Rās*, *Pūjyavāhaṇ Gīt* following the Jain traditions; Devī or Śakti like *Durgā Sāttasī* and *Bhawānī Chaṇḍ*; and prosody like *Piṅgaḷ Siromaṇī*. *Piṅgaḷ Siromaṇī* explains various metres, includes 75 figures of speech and a collection of synonyms of 24 words named *Nām Mālā*. This is the earliest work of its kind. The author has explained the subject through narration of the story of Lord Ram. He has also used prose called *Vārtā*. It is significant that in other well-known works on prosody such as, *Raghunāth Rūpak Gītāṅ ro*, and *Raghuwar Jas Prakās* the story of Lord Ram has been narrated likewise.

However, it cannot be said with certainty that *Piṅgaḷ Siromaṇī* is the work of Kuśal Lābh. It is also ascribed to Kuṅwar Har Rāj of Jaisalmer, whose guru Kuśal Lābh was. The pre-

sence of interpolations and anachronisms in the published version of the work indicate the need for further research to establish the true authorship.

We have already taken note of his *Durgā Sāttasī*. *Mādhavānal Kāmkāṇḍālā* and *Ḍholā Mārū* were popular folk-tales in medieval times. Kuśal Lābh's poems on these tales are landmarks in the field. Couplets of varying forms on the *Ḍholā Mārū* tale were popular, especially among story-tellers and singers. Kuśal Lābh collected them from various sources, gave them a polish, mixed his own caupais with them and gave the work a consistent and artistic form. This also explains the differences in forms found in various manuscripts.

Samay Suṇḍar (1553-1646) was a famous poet and scholar. The variety and number of his works are surprisingly large. He composed many works in Sanskrit. In Rajasthan about two dozen narrative poems, mostly *rās* and *caupai*, nine collections of verses, known as *chattīsī* and about 550 songs and stray verses are available. Most of the poems are meant to be sung in specific tunes. There is a saying that Samay Suṇḍar's songs are as innumerable as the constructions of Rāṇā Kumbhā (*Samay Suṇḍar rā gītḍā, Kumbhai Rāṇāi rā bhīntḍā*).

Samay Suṇḍar's narrative poems *Siṅhal Sut Priymelak Rās*, *Campak Seth Caupai*, *Sitārām Caupai*, *Nal Damyaṅtī Caupai*, *Mrgāwatī Rās*, *Vastupāl Tejpāl Rās*, etc., are based on folk stories or Jain traditions.

Samay Suṇḍar's poetry is important for its content as well as form, metre, popular tunes and language. Through his poems he has rendered a great service to the cultural and religious improvement of the people. He has, at places, depicted a very realistic picture of the age. In the year 1630 (v.s. 1687) a terrible famine occurred in Gujarat. The poet has presented a vivid and heart-rending account of the tragic conditions, of which he himself was a victim. An example from his *Satyāsiyā Duṣkāl Varṇan Chattīsī* is given below:

The husband deserted the wife, and the wife deserted the husband. Sons left fathers who used to fondle them. Brothers left sisters, and sisters left brothers. Relationship

and love lost all importance, only food became important. Innumerable persons left their hearths and homes to take shelter in lands far off. The famine of 1687 was so widespread that, says Samay Suñdar, even those who fled from home failed to get food.

Many beautiful narrative poems have been written on the theme of Padmini and Gorā Bādal. Hemratan Sūri's (1559-1616) *Gorā Bādal Caritra* (or *Gorā Bādal Padmini Caupai*) is an example. The poet has narrated this historical event in a natural, interesting and moving manner. His aim is to emphasise virtues like faith, morality and chastity. Characters of Padmini, Ratansen, Gorā, Bādal, Rāghav Cetan and Ala-ud-din have been delineated in a realistic manner. It appears as if the poet is narrating his reminiscences, never losing close affinity. The poem describes the Śil Dharm of a Rājput queen, and loyalty and bravery of the Rājput warriors in defending their religion, culture, traditions and values. Gorā and Bādal secured the freedom of Rāṇa Ratansen by defeating Ala-ud-din. Gorā is killed in the battle but the Rāṇa returns to the fort amidst general gaiety. The poem concludes in an atmosphere of comedy.

The poem consists of 619 verses (caupai) including some kavitts. The kavitts are the composition of some unknown poet, earlier to Hemratan. Hemratan's *Mahīpāl Caupai*, *Amar Kumar Caupai*, *Sītā Caupai*, and *Līlāwālī* are also narrative poems. But his fame mainly rests on *Padmini Caupai*.

Jinarāj Sūri (1590-1643) was a scholar and poet. Of his narrative poems, *Śalibhadra Dhannā Caupai*, *Gaj Sukumāl Mahāmuni Caupai*, and *Rāmāyaṇ*, particularly the first one, got much popularity. *Śalibhadra Dhannā Caupai* excelled all the poems written on the theme. His stray songs are stutis of Tirthankars, Viharmāns, and descriptions of places of pilgrimage like Śatruñjay and Ābū. All the poems are meant to be sung.

Labdhoday (1623-1693) composed seven narrative poems of which the following four are available: *Padmini Carit Caupai*, *Malay Suñdarī Caupai*, *Ratancūḍ Mañicūḍ Caupai*, and *Guṇāwālī Caupai*. The first two are written to show the glory of Śil Dharm

and the other two respectively of Dān Dharm and Gyān Pañcamī. *Padmini Carit Caupai*, the most notable poem, follows the style and story of Hemratan's poem on this theme. It is meant to be sung in different folk tunes and musical modes. Like Hemratan's poem, it has a happy end. Padmini is not so much a name but the description of a lady possessing specific qualities. In Labdhoday's poem Rāghav and Cetan are two persons and not one, as in Hemratan's work.

Jinharṣa (Jasrāj, 1628-1722) composed about 74 major poems like *Caṇḍan Mālaygiri Caupai*, *Kusum Śrī Mahāsati Caupai*, *Vidyāvilās Rās*, *Mṛgāputra Caupai* and *Matsyodar Rās*, which are mainly based on the Jain mythology and traditions. Besides, he composed about 350 stray songs and verses on miscellaneous topics concerning nīti, dharm and secularism. Many of his poems such as *Prem Patrikā*, *Dodhak Chattīsī*, *Bārah Māsā rā Dūhā*, *Panrah Tithi rā Dūhā*, and *Nemī Rājimatī Gīt*, depict deep emotions of love, longing and separation. In such verses, influence of the poems of Kāzi Mahmūd, Mirān Bāi and *Ḍholā Mārū rā Dūhā* is noticed. A few examples are given below:

Jasā says: A faithless lover's love never lasts long. It disappears like water in a sandy pit. A faithless lover's love is like the disappearing shadow of the morning, while a faithful lover's love is like the growing shadow of the evening.
(*Prem Patrikā*)

The loved one goes abroad leaving me in deep disappointment. Since the day of his departure, I heave and sigh for him and frequently get out of breath.

Dharm Vardhan (Dharmasi, 1643-1726) has written on a variety of subjects including nīti, stuti, seasons, and heroes. His major narrative poems are *Śreṇik Caupai*, *Amarsen Vayarsen Caupai*, and *Sur Suṇdarī Rās*. His stray verses on miscellaneous topics are well-known. He has used a number of popular poetic styles. Besides Rajasthani, the poet has composed poems in Sanskrit and Braj. He has depicted the social and political conditions of the age in some of his verses and has eulogized

heroes like Shivāji and Durgādās. Some of his verses contain social warnings. Here are a few lines of a Ḍiṅgal git on Shivāji Marāṭhā, composed in 1676 in Surat:

Whether Goddess Śakti, inspires him or he is inspired by his own prowess of arms, he has successfully assailed impregnable forts. Which other chiefs have the courage to face him? Even the Emperor is afraid of his valour. He has trampled under his feet all devils who dared to fight him. If any such continue to live, it is only those who have surrendered to him. Even the master of Delhi trembles like a cat, when he hears the roar of Shivāji.

Khumman Rās by Daulatvijay (1643-1743) is a work much talked about. The *Rās*, which has been included by some literary historians in the Early Period (1000-1400 approx.) of Hindi literature, belongs in fact to the 18th century. It was composed about 1712. The available manuscript is incomplete and consists of 3576 verses. It narrates the history of the rulers of Mewār from Bāppā Rāwal to Mahārāṇā Rājsiṅha and includes two major independent poems on Khummāṇ and Padmāwatī. *Khumman Rās* is divided into 8 parts. Parts 2nd, 3rd and 4th are about Khummāṇ and his marriages and the 6th narrates the Padmini-Ala-ud-din episode. The rest describes mainly the events connected with different rulers. The available text ends with the raising of a bund at the Jaysamaṇḍ lake by Mahārāṇā Rājsiṅha. Mainly dohā, sorāṭhā, caupaī, kavitt and gāhā metres have been used.

The parts dealing with Khummāṇ and Padmāwatī episodes are remarkable for their poetic excellence. There is a fusion of fact and fiction, and a mixture of vir and sṛṅgār rasas. There are vivid and picturesque descriptions of folk life of Rajasthan, festivals like Gaṅgaur and Sāwaṇi Tīj, the beauty and sṛṅgār of women, feminine fun and frolic, and songs sung on these occasions. It appears that the poet had first planned to write up to the 4th part only dealing with Khummāṇ, but due to persistent requests of his disciple Śyāmsiṅha, he further composed the last four parts.

Khumman marries Ratisundari, the daughter of king of Delhi. Thereafter he goes for hunting and, at Nalwar, falls in love with Tilottama, who has been separated from her husband. The Raja of Nalwar marries his daughter Lasa to Khumman.

Ratisundari says:

O ladies of Narwargadh! please lend your ears to my request and let me know when you are returning to me my beloved!

O ladies of Narwargadh! have you bought my husband for good? I think he is like a mortgaged necklace and you have to return him to me some day.

Khumman returns to Cittore with Tilottama and Lasa. Campakdatt, the husband of Tilottama, seeks the help of Emperor Mahmud of Ghazni who invades Cittore. Khumman, along with Songara Kanhad De and his nephew Kasmod, fought hard and won the battle.

Kasmod's wife tells her husband:

O Lord! hail to your bravery! You are the master of life and death. Never think of me for a moment even in death. We are sure to meet in heaven. One has to die only once, but a hero's honour is precious. If you can buy glory at the cost of life, the deal will be a profitable one. Kshatriy dharm is the highest of all faiths. One has to keep up the glory of a warrior's valour. Therefore, O Sweet! proceed to the field of battle and let your sword flash lightning on the heads of the enemy's elephants.

In his narration of the Padmini-Ala-ud-din episode, the poet has followed Hemratan Suri's *Gora Badal Padmini Caupai*. The influence of many famous works like *Dholā Mārū*, *Vacanikās* of Gadan Sivadās and *Khidiyā Jaggā*, *Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Prabaṇdh* of Gaṇpati Kāyasth and *Pṛthvīrāj Rāsau*, is noticed in this poem.

Khumman Rās may be deemed a representative poem of the age.

Vinay Caṅdra, who wrote between 1668 and 1712, composed verses mostly numerical like *Caubīsī* and *Bīsī*, to express his devotional feelings. *Uttam Kumār Carit Caupāī*, his major narrative poem, describes the romance and adventures of Uttamkumār, the son of Rājā Makardhwaj of Banāras, and his becoming a Jain ascetic in the end. Most of its verses and the stray poems are meant to be sung in the popular folk tunes. Idioms and expressions from common man's life are a prominent characteristic of his poems.

Jaymallji (1708-1796) was an Ācārya of Sthānakwāsī sect. His poems may be grouped under three heads: didactic, stuti, and ākhyāns. *Ātmik Chattīsī*, *Updeś Tīsī*, *Updeś Battīsī*, *Jiv Cetāwanī*, *Punya Chattīsī*, *Vairāgya Battīsī* etc., (37 poems) are didactic. Stuti poems are nine, *Cauvīsī Stavan*, *Cār Maṅgal*, *Causaṭh Jatiyoṅ kī Sajjhāy*, *Bīs Viharmān kā Stavan*, *Śānti Jin Stavan* etc. Carits or Ākhyān Kāvya are stories of persons, who are either famous in the Jain tradition or popular in folklore, like Arjun Māli, Udayī Rājā, Kārtik Seṭh, Tetali Putra, Pardesi Rājā, Mahārāṇī Devkī, Meghkumār, Nemināth, Sati Draupadi, and Subāhu Kumār. Folk tales are often moulded in the Jain way of life through popular motifs, such as the stories of previous births. His miscellaneous poems include *Gautam Pricchā* and *Caṅdragupta Rājā kā Solah Sapanā*. All the poems are in easy Rajasthani. The aim of the poet is to impart knowledge of the Jain religion and philosophy, and to consolidate the faith and to inspire virtue.

Bhikhaṅjī (1726-1803), the founder of Terāpaṅth sect (Śwetāambar), was gifted with vision, poetic talent and profound insight in the Jain metaphysics. In the Jain tradition there were reactions against the laxities of conduct and character. Foundation of Terāpaṅth sect in 1760 was one such reaction. Bhikhaṅjī gave new interpretation to the canonical texts. He imparted his ideology in a lucid way through poems in an easy language. His poems are of two types: (1) those which deal with basic and theoretical aspect, like *Nav Padārth*, *Śrāvak Bārah Vrat*; (2) those which are narrative like *Gausālā rī Caupāī*, *Udāi Rājā ro Bakhāṅ*, and *Subāhukumār ro Bakhāṅ*. The basis of most of these stories is the Jain Āgam but the

way in which they have been expanded is his own. The ultimate note of the poem is nirved. In the course of his descriptions he has given moral precepts in the form of popular sayings. The poems are meant to be sung, mostly in the popular folk tunes. The Ācārya's main aim is to interpret and make the Jain religious philosophy intelligible to the common man. Stories are the best medium for this and, like others, he has also adopted this medium. In doing so, he has given fine descriptions of events and emotions. He was a votary of truth and would not hesitate to say what appeared to him to be logically right. Many examples of his plain-speaking are found in the poems. He did not spare even the Lord Mahāvīr, the 24th Tirthaṅkar, from criticism.

In the 15th śatak of *Bhagwatī Sūtra*, the story of Gośālak, the son of Maṅkhali and Bhadrā, is given. Gośālak became a disciple of Lord Mahāvīr. Gośālak had once criticized the strange action of an ascetic named Vaisyāyan who was catching running lice and putting them back in his hair while he was worshipping the sun. This brought on Gośālak the annoyance of the ascetic Vaisyāyan. The ascetic in his anger threw tejolesyā (fiery vision) to burn Gośālak. Lord Mahāvīr saved him by counteracting it with his śitleśyā (cool vision). This action of the Lord has been criticized by Bhīkhaṅjī as a lapse in disguise, from the point of view of non-violence in his *Gosālā rī Caupaī*. His view in this regard is quite different from the sectarian view of Jainism.

Gyān Sār (1744-1841) composed devotional verses and songs meant to be sung in different musical modes. He also wrote a versified criticism named *Caṅd Caupaī Samālocanā* in 413 verses, in 1820, on a poem *Caṅd Rājā Caupaī* of Mohanvijay. He was greatly influenced by Ānaṅdghan's works and wrote an annotation *Bālāvbodh* on the latter's *Caubīsī*. His *Mālā Pīṅgal* is a work on prosody. His *Pūrab Des Varṇan* depicts in a realistic manner, the customs, traditions, ways of life and apparel of the people of Bengal, particularly of Murshidābād region. It is a Brajbhāṣā work with a slight tinge of Rajasthani and was composed sometime around 1793.

SECULAR LOVE POETRY

We have already taken note of secular love poetry in the Early Period. In the Medieval Period also a large number of works dealing with secular love, in verses and verse mixed with prose, were composed. They are of two types:

First, the author of which is known and is conscious of his creative process. In such poems, narration of connected events is equal to, or more prominent than, the depiction of emotions. Comparatively there is little or negligible interpolation in the text. The theme is generally drawn from literary tradition of antiquity or is imaginary. *Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā*, *Buddhi Rāsau* etc. fall in this category.

Second, the works of unknown authors. The main story is based on some sort of actual happenings. The story and the verses relating to it had been popular among the people and have come down to us mostly through the oral tradition. Their scribed form is a later development to preserve them. It is natural, therefore, that regional thematic differences and variations in the verses are found. Jeṭhwā-Ūjaḷi, Nāgjī-Nāgmatī, Śeṇī-Vijānaṇḍ, Bīnjhā-Soraṭh, Jalāl-Būbanā, etc., are such stories. Many stray verses in the form of dohās and soraṭhās on these stories are available in different manuscripts. Among them, the dohās of *Ḍholā Mārū* are older and more numerous. These dohās are also available in a consolidated form. The verses on these themes are spontaneous expressions of love in many ways and in various situations. They do not necessarily narrate a coherent story as such, only glimpses of the episodes are evident at times. The theme is mostly supplied either by the prevalent tales in prose or prose mixed with verse or by oral tradition. Since the feelings expressed are universal and the style and form similar, many popular verses have intermixed in more than one tale with slight variation. Without authentic manuscripts, it is often difficult to identify and relate such verses to particular tales. Similarly, the stories must have originated from some sort of actual happenings and might have been modified or magnified by the people. It is not possible, on the basis of available material, to judge the historicity of the

characters, their times and deeds. A research in their historicity is generally a futile attempt. In the same way, the name of the original composer has often been lost due to frequent re-working they have received at the hands of successive generations. On account of their universal appeal, common basic emotions, simplicity of expression, and flow of language and style, what was said by one was soon assimilated and generalized by others. Out of hundreds of such tales, basic truth is revealed only in a few. What is significant in them is the genuineness of love and its profundity. They have sprung from the natural emotional human experiences and have, therefore, survived to this day and shall continue to live till love lives.

Betrayal, cruelty, ingratitude, social, religious and economic hindrances, maladjustments and domestic strifes figure in one way or the other in the stories. Fatalism and use of popular poetic usages are common to all stories. There is no revolt against the established traditions; and the lovers either yield to them or seek help to overcome them. Lovers in despair establish affinity with birds, trees, clouds and other objects of nature. The stories pose problems of human relationships, social norms, behaviour and individual actions in love. The verses depict that man is desolate for want of love and that love knows no distinction of caste, creed or status.

We have already mentioned that the tales of *Mādhavānal-Kāmkaṇḍalā* and *Ḍholā-Mārū* were very popular during the Medieval Period. Many popular poems were written on these themes.

Gaṇpati Kāyasth, son of Narasā, composed *Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Prabandh*, in epic style in 1527. It is divided into 8 aṅgas (parts) consisting of 2565 dohās (dogdhaks). The tale of *Mādhavānal* and *Kāmkaṇḍalā* is linked with the Vikram cycle of stories of love and romance. The story of this poem, in brief, is as follows. *Mādhav*, a brahmin 'as handsome as the god of love', lived in *Puṣpāwatī*, where *Goviṇḍcaṇḍra* ruled. His principal queen, *Rudra Mahādevī*, solicited *Mādhav's* love in vain. The angry queen had him exiled. *Mādhav* went to *Rukmāṅgadpurī* where all the young women of the town fell in love with him. The men beseeched King *Rāycaṇḍ* to get rid of

Mādhav. In order to test the intensity of the fascination exercised by Mādhav, Rāycaṇḍ brought him before his queens. Then finding him a danger to his own domestic peace, the King banished him. Wandering about, Mādhav came to Kāmāwati and due to his artistic skill and talent got a respectable place in the court of its King, Kāmsen. There Kāmkaṇḍalā, a courtesan was dancing. A black-bee rested on her dress and bit her breast, but she continued the performance undisturbed. Only Mādhav could notice this and he presented to her the very betel-leaf which was given to him by the King as a mark of honour. This annoyed the King, who ordered him to leave the city. While leaving the city, Kāmkaṇḍalā requested him to stay with her for a night and he did so. Both fell in deep love. Mādhav went to Ujjain and there he wrote in verses his agony of 'virah' on the walls of the temple of Mahākāl. King Vikramāditya, the reliever of distress of the people, read the verses and traced out Mādhav, its writer, with the help of an old courtesan. Knowing Mādhav's love for Kāmkaṇḍalā, Vikram called upon King Kāmsen to facilitate the union of the two lovers and, on Kāmsen's refusal, marched on the city. To test the strength of Kāmkaṇḍalā's love, Vikram first tried in vain to win her over for himself and then conveyed to her the false information of Mādhav's death. She fell dead on hearing this falsehood. Vikram returned and practised a similar ruse on Mādhav by telling him that Kāmkaṇḍalā was dead. Mādhav too died. King Vikram was mortified to think that he had been instrumental in causing the death of these lovers, one of whom was a brahmin and the other a damsel of divine beauty. His ghost friend Vaitāl came to his rescue and restored both the lovers to life. Vikram had them married and the couple lived happily thereafter.

The poem is significant from several points of view. Instead of invoking Saraswati or Gaṇeś, as was usual with poets, Gaṇpati Kāyasth hails Kāmdev, the god of Love and Beauty in the maṅgalācaraṇ. Expression of grief due to separation from the beloved has a style of its own inasmuch as it has been done in the regulated style of a bārah māsā. The third notable point is that in other such poems the beauty of the heroine alone is

described. In this poem, the charms and beauty of both the heroine and hero have been described at length. Description of both the aspects of śṛṅgār, sañyog and viyog, is another feature of the book. The sixth aṅga dealing with Kāmkaṇḍalā's agony of separation is remarkable. The love between the hero and the heroine is an ideal one. The samasyā-prahelikās have been introduced at three places as teasers of the intellect of the hero and the heroine. They cover about 200 verses and are a pastime, besides being tests of intellect. It was a literary feature of the time. The poem contains ample material about the domestic chores, social customs and traditions, religious beliefs, courts, pranks of courtiers and the urban life. The poet has also given in brief stories of the previous births of Mādhav and Kāmkaṇḍalā. The language of the poem is Maru-Gurjar.

This theme attracted many other poets. There were two main reasons for this. Firstly, the tradition and the story include familiar erotic feelings of the lovers in their separation as well as in union. Secondly, the linking of the story to the familiar hero of medieval anecdotes, namely the great Vikramāditya.

Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Caupai by Kuśal Lābh, a Jain poet, is another significant work on this theme. Kuśal Lābh composed the poem in 1559 to satisfy the curiosity of his student, crown-prince Har Rāj of Jaisalmer. It consists of 662 verses, mostly caupais, in easy Rajasthani, including some Sanskrit ślokas and Prakrit gāhās. About four dozen verses, with small variations, are common to this poem and *Ḍholā Mārū*. It remains, however, to be decided to which of these two poems do these verses really belong. The story follows the tale given in Gaṇpati's *Prabaṇḍh* but Kuśal Lābh displays originality in giving different stories about the earlier lives of the lovers.

Yet another notable poem on the theme is Dāmodar's *Mādhavānal Kathā* in 793 dohās. The poem appears to have been composed sometime during the first half of the 17th century. As in Kuśal Lābh's poem, the poet has quoted Sanskrit ślokas and Prakrit gāhās. Some dohās from other popular poems, such as *Ḍholā Mārū*, *Bīñjhā Soraṭh*, Bhīm's *Sadayvatsa*

Vīr Prabandh have also been adopted with minor variations. In order to show the intensity of Mādhav's charms, a new incident has been added by Dāmodar. This is about the miscarriage of the wife of a minister, Manavegi, when she sees Mādhav. But for this, the poet follows Gaṇpati and Kuśal Lābh.

All the three poems are mature literary creations, depicting various emotions of love in a very natural and humorous way.

Ḍholā Mārū rā Dūhā, one of the most well-known and legendary Rajasthani poems, was composed sometime during the middle of the 15th century by some unknown poet. The story of the poem is well known and quite simple. What is remarkable is that, through a simple story, the intense and manifold emotions of love have been expressed in a clear and homely style. It is primarily an emotional poem wherein the 'virah' theme dominates. The messages of virah by Māravaṇi to Ḍholā through human agency of Ḍhāḍhis and through the messengers of nature, such as clouds and birds, convey not only the feelings of the departed love but also the physical throb of it. It is essentially human and has, therefore, a universal appeal. The poem is unique among love poems, and is rich in local colour.

Due to popularity of the theme, many poetic versions and recensions are found, among which, the *Dūhā*, we are presently discussing, and the dohā-caupai version of Kuśal Lābh are more popular. The *Dūhā* version published by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Varanasi, consisting of 674 verses, though a good attempt, requires re-editing, as many verses preserved in manuscripts of different traditions have been included without any textual scrutiny. Such verses are sometimes contrary to each other in contents. The style and the word-forms have been changed arbitrarily. Many of its verses, with slight variations, also occur in other poems, such as *Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Caupai* of Kuśal Lābh and Kabir's sākhis (given in *Kabīr Granthāvalī*, published by Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā), for which no explanation has been given.

With minor variations the story of Ḍholā-Mārū is also popular in the neighbouring regions of Rajasthan.

Mārawaṇi tells the cloud:

The lightning is light and shallow, it dazzles and frightens me, the lonely one. O cloud! You are full of kindly moisture. Your thunder should, therefore, be soft and caressing, to comfort me in my agony.

Mārawaṇi tells the Ḍhāḍhis:

A message in the mouth of an effective messenger can do wonders. It can communicate not only the words of the beloved but can paint in words her tearful image too.

The poet gives a picture of Mārawaṇi while she hands over her message of love to the traveller bound for Ḍholā's land:

With a body full of agony the beloved entrusts her message to her traveller. While she, with her eyes downcast, traces lines on the ground with her toes, the tears flowing from the heart through her eyes tell him the whole message.

Mārawaṇi says:

My love grows in my heart like a tree. The separation makes it shed its leaves and the memory of love sprouts new leaves. This process of daily shedding and sprouting gives me new pains everyday.

Is there no parchment in the hero's land to write a message on or is there no ink or pen? What am I to do without a message from my love?

The Ḍhāḍhi says:

The lightning shines a hundred yojans beyond the seas. Ḍholā stays in all comfort at Narwar, while his beloved Mārawaṇi pines for him in the lanes of Pūgaḷ.

Bisū Cāraṇ describes Mārawaṇī's beauty:

These mortal eyes have never seen another beauty like that of Mārū. Her face gives a light illusion of the morning sun.

Ḍholā Mārawaṇī Caupaī by Kuśal Lābh retells the legend with certain variations. The marriage of Mārū's parents, Rājā Piṅgal and Umā Dewaḍī, is given in a prologue. This is an independent tale and reminds us of narrative poems of the Cāraṇ style in, which genealogical accounts are given. The poet has introduced thematic links to make the main story more comprehensive and intelligible. He has given prior indications about the future course of the tale. His admission that *Ḍholā-Mārū* legend and the *dohās* were traditionally current, that he had included them in his *Caupaī* and added his own verses, provides us a positive clue that in 1550, the time of composition of this *Caupaī*, the *dohās* and the legend were very popular in the North-Western regions of Rajasthan.

The available manuscript of *Buddhi Rāsau* by Jalha is dated 1647 (v.s. 1704) and appears to be a copy of some manuscript written earlier. There is a difference of three verses in numbering. After verse number 63, the next number given is 67 which is serially followed till the end. Thus, instead of a total of 140 verses, as has been mentioned by some scholars, the number is 137. It may be concluded that the poem might have been composed sometime in the latter half of the 16th century, if not earlier. Curiously enough, Jalha or Jalhan was also the name of the son of the poet Caṇḍ Vardāyī (the reputed author of *Pr̥thvīrāj Rāsau*). This led some scholars to believe that the author of *Buddhi Rāsau* and Caṇḍ Vardāyī's son were identical. It has also been maintained that the former was a Jain poet. Both these speculations have no factual basis at all and are untenable.

The story of *Buddhi Rāsau* which appears to be imaginary is briefly as follows: A young prince of Campāwati goes to another country taking with him immense wealth and happens to stay with a young and beautiful courtesan named Jaladhi

Taraṅgiṇi (Putti) for several days. Putti fell in love with him and started regarding the prince as her husband. The prince went back with a promise to return in the coming spring. Henceforth Putti accepted the modest and faithful ways of a married woman. Attā, another courtesan, wise and old, tried to persuade her to continue the usual courtesan's life of seeking wealth. But Putti disregarded her suggestions and remained firm in her fidelity. The prince came back and they lived together happily ever afterwards.

The main part of the poem consists of a dialogue between the two courtesans, young and old, as is also clear from the colophon of the manuscript. Victory of love over worldly wisdom is the real theme of the dialogue.

Attā says: 'O love lorn beauty, see my face carrying the traces of age. Youth is transitory, collect wealth as long as it lasts, O deer-eyed one!'

Putti replies: 'Talk not of the maddening wealth, O mother! My heart is mad with love. I stand in the shadow of my dear one's love and his affection, which covers me like a chatra.'

The plot is simple and the dialogues are sharp, brief, to the point, and effective. The poem is also important from the point of view of language, which is Rajasthani with slight impact of Apabhramśa and mixture of Braj.

Lakhamsen Padamāwatī Caupai was composed in 1459 in easy Rajasthani by Dāmo. It consists of 300 verses, mainly dohā and caupai, divided into three parts. There are also a few Sanskrit ślokas and Prakrit gāhās.

The story is a mixture of miracles, romance and valour. The poet appears to be influenced by the Jain religion, since the hero Lakhamsen considers it impious to dine after sunset. The poem is significant not so much from the point of view of poetic beauty as there is hardly any depiction of love affairs, erotic emotions or heroic actions, as for its record of socio-religious beliefs and antiquity of language. Chance, coincidence and

miracles punctuate the narrative. Description of the physical beauty of the hero and the heroine is only traditional. The story is dotted with maxims which crystallize the consequences of the past events. Three couplets are cited:

There are very few persons who realise other peoples' pains and are happy in their pleasures. Rare also are those who are ready to take upon themselves the tasks of others.

Most men are those who revel in other peoples' troubles and are unhappy in their pleasures, and hide themselves when called upon to fight for their causes.

Lions, falcons and brave people rise every time from their fall, while elephants, sheep, women's breasts and the cowardly persons cannot rise once they have fallen.

The available verses regarding the story of Jeṭhwā-Ūjaḷi, about a hundred in number, known as *Jeṭhwai rā Sorāḥā* (or *dohā*) are addressed by Ūjaḷi to her lover Jeṭhwā. They do not tell the story. The story and some of the verses, have come down to us through oral tradition. A Gujarati version, with slight linguistic difference, is equally popular in Gujarat. These sorāḥās are found scattered in various manuscripts dating from the 17th century onwards. The original sorāḥās might have been composed around 1500. The story in brief is as follows:

Prince Jeṭhwā, of the capital city Dhūmalī, went hunting. While on his saddle, he lost consciousness due to the fury of rain and storm. The steed took him to the hut of a Cāraṇ, Amarā by name. Amarā and his young daughter Ūjaḷi tried their best to revive him. Amarā, being a poor man, did not have enough covering to provide warmth to Jeṭhwā's body. He, therefore, thought of asking his young daughter to hold Jeṭhwā in the warmth of her naked embrace. He told the daughter that if the unconscious young man happened to be of the same caste as theirs, he would give her in marriage to him. Ūjaḷi did as she was bid and succeeded in restoring consciousness to Jeṭhwā. Jeṭhwā assured Ūjaḷi that he would marry her. Their chance-

union in distress turned into deep love. But, on learning that Ūjaḷi was a Cāraṇ girl, Jeṭhwā was perplexed, because traditionally marriage between a Rājput and a Cāraṇ was prohibited. Feeling bound by this custom, Jeṭhwā gave up the idea of marrying Ūjaḷi and stayed back in the palace. Ūjaḷi could not meet him thereafter.

The verses spoken by Ūjaḷi delineate her virah in many ways, imploring Jeṭhwā to accept the call of love and meet her. There are fine expressions of love, lingering grief, agony of separation, persuasion, prayer and eager expectation of reunion. The disappointment born of limitations of womanhood and apprehensions of a futile existence of continued separation are intensely portrayed. Ūjaḷi addresses Jeṭhwā:

How to live without you? Even the deer of the forest would not care to live when the bond is broken!

How shall the dirty water of a petty pond satisfy one who has drunk deep at Mānsarowar?

The high is beyond reach, the low is unacceptable. Mine is a life wasted in this devastating dilemma.

I failed to find the real temple of the deity and wasted life worshipping at an empty temple.

All the waters are one, so are all human beings. Forget the differences my dear and come, O my suitor, like a raining cloud to quench my thirst of love.

Pouring clouds surround the earth and shower it lavishly. What luck! Not a drop of it is meant for me!

You have charmed me with the music of love from the strings of your viṇā. Look at me, I value your sweet traits and do not bother about your caste.

About 80 scattered verses on the story of Śeṇi-Vijānaṇḍ,

available in different manuscripts, seem to have been written in the 18th century and thereafter. Initially, the verses might have been composed in the 16th century. The story is as follows:

Vijānaṅd, a poor Cāraṅ, was very proficient in playing on viṅā. Śeṅi, young daughter of a wealthy Cāraṅ, Vedā, used to listen to his viṅā. Gradually both of them fell in love. Vijānaṅd asked for Śeṅi's hand in marriage, but Vedā agreed to give Śeṅi in marriage only on condition that Vijānaṅd should bring Vedā within one year, 101 buffaloes bearing moon-like white spots all over their black bodies. Vijānaṅd could not fulfil the condition within the stipulated period. Śeṅi had taken a vow to marry Vijānaṅd and none else. When Vijā did not appear at the end of the stipulated time, Śeṅi's disappointment took her to the Himalayas. She decided to freeze herself to death in the snows of the Himalayas. Vijā returned, and, on learning about Śeṅi's Himalayan destination, pursued her. When Vijā reached the Himalayas, he found Śeṅi on the point of death. He tried to persuade her to return but she couldn't. However, she requested Vijā to play viṅā till she breathed her last. Vijā did so and saw her die. Vijā went mad and died soon after.

Śeṅi's dedicated and deep love for Vijā has been depicted with intensity and pathos. Everything is useless to Śeṅi without Vijā's love. She longs to be anything, provided she could be of service to her lover. Śeṅi says:

Of what use are these soft red arms of mine, decorated with red bangles, if they can not be thrown round the neck of Viṅjhā.

A whole year has gone round and the rain clouds have returned giving a greenish glow to the earth. Only Śeṅi looks dried up since Vijānaṅd has not returned.

O Lord! that I were a bāwaḍi (step-well) on the desert-way through which Vijā passes, so that he would put one foot on the step of that well to wash his apparel.

O Lord! that I were a nim (margosa) tree on Vijā's path

so that he would graze his camel under its cool shade.

Śeṇī entrusts a message to the Himalayas for communication to Vijānaṅḍ, 'O Vijānaṅḍ! be dead Śeṇī's guest on the bank of a Himalayan lake.'

Seeing herself sinking every moment, she says in despair to Vijānaṅḍ who has arrived, 'Nearly the whole of my body has frozen. It is now impossible for me to go back with you. O Vijānaṅḍ! you have to return disappointed.'

The traditional oral version of the story of Nāgji-Nāgwanṭī (Nāgmatī) has some thematic variations. Such variations are also found in the available texts in various manuscripts. Its scattered verses, about 50 in number, are available in manuscripts scribed in the 18th century and thereafter. The original composition of some of them may date back to the 16th century. In some verses, the name of the heroine is given as Suganā. The gist of the story is as follows:

Nāgji fell in love with Nāgmatī. Nāgji's elder brother's wife arranged their marriage in secret. Due to ignorance of this marriage, Nāgmatī's father performed her marriage with another man to whom she was earlier betrothed. Soon after, Nāgji came to meet Nāgmatī and was greatly grieved to find her married to another person. He left Nāgmatī and committed suicide. Nāgmatī came in search of Nāgji and found him dead. Then she left with her husband for the village of her in-laws. The road passed by the śmaśān, where Nāgji's body was burning. Nāgmatī could not contain her grief, got down from the cart and threw herself on the funeral pyre of Nāgji and burnt herself.

The charm of the poem lies in the portrayal of the disappointment which Nāgmatī experienced on discovering the dead body of Nāgji, her real husband, and in the description of her tearful grief on finding that her lover and lord had preferred death to separation from her.

As Nāgmatī goes after Nāgji thinking he has gone away in anger, she says:

Be as usurious as a Banjārā in your extraction of love from me, but O my love! don't break your custom with me!

O Nāgji! You are not answering my repeated calls. Remember my love! You will later have to make entreaties for my response.

Standing by the funeral pyre of Nāgji, she says:

O Nāgji! the love of early youth may become dormant but cannot disappear, like the betel creeper which may not yield flowers but does not cease to flourish.

The available earliest manuscript containing 41 verses relating to the story of Bīnjhā-Soraṭh is dated 1661. About another 75 verses are found in various other manuscripts. The original composition might have been in the early 16th century. It appears from some old dohās that the actual name of the heroine Soraṭh was Sonal: 'Rāv Kheṅgār saw Sonal and Bīnjhā in embrace. He controlled his anger and covered the two with a cloth'.

There are different versions of the tale. The popular Rajasthani version is as under:

Soraṭh, a beautiful young lady, was first married to a wealthy nomad Rājā Rūr. He was invited for gambling by Rāv Kheṅgār of Girnār. The Rāv, already charmed by Soraṭh's beauty, wanted to obtain her. Rūr lost everything in gambling including his wife Soraṭh. Bīnjhā, a relation of Kheṅgār, himself fell in love with Soraṭh while bringing her to the Rāv's palace. He used to meet Soraṭh secretly. Once Kheṅgār discovered them and consequently banished Bīnjhā. Bīnjhā sought the help of the Nawab of Pāṭaṇ. Kheṅgār was killed in the battle, but Bīnjhā failed to get Soraṭh, for she was taken away by the Nawab. Bīnjhā could not live without Soraṭh and died. Soraṭh, however, managed to come to the funeral of her lover Bīnjhā and there gave up her own life in the hope of meeting him in the next life.

In the verses Soraṭh's longings for her lover, her emotions

of love and grief and sentiments of pathos have been expressed in a straightforward manner. The poet has drawn a charming picture of Sorath's beauty.

Sorath descended from her palace in the fort. The anklets on her feet produced sweet music, and her footsteps made the fort of Girnār and its kaṅgūrās (battlements) tremble with emotion.

O Sorath! a beauty with well-dressed hair, do not look towards the moon, lest the moon fall unconscious and the twilight turn into darkness.

Sorath yearns for Biṅjhā:

I met Biṅjhā in the corridor and hungered for his embrace. O Biṅjhā! my dear one, I may be a queen for anybody else, for you I am the dust of your feet.

About 110 dohās relating to the story of Jalāl-Būbanā are available. These were probably composed during the latter half of the 16th and the early 17th century. The story, in brief, is as under:

Gāhṇī, the sister of King Mṛgatamāyaci of Thaṭṭā Bhākhar, was married to Kulanahasib, the King of Balakh, with his capital at Gajanipur. After the death of Kulanahasib, due to the rebellion of the jāgirdārs at the capital, Gāhṇī came to Thaṭṭā Bhākhar with her two sons, of whom Jalāl became the favourite of King Mṛgatamāyaci. Bhaṅwar, the King of Siṅdh Samudra, had two daughters, Mūmanā and Būbanā. Bhaṅwar wanted to give Mūmanā in marriage to Mṛgatamāyaci and Būbanā to Jalāl. But Mṛgatamāyaci himself wanted to marry Būbanā, the betrothed of Jalāl and had his wish fulfilled by bribing the Kazi. Jalāl was thus married to Mūmanā. As luck would have it, Būbanā became Jalāl's maternal aunt, instead of wife. But their love became even more profound thereafter. Though they often met secretly, the two could not come together and died of grief.

In the oral tradition the tale thus sung is tragic but in the written form Jalāl and Būbanā are restored back to life from the grave by Śiv and Pārwatī. This is a later variation to give a happy ending to the story. This incident of Śiv and Pārwatī conferring new life on Muslim lovers indicates the mutual respect of both the communities in those times. In the written form the treatment of love is a little different from the other love stories. Here the love begins with physical attraction, and leads to amorous dalliance and sexual fulfilment. Then love becomes the only factor deciding their life and death. Both the aspects of śṛṅgār, sanyog and viyog, have been treated with unusual frankness. There are occasional touches of pathos, too. In the traditional oral version there is no supernatural element in the story. The lovers submit to the fate.

Jalāl says:

I have pledged my life and soul to my dear one. If I live, I have the pleasure to meet her. If I die (in battle), I reach the high heavens.

Būbanā says:

No letter could express my boundless love for my beloved. My love is as vast as an ocean. The dimensions of a letter are but a small pitcher to fill it in!

Let none catch the infection of love which is like a secret enemy. It burns the beautiful body without visible flame and smoke.

My body lies at home, and my soul flies to the beloved. My heart burns with anxiety. O far off dear! You are like a flower which seems to blossom without a creeper.

When Jalāl, takes leave of Būbanā after a meeting, she says:

My tongue refuses to tell you 'go'! But my heart wishes

you well, wherever you be. All joy forsakes me when you are away. My pleasure returns only with your coming.

PROSODY, RHETORIC AND LEXICON

Many books on prosody have been written in Rajasthani. Some of them also include rhetoric and lexicon.

The earliest available book on prosody is *Piṅgol Sīromanī*, said to be the work of the Jain poet Kuśal Lābh already mentioned.

Hari Piṅgal Prabandh was composed in 1664 by Cāraṇ Jogidās Kuṅāriyā (1613-1683 approx.) at the instance of his patron Mahārāwat Harisiṅha (1628-1673) of Pratapgarh. It is divided into three chapters. The first deals with Kāvya prayoḥjan, guru, laghu, gaṇ, explanation of prastār, names and lakṣaṇ (characteristics) of mātrik metres, 'kāvya doṣ' (poetic flaws) etc. The second chapter explains varṇik (syllabic) metres, their types and lakṣaṇ. After dealing with daṇḍak metre, 22 types of Ḍiṅgal gīts are explained. The third chapter describes the genealogy, attributes, and deeds of Harisiṅha and his battle with the Paṭhāns. The book is named after Harisiṅha. Jogidās was a good poet. His Ḍiṅgal gīt on Shivāji Marāṭhā is inspiring.

Piṅgal Prakāś, *Lakhpat Piṅgal* and *Hamīr Nām Mālā* are by Cāraṇ Hamīrdān Ratanū (first half of the 18th century). *Piṅgal Prakāś*, composed in 1711, is divided into two parts dealing respectively with mātrik and varṇik (syllabic) metres. It deals with 71 types of chappay, 23 of dohā, and 26 of gāthā, selecting illustrations in praise of God. *Lakhpat Piṅgal*, divided into four chapters, explains various types of metres, 26 of gāthās, 24 of Ḍiṅgal gīts, aṣṭ pratyay etc. The gīts are mostly in praise of Lakhpat, the poet's patron. *Hamīr Nām Mālā*, consisting of 311 verses, is a dictionary of synonyms, particularly of literary Rajasthani words.

Raghunāth Rūpak Gītāñ rō, composed in 1806 by Manasāram (Mañcch Kavi) (1770-1833), gained popularity due to its brevity, clarity and systematic treatment. Mañcch was a favourite

poet of Mahārājā Mānsiṅha of Jodhpur. The book is divided into 9 vilāsas (cantos). The first two deal with topics such as laghu, guru, varṇ, gaṇ, dagdhākṣar, vayan sagāi (alliteration), kāvya doṣ, ukti (statement) and its types, rasas and their lakṣaṇ (characteristics) etc. The rest seven vilāsas explain mainly 72 types of Ḍiṅgal gīts, the prose styles, dawāvait and vacanikā, jathā (a special system of poetic composition), nīsāṇī and kuṇḍaliyā metres, with their characteristics and illustrations. It is significant that the complete story of Lord Ram is given through examples in these seven vilāsas. The illustrative part is charming narrative poetry and is important in the tradition of Ram-poetry. Another poem of his *Ghāṇerāv kī gazal* has already been mentioned.

Ādhā Kisanā II wrote most of his works in the first half of the 19th century. His *Raghuvar Jas Prakās*, a lakṣaṇ poetry composed in 1824, is another important treatise, divided into five parts. The first explains gaṇ, dagdhākṣar, laghu, guru, varṇas etc. The second deals with 224 mātrik metres, prose styles, including dawāvait, vacanikā and citra-kāvya pertaining to Ḍiṅgal gīts. The third deals with different types of chappay, and 117 syllabic metres. The fourth deals with 91 types of Ḍiṅgal gīts along with their essential features such as vayan sagāi, ukti, jathā, doṣ, rules of composition etc. The last part explains 12 main types of nīsāṇī with their sub-divisions and kaḍakhā, a 'mātrik' metre. While dealing with these topics, the poet has exalted Lord Ram, and hence the title of the book. The explanations in poetry and prose are lucid. Elucidation of chappayas, gīts, their essentials and nīsāṇī is the characteristic of this book. Kisanā has also referred to other works on the subject, such as *Lakṣpat Piṅgal*, *Hari Piṅgal*, and *Raghuṇāth Rūpak*.

Kisanā was a favourite poet of Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṅha of Mewār, who granted him the village Sīsodā. At the instance of the Mahārāṇā, he composed, in 1822, *Bhīm Vilās* describing in detail the Mahārāṇā's genealogy, life and polity. Besides being a good poem, it has historical significance. Kavirājā Śyāmaladās, in writing his *Vīr Vinod*, has drawn upon *Bhīm Vilās*. It is mostly in Piṅgal and as such is outside the purview

of this history. His stray Ḍiṅgal gīts on contemporaries such as Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṅha, Mahārājā Mānsiṅha of Jodhpur, and Mahārājā Balwaṅtsiṅha of Ratlām are of historical significance.

Udayrām Gūṅgā's *Kavikul Bodh* is also a notable book in this tradition. Divided into ten taraṅgas, it deals with gīts, their types and jathās, armament and weapons, dialogue between Ḍiṅgal and Piṅgal, ukṭi, ras, Awadhān Mālā, Ekākṣarī Nām Mālā and Anekārthī Nām Mālā. The last three are lists of synonyms and mono-syllables. Udayrām has systematically explained 84 types of Ḍiṅgal gīts, 18 types of ukṭi, 21 types of jathās, etc. A resident of village Thabūkaḍā, Udayrām was a contemporary of Mahārājā Mānsiṅha (1782-1843) of Jodhpur. He was a favourite poet of Rājā Bhārmal of Kacch-Bhuj and his son Desalji II. He praises Desalji in his illustrations.

Other important contributions in this field include *Rūpdīp Piṅgal* by Harikisan of Jodhpur, *Chand Diwākar* by Siṅdhāyac Hardān of Mogaḍā, *Ḍiṅgal Koṣ* by Kavirājā Murāridān of Bundi, *Raṅ Piṅgal* (in 3 parts) by Dīwān Raṅchoḍ Dās of Rajkot, *Pratyay Payodhar* by Kaviyā Hiṅglājdān of Sewāpurā, and *Mahābhārat Rūpak* by Sāṅwaldān Āsiyā of Kaḍiyān. *Ḍiṅgal Koṣ* is primarily a dictionary of synonyms but also deals with fifteen types of Ḍiṅgal gīts. *Nāgrāj Ḍiṅgal Koṣ* is another dictionary of synonyms.

PROSE

From the point of view of antiquity, continuity, variety, extent and beauty, Rajasthani is rich in prose-writing. Prose may be divided into the following heads: (1) Religious, (2) Historical, (3) Creative, and (4) Miscellaneous, including translations.

Religious Prose

Religious writings by the Jains, particularly in the form of Bālāvbodh and Ṭabbā are important. They are written to explain the Sanskrit and Prakrit religious texts.

In *Bālāvboḍh* the main point is elucidated. In order to make it intelligible to lay readers, popular contextual kathās (stories) are given. Such kathās are notable not only as aids to understanding but also occasionally provide examples of creative prose. They provide material for study of linguistic developments.

In *Ṭabbā* mostly the word-meanings or literal translations are given.

The early available specimens of prose writing are those of Jains. An *Ārāḍhanā* scribed on palm leaf in 1273 is the earliest specimen of prose. *Navkār Vyākhyān* (1301), *Sarva Tīrth Namaskār Stavan* (1302), and *Aticār* (1312) are other such examples. These are short notes on religious matters and use technical terminology.

Examples of mature and fluent prose are available for the first time in Taruṅ Prabh Sūri's *Ṣaḍāvaśyak Bālāvboḍh* written in 1354. Many contextual kathās given in it provide good examples of creative prose. Hundreds of kathās were continuously written in this style in subsequent years up to the 19th century.

In 1421 Māṅkiyacaṅdra Sūri wrote *Pṛthvīcaṅdra Caritra* (*Vāḡvilās*) in rhymed prose. It is a unique descriptive work. Though it tells the love-story of Rājā Pṛthvīcaṅdra of Paiṭhāṅpur Pāṭaṅ and Ratnamaṅjarī, the daughter of Rājā Somdev of Ayodhyā, its main object, as the name *Vāḡvilās* suggests, is a vivid and ornamental depiction of objects and surroundings. Lively descriptions of places, seasons, rivers, mountains, jungles, court, army, elephants, horses, battles, marriages, etc., have been given. Descriptions particularly of nature and seasons are given with minute details, selective similes and diction. This tradition has been enriched by many writers. Such descriptions under the titles *Sabhā Śṛṅgār* and *Vaṛṅak-Samuccaya* (in 2 parts) have been published respectively by the Nāgarī Pracāriṅī Sabhā and M.S. University, G.O.S., Baroda.

Jītmaljī (Jayācārya) (1803-1881), the fourth Ācārya of Terāpaṅth (Śwetāṅbar) sampradāy, was probably the greatest kathā writer of the 19th century. He wrote a large number of kathās.

Apart from religious prose writings, many historical and creative works were written during the first half of the 15th century. *Acaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā*, composed sometime between 1430 and 1435, is a pioneer work in this respect. It contains passages of charming rhymed prose. We have already referred to it.

Historical Prose

Jain chronicles of sects, gacchas, Ācāryas, caste or family, etc., are important for history but the literary element is negligible in them. This is also true of works other than Jain works.

Historical and heroic prose has been written in abundance. It is important from the point of view of history, culture and literature, and is available in various forms such as (1) Vañśāwalī, (2) Piḍhiyāwalī, (3) Paṭṭāwalī, (4) Khyāt, (5) Vāt or Bāt, (6) Vigat, (7) Hakigat, (8) Hāl, (9) Vacanikā, and (10) Dawāvait. The first three are genealogical in nature. Khyāt is history and includes Vañśāwalī. Generally it consists of connected narratives and descriptions. Vāt means a story and provides description or short history of some person, event, community, context etc. Vigat gives an account of any place, object etc. *Mārwaḍ rā Parganān rī Vigat* by Muḥnot Naiṅsī (1610-1670) (published in 3 parts) is a landmark in this field. It is a survey and gazetteer of the Mārwaḍ State. Hakigat and Hāl (*Sāṅkhalā Dahiyān sūn Jāṅglū liyo tairo Hāl*, *Pātsāh Orangzeb rī Hakigat*, etc.) give an elaborate description of an event or context. Vacanikā and Dawāvait consist of verses and passages of rhymed prose. *Acaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā* by Gāḍaṅ Sivdās, *Vacanikā Rāṭhaud Ratansīnghjī Mahesdāsaut rī* by Khīḍiyā Jaggā and *Mātājī rī Vacanikā* by Jay Caṅd Jatī are well known. *Dawāvait Narsīngh Dās Gauḍ kī* by Bhāṭ Mālīdās, *Mahārājā Ajītsīnghjī kī Dawāvait* by Dwārkaḍās Dadhwāḍiyā, and *Mahārāj Ratansīnghjī kī Dawāvait* by Siṅḍhāyac Dayāldās are some notable Dawāvait. Sometimes it is difficult to make a clear distinction between Khyāt, Vāt and even Vañśāwalī. These are all either descriptive, narrative or informative. Lively and touching descriptions are sometimes found in such works.

The earliest available Khyāt is *Rāṭhoḍān rī Vaṅsāwalī Sīhaijī sūn Kalyāṅmaljī tān* composed around 1573 by an anonymous author. Though named *Vaṅsāwalī* (genealogy) it is in fact a khyāt. From the time of Akbar, the system of writing khyāt became popular. Almost all the kings, even Jāgīrdārs and Ṭhākurs, had their khyāts prepared. Individual efforts were also made in this respect. The khyāts of Muḥnot Naiṅsī (1610-1670), Āsiyā Bānkīdās (1781-1833) and Siṅḍhāyac Dayāldās (1798-1891) are well known and popular. All these, particularly the first and the third, are significant contributions to history, culture and literature. The khyāts of Naiṅsī and Dayāldās are good examples of standard, fluent, and sometimes creative Rajasthani prose, and provide very useful information about many poets, and specimens of known and unknown poems. The antiquity of Bādar Ḍhāḍhī's *Nīsāṅīs (Vīrmāyaṅ)*, and times of earlier Cāraṅ poets, such as Gāḍaṅ Pasāyat, Khidiyā Cānaṅ and others, are established or corroborated by Naiṅsī's *Khyāt*. His *Mārwaḍ rā Parganān rī Vigat* is equally important in this respect. Naiṅsī's *Khyāt* is a repository of medieval Rājput and Rajasthan history. Bānkīdās's *Khyāt* consists of stray and short notes on numerous historical and other topics. Like Naiṅsī's, the *Khyāt* by Dayāldās is important. It deals with the history of the Rāṭhores, particularly of the Bikaner family. His two other books, *Deś Darpaṅ* and *Āryākhyān Kalpadrum* are also notable contributions to history.

Another important historical work is *Dalpat Vilās*, composed by an anonymous author around 1600, about the early life of Dalpatsiṅha (1564-1613), the son of Rājā Rāysiṅha of Bikaner. There are other relevant narratives also in it and it provides interesting glimpses of the Mughal court. The available manuscript is incomplete, "otherwise it might have rivalled in utility as well as in interest much better known histories like the *Akbar Nāmā*, the *Muntakhab-ul-tawārikh* and the *Tabāqat-i-Akbarī*. It helps to correct many mistakes of the writers on Mughal history."¹ It is also important from the literary point of view as it depicts, on the basis of personal knowledge, the

¹Dashrath Sharma, ed., *Dayāldās rī Khyāt*, (Pt. II), Intr. pp. 5-6.

life of a contemporary historical character. It is a good example of mature Rajasthani prose of the 16th century.

Creative Prose

Vāg Vilās and *Acaldās Khīcī rī Vacanikā*, already mentioned, are the earliest examples of creative prose. Both are in vacanikā style.

The Vāt or Bāt literature ranks high in this field. Vāts are meant for actual story-telling in a particular style. There existed a sort of personal touch between the talker and the listeners. The 'hūnkārā' or to utter 'hūn' to express assent was essential from one of the listeners. Their main purpose was pastime but they also abound in knowledge. They are portraits of individual characters (*Har Rāj rai Naiṇān rī Vāt*, *Mahārāj Padamsiṅgh rī Vāt*, *Hardās Ūhaḍ rī Vāt*, etc.), descriptions of community or assemblage (*Bhāṭiyān rī Vāt*, *Buṇdelān rī Vāt*, *Sāṅcaur rai Cahuvāṇān rī Vāt*, etc.) and description or narration of events, places and situations (*Rāv Bīkai Bīkāner Basāyo Tai Samai rī Vāt*, *Narwad Sattāwat Supiyārde Lāyau Tai Samai rī Vāt*, etc.). The vāts are to be fully enjoyed in their environmental entirety, such as the skill of the talker, the style, curiosity of the listener and the time. Much of their charm is lost in reading. Mostly the vāts have come from oral traditions, from generation to generation. In order to keep the tradition alive the vāts came to be written in the 17th century and onwards. Their antiquity and authorship is not known. In fact, they belong to folk-literature and have been changing with the march of time. Hundreds of vāts of all sorts and sizes are available in various manuscripts. Some major vāts, such as *Kuṅwarsī Sāṅkhalo*, *Rāhab Sāhab*, and *Bāt Bagsīrām Prohit Hīrān kī*, and many minor ones, have been published.

Certain vāts have been composed by known individuals in the traditional form and style. Vyās Bhawānīdās's *Rājā Bhoj rī Paṅdarvīn Vidyā rī Bāt*, Mahārājā Bahādursiṅha's *Rāwat Pratāpsīṅgh Mhokamsīṅgh Harisīṅghot rī Vāt*, Kṛpārām Vaṅsur's *Saguṇā Satrasāl rī Bāt*, and Cāraṇ Narbad's *Rājā Risālū rī Vārtā* are such vāts. Vāts, Ḍiṅgal gīts and dohās are available in profusion.

The themes of the vāts are heroism (*Kuñwar Raṅmal rī Vāt*, *Rājā Narsiṅgh rī Vāt*, *Rājā Bhīm rī Vāt*, etc.), love (*Ḍholā Mārū*, *Jalāl Būbanā*, *Mūmaḷ Maheṅdra*, etc.), humour (*Cyār Mūrkhān rī Vāt*, *Khudāy Bāwalī rī Vāt*, *Phophānaṅd rī Vāt*, *Popāṅbāi rī Vāt*, etc.), nīti (ethics) (*Godāwarī Tīr rai Jogī rī Vāt*, *Baṅdhī Buhārī rī Vāt*, *Akal rī Vāt*, etc.), curiosity (*Māndhātā rī Vāt*, *Jijī Ḍābhī rī Vāt*, *Māṅḍaṅsī Kūmpāwat rī Vāt*, etc.) and nirved (detachment) (*Rāwaḷ Mallināth Paṅth Meṅ Āyau Tai rī Vāt*, *Rāmdē Tuñwar rī Vāt*, etc.).

The plots of the vāts are either (1) historical, (2) semi-historical or (3) imaginary. The first deals with genealogies, and historical characters or events in detail. *Mohilān rī Vāt* and *Rāv Jodhai rai Beṭān rī Vāt* are such vāts. In the second type, the character or event is historical but set in imaginary incidents and descriptions. Such vāts are interesting and appealing, and are important from the point of view of literary art. The third type includes vāts about imaginary characters and events. The supernatural element is comparatively more frequent and conspicuous. Even birds and beasts are ascribed human qualities. *Rājā Bhoj ar Khāparai Cor rī Vāt*, and *Sāhūkār rī Vāt* are such vāts.

The style of a vāt is interesting. This is narrative (*Palak Dariyāv rī Vāt*), descriptive (*Khīcī Gaṅgev Nīmbāwat ro Beporo*), contemplative (*Jasnāth Jāṭ rī Vāt*, *Māgh Piṅḍat*, *Rājā Bhoj ar Ḍokarī rī Vāt*, etc.) or sentimental (*Jaitasī Ūdāwat rī Vāt*, *Pīṭhvai Cāraṅ rī Vāt*, *Rājā Bhīm rī Vāt*, etc.).

Certain vāts are excellent literary compositions, for their brevity, selective diction, vivid description, suggestiveness and depth of emotion, the type of which is rarely found in modern literature. *Vīnjhrai Ahīr rī Vāt* is one such example. A village girl goes to meet her lover at night and innocently addresses him as 'vīrā' (brother). Soon after, the meaning and sanctity of the word come to her mind and, suppressing all desire, she returns.

Many stories, illustrative of proverbs or sayings, or 'proverb-based stories' are a unique feature of the vāt literature. Such stories provide interesting clues to the origin of many proverbs or sayings. Hundreds of such stories have been published. A

few examples are stories relating to *Mār Kai āgai bhūt bhāgai*, *Āgai saiñ pāchā bhalā*, *Mujrai kā māryā marāñ hāñ*, *Beh kā ghālyā nā ṭalai*, *Ādamī Konī Kamāvai ādamī ko din kamāvai*, *Tūñ veśyā maiñ bhāñḍ*, *Rām kai ghar der hai añdher konī*, *Bāt bhalī din pādharā*, *Sampat hai jaṭhai lichmī hai*, *Tarwār ko ghāv bharjyāvai jībh ko ghāv konī bharai*, and *Gaḍḍūñ kai baḷūñ*.¹

Though the *kathā* is a synonym to *vāt*, it primarily deals with the religious and mythological topics. *Kathās*, smaller, such as *Vaisākh Mahātām rī Kathā*, and *Kājalī Tij rī Kathā*, and larger, such as *Rām Kathā*, are available in abundance, particularly the former.

The language of the *vāts* is mostly Rajasthani and Rajasthani mixed with *Khaḍī Bolī* and Urdu (*Bahlīmā rī Vāt*, *Rāhāb Sāhāb*, etc.) and that of *kathā* is Rajasthani and Rajasthani mixed with Braj.

Miscellaneous

Good examples of prose are found in various records, letters, inscriptions, recollections and reminiscences.

Rajasthani versions of *Vaital Pañcviñśtikā* and other such story books are available. Deīdān Nāitā's *Vaitāl Paccīsī* is one such example.

1. One would very much like to translate these proverbs. Students of literature, however, know that proverbs are untranslatable due to special use of words and play upon their cultural connotation.

CHAPTER IV

Folk Literature

The folk literature of Rajasthan is so rich, varied and lively that a separate book is necessary to bring out its beauty and importance. In this history only a broad outline is possible. It may be divided under the following heads: (1) Folk-songs or Lok Gīt, (2) Ballads or Lok Gāthā, (3) Folk-tales or Lok Kathā, (4) Folk-plays or Lok Nāṭya, and (5) Lok Subhāṣit, including proverbs, sayings and idioms.

(1) *Folk-songs (Lok Gīt)*

Folk-songs are the natural expression of human emotion and pertain to religious or other aspects of life. Songs relating to rituals, worship, 'jāgaraṇ' etc., are religious, as distinct from those pertaining to particular occasions, events and other aspects of human life. Hundreds of folk-songs have been published by different scholars.

An important point to be noted with regard to religious songs is their origin and tradition. On the one hand, many songs called 'Sabad' of Nirguṇ type and 'Bhajan' or 'Harjas' of Saguṇ type go by the names of composers like Gorakh, Bharatarī, Kabīr, Harjī Bhāṭī, Rūpānde, Mīrān Bāī, Caṅdra-sakhī, Bakhtāwar, Tulasīdās and others. Such popular songs or padas carrying names of famous saints or sabad-writers are not in all cases their own compositions. They are in fact folk-songs and names of famous saints are attached to them to ensure

their acceptance and popularity. On the other hand, padas of some persons, such as Jaitgiri, Likhamoji Māli, Dip Purī, Ghāsī Rām, Viṣṇudās, Jatī Bhaggā Bābājī Pañwār, Āśā Bhāratī, Sañt Devāyat, Nārāyañjī, Pañcojī, Bagasojī Khātī and Nemā Rām have now acquired the form of folk-songs and should be treated as such.

Many folk-songs about the famous folk-gods like Gogoji, Pābūjī, and Rāmdevjī are popular. A mention may be made of padas, popular amongst the folk, said to be the creation of one of the five famous Pīrs of Rajasthan, Rāmdevjī (1418-1458 approx). These are of two types: (1) *Caubīs Pramāṇ* and (2) Songs (or Sabads).

Both are stray padas on devotional topics containing his precepts. In the *Caubīs Pramāṇ*, his views on twenty-four topics like guru, māya, gyān, bhaktī, bhāv, sākhi, Alakh, and āgam are given. This is deemed to be a sacred book by the believers. A sect bearing names like Pramāṇī, Viśwāsī, Bīsnāmī, and Mahādharma is said to exist, and accepts these Pramāṇs to be its scripture. The songs are on Nirguṇ bhakti, exaltation of God and guru, emphasis on self-realization, freedom from idolatory, warnings and preachings. The feelings have been expressed with ease and intensity in popular Rajasthani. Besides the songs mostly available in oral tradition, the existence of a manuscript said to be about two hundred years old also supports the *Caubīs Pramāṇ*. However, the compositions of Rāmdevjī require further investigation. Till then we may consider these padas as folk-lore bearing Rāmdevjī's name.

It is interesting to note that certain devotional songs have been composed on the pattern of popular traditional folk-songs. Many padas popular in the name of Mīrāñ Bāī are composed on the pattern of Banaḍā and Jañwāī class of folk-songs. Collection and study of this unpublished but popular sañt-vāñī is essential, as it may reveal many interesting facts. Some songs form a class by themselves. A few such classes are: (1) Banaḍā (bridegroom), (2) Jañwāī (son-in-law), (3) Olyūñ (memory), (4) Jalāl (songs based on the love-story of Jalāl-Būbanā), (5) Ḍaph (tambourine, songs sung to its accompaniment during Holi festival, also called 'Dhamāl' or Hoḷī), (6)

Badhāwā (songs sung on festive and auspicious occasions), (7) Ghoḍī (songs sung at the time when the bridegroom rides a mare), (8) Gaṅgaur (songs on a festival), (9) Bhāt (songs on a ceremony connected with marriage), (10) Rātijago (songs sung during the night in marriage ceremonies), and (11) Tij (songs sung at the time of a popular festival during the monsoon).

Many such songs are classical. *Olyūn*, *Paṇihārī*, *Pīṇpaḷī*, *Sapano*, *Mūmaḷ*, *Gaṅgaur*, *Jaiwāī*, *Ghūgharī* etc., are a few examples. They are also popular for their tunes. Bidāī songs, relating to daughter's departure from the parental home, after marriage, are full of pathos. Songs of Haras and Jīṇ depict affectionate relationship between a brother and a sister.

The historicity of hundreds of folk-songs is known. M.D. Desai, in his *Jain Gurjar Kavio* (Part III, Vol. II), has given a list of about 2500 deśīs (refrains) of different popular folk-songs on the basis of which Jain poets composed their poems. This tendency is noticeable from the 16th century onwards. Refrains of a few old songs are given below, the folk-songs relating to which are still popular: (1) *Ṭoḍarmal Jītiyo re* (1609), (2) *Jhirmir jhirmir ho sel Mārū varselo meḥ* (1710), (3) *Sarwar pāṇī lañjā Mārū mhe gayā ho rōjī* (1694), (4) *Sāt sopārī hāth joṣī pūchaṇ dhaṇ gaī* (1685), (5) *Mhāne de ne naṇḍaḷ pomaco* (1694), (6) *Ghar āvoḷī āmbo mohoriyo* (1722), (7) *Ḍholā raho to hūñ rāndhūñ khī-cadī* (1801), (8) *Varsāḷī Hoḷī āvī prāhuṇī re* (1616), (9) *Juo juo naṇḍaḷ jāṅgiḍā nūñ rūp* (1667), (10) *Viñjārā re lok desāurī thāy* (1608), and (11) *Āj sahar meḥ suratā jogīsar āyājī* (1761).

Among the pioneers in the study of folk-songs are N.D. Swāmī, Rām Siṅha Taṅwar and Sūrya Karaṇ Pārīk. Manohar Śarmā and Goviṇḍ Agrawāl have rendered remarkable service in this respect. Lakṣmī Kumārī Cūṇḍāwat, Dindayāl Ojhā, Gaṅpatī Swāmī, Puruṣottam Menāriyā, Swarṇlatā Agrawāl, and Śivsiṅha Coyal have made significant contribution to the study of folk-songs.

(2) Ballads (Lok Gāthā)

Ballads may be grouped under the following heads: (1) Heroic, (2) Romantic, (3) Mythological and historical, (4) Love, and (5) Nirved (detachment).

The love gāthās have already been dealt under the heading 'Secular Love Poetry'.

Heroic Gāthās

Pābūjī kā Pawāḍā, said to be 52 in number, describes the heroism of Rāṭhore Pābūjī, already mentioned. The Bhopās are the singers of these Pawāḍā. They also keep a 'phaḍ' (a picture-curtain) to illustrate the contents of the song.

Tejojī was the son of Bakhtā, a Jāṭ of Dholyā branch of village Kharnāl (Nāgore). Like Pābūjī, he is also worshipped as a folk god. He gave up his life for the protection of cows and for the sake of his word. In *Tejā Lok Kavya* and *Tejājī* his heroism is depicted.

Galāleṅ (Gulālsinḥa) was a Rājput of Cauhān branch. He was killed in the battle of Kaḍāṇā, during the reign of Mahārāwal Rāmsinḥa (1702-1729) of Dūṅarpur. The *Galāleṅ* gāthā is about his heroic deeds and is sung by Jogīs. It is popular in Vāgaḍ region, and is said to have been initially composed by one Juitā Jogī.

Dūṅgī and Jawāharjī are mentioned in detail later. Their *Chāwalī* and gīt describe their heroism and are very popular, particularly in Śekhāwāṭi region.

Romantic Gāthās

Bagāḍāwat is about the battles of 24 Bagāḍāwat brothers. They were sons of Bāgh Rav. The cause of the battle was Jaymatī (Jailū), the wife of an old Rājput ruler, the Rāv of Rāṇ. She had a love-affair with Sawāī Bhoj (or Bhoj), a handsome and brave Bagāḍāwat brother. In the battle between the Rājputs of the Rāv and the Bagāḍāwats, all the Bagāḍāwat brothers, except one Tejā, were killed. Later, Bhojā's pregnant wife Sāḍhū gave birth to a son named Uday Rāv (Devnārāyaṇ). He took revenge by killing the Rāv of Rāṇ. A Bhāṭ of the Bagāḍāwats named Chochū, who is also a character in the story, is said to have composed the gāthā in 15,000 verses but that is not available. The area in which all these events occurred is now known as Ajmer, Bhīlwāḍā, where it is still popular. Devnārāyaṇ is deemed a god incarnate and is worshipped.

Sawāī Bhoj is also worshipped and his temple is near Āsīnd village (Bhīlwāḍā). The gāthā is sung by Bhopās. The illustrated Phaḍ (curtain) of about 25 'hand-length' is used as a setting to the recitation. The gāthā is popular in three forms, the first which deals with the complete story, the second up to the death of Bagaḍāwat brothers and the third with Devnārāyaṇ only. Lakṣmī Kumārī Cūṇḍāwat has edited the gāthā after taking it down from a Bhopā, and K.K. Śarmā and Maheṇdra Bhānāwat, have respectively edited the second and the third versions.

Poems have also been composed on Bagaḍāwats. *Dev Līlā-Kāvya* of Cāraṇ Raghurām Rohḍiyā is one such narrative poem, and gives the complete story in about 1000 verses mixed with prose called vacanikā.

Nihālde Sultān is a romantic tale of Sultān and Nihālde. This gāthā is more inclined towards the heroism of Sultān than his love-affairs. In his young age Sultān became a disciple of Gorakhnāth who asked him to follow four precepts: (1) to treat all women, other than one's wife, as mother, (2) to consider the wealth of others as dust, (3) to be true, and (4) never to desert the field of battle. These he followed. Jogīs narrate this Gāthā, the language of which is Rajasthani mixed with touches of Hariyānī.

Mythological Gāthās

Āmbā Ras, *Draupad Purāṇ*, *Bhimo Bhārat*, *Ahmano*, etc., are respectively based on the episodes of Ṛṣi Durwāsā, Cīr-haraṇ of Draupadī, Bhīm and Abhimanyu of the *Mahābhārat*. In some respects, *Ahmano* is akin to *Kathā Ahmanī* by Ḍelhjī, already mentioned. *Dhruva Līlā* is the story of the famous child-devotee.

Mythological and Historical Gāthās

Narasījī ro Māhero, a touching narrative poem, describes the legendary domestic plight of Nānī Bāī, a motherless married daughter of the famous bhakt poet Narasījī and celestial performance of 'Bhāt' or 'Māherā' episode. Many variations and recensions of the poem are available. It is full of pathos

with occasional sarcasm on the human relationships and on the Divine, lovingly roped into human relationship. It is very popular due to its universal appeal. Many poets have taken up this theme for their own compositions.

Nirved Gāthās

The ballads, describing the life and work of famous Nāth siddhas, Gopīcaṅd and Bharatarī, and their detachment, are popular in Rajasthan. They are sung by Jogīs, and have inspired many poets to try their hand on the theme.

(3) *Folk-tales (Lok Kathā)*

We have already dealt with 'Vāts' in the section on Medieval Prose. Folk-tales have attracted many modern writers including Vijaydān Dethā, and Goviṅd Agrawāl. These writers have presented such tales, giving touches of their own diction, keeping in view brevity, effectiveness and aim, but generally maintaining the narration similar to the prevalent folk-style.

Vijaydān Dethā has been systematically bringing out such tales in *Bātān rī Phulwāḍī*, of which over a dozen volumes have been published. But the language is often colloquial.

Goviṅd Agrawāl has collected over a thousand short folk-tales, of which many have been published in Rajasthani and Hindi. They have become popular due to their effectiveness and lucidity.

Lakṣmīkumārī Cūṅḍāwat has retold many folk-tales in *Rājasthānī Lok gāthā*, etc., and has also written such stories for children (*Hūṅkāro do sā* and *Ṭābarān rī Vātān*).

Some stories on prudence have been published by Mūlcaṅd 'Prāṅeś' (*Hiyai Taṅā Upāy*), Manohar Śarmā, and Nānūrām Saṅskartā (*Ghar kī Rel*), Devkiśan Rājpurohit (*Dānt Kathāwān*, *Var Jūḍī ro Tap*), Mohansiṅha (*Āpaṅī Kathāwān*). A few others have also brought out folk-tales.

(4) *Folk-plays (Lok Nāṭya)*

They may be broadly grouped into Khyāl, Swāṅg and Līlā.

The Khyāls are on social, historical, religious, or secular subjects. According to craft and style, the Khyāls popular in

different regions, may be grouped as Māc, Turrā-Kalaṅgī, Kucāmaṇi, Śekhāwāṭi, Nauṭaṅkī, Mewādī, Alibakhśi, Kiśan-gaḍhi, Rammat, Jaypurī, Hāthrasī, Nāgaurī, Jhāḍśāhī, Daṅgalī and others.

Unfortunately the Khyāl is fast fading away.

Well-known Swāṅgs include *Khyāl Jhāmaṭḍā*, *Ṭūṅṭiyā Ṭūṅ-ṭakī*, *Jamarā Bīj*, *Nhāṅ*, *Bādsāh kī Sawārī*, *Bahurūpiyā kī Sawārī*, and *Bhawāī*.

Līlās are based on mythological episodes. *Rās Līlā*, *Rām-Līlā*, *Rās Dhārī Līlā*, *Sanakādīk Līlā*, *Rāwaḷoṅ kī Rāmmat* and *Gawarī* are a few examples. Devīlāl Sāmar, Maheṅdra Bhānāwat and others have made notable contributions to the study of this art.

(5) *Lok Subhāṣit*

Many proverbs, idioms, riddles, sayings, etc., have been published by a number of scholars, including Muralidhar Vyās, N.D. Swāmī, A.C. Nāhatā, K L. Sahal, and Goviṅd Agrawāl.

CHAPTER V

Modern Period (1850 Onwards)

MARCH WITH THE TIME (1850-1947)

By the year 1819 all the princely states of Rajasthan practically came under the British sway. The rulers entered into treaties with the British, and were now safe from any external aggression. For this they had to pay yearly tributes to the British. The British became mediators between the jāgīrdārs and their rulers. It was provided in the treaties that the British would not interfere in the internal affairs of the princely states. But due to various reasons, political and economic, they did interfere frequently. The period from 1819 to 1858 was one of transition. The centuries old cultural traditions received a jolt as a result of contact with the British. Personal heroism of the Rājputs and other warriors was rendered futile before the new and well-organized British military system. Introduction of scientific inventions such as telegraph (1851), railways (1854), changes in administrative system, and the new educational policy were some of the factors which contributed to the transition. Charles Wood's Despatch in 1854 about the English education laid the foundation of the present educational system. It brought about a co-ordinated system of education from the lowest to the highest stage. In 1832, Lord William Bentinck came to Ajmer and invited all the prominent rulers of Raja-

sthan. Except Mahārājā Mān Siṅha of Jodhpur, all the rulers went to see him. The salt trade of the Sāmbhar Lake and opium were hard hit by their policy. Poet Śaṅkardān Sāmaur has deplored the deteriorating trade conditions of the times. The administrative system of the princely states was in a chaotic condition and due to continuous anarchy it was breaking down. The British did not care to improve it. Diplomatic officers designated as Residents were posted in the capitals of the larger states. The courts of princely states were facing frequent intrigues and double dealing. Able rulers were few. The rulers, now safe from the plunders of the Marāṭhās, Piṅḍārīs and external attacks, deemed it their duty to co-operate with the British. There was a deterioration of cultural values in the whole of Rajasthan, more so because of the British interference. The centuries old faith of people in their rulers was now shaking.

In 1833 the British raised an army-unit known as Śekhāwāṭī Brigade in the area of Śekhāwāṭī. In 1834 Ḍūṅgarsiṅha (Ḍūṅgji) of Pāṭodā, an influential and brave soldier of the Brigade, deserted it and rose in rebellion. He embarked upon a life of looting the British and their wealthy native supporters. He was joined by his cousin Jawāharsiṅha (Jawāharji) of Baṭhoṭh. They were helped by Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha Bīdāwat of Loḍhsar (Bikaner). Betrayed by Bhairavsiṅha Gauḍ, Ḍūṅgji was arrested and imprisoned at the Agra fort. In 1846 he escaped from the prison with the help of Jawāharji, Loṭiyā Jāṭ, Karṇiyā Miṇā, Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha and others. Ḍūṅgji and Jawāharji then raided the British cantonment at Nasīrābād. Ḍūṅgji was re-arrested in 1847 and the arrest of Jawāharji followed soon after. Because of their exploits at Agra and Nasīrābād, they received public acclaim and soon became heroes of the folk-lore. Many poems, including the anonymous narrative folk-poem *Chāwalī*, were composed about them. Likhamīdān Ūjaḷ, Śaṅkardān Sāmaur, Budhājī Āsiyā, Girwardān Kaviyā, Gaṅgādān Sāndū, Rāmdayāl Kaviyā, and Tejdān Āsiyā were the composers of these poems.

When the uprising, popularly known as Gadar, took place in 1857, all the rulers of the princely states of Rajasthan, except Mahārāv Rāmsiṅha of Būndī, actively helped the British to

suppress it. However, a few Jāgirdār Ṭhākurs became rebellious and defiant. In fact, they opposed the British and not the princes. Among such Jāgirdārs were Harisiṅha Bīdāwat Ṭhāṭhāwatā, Bisansiṅha Meḍṭiyā Gūlar, Śivdānsiṅha Āsop, Śyāmsiṅha Bāḍmerā Cauhattan, Nāthūsiṅha Dewḍā Bhaṭānā (Sirohi), Balwaṅsiṅha Goṭhḍā Būndī, Pṛthvisiṅha Hāḍā Koṭā, Rāwat Jodhsiṅha Koṭhāriyā, Kesarīsiṅha Salumbar, Khummānsiṅha Loḍhsar, and Khuśālsiṅha Āuvā. Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha of Āuvā, who played an important role in the Gadar, was assisted by forces belonging to the Ṭhākurs of Āsop, Gūlar, Ālaṇiyāwās, Bājāwās, Rūpnagar, and Salumbar. After fierce fighting with the pro-British Jodhpur forces and the British forces, Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha escaped from Āuvā. After his escape he was helped by the Rāv of Salumbar. Rāwat Jodhsiṅha of Koṭhāriyā gave shelter to this rebel Ṭhākur. Soḍhā Ratan Rāṇā of Ūmarkoṭ who, after killing a British surveyor, was wandering in the Arāwali hills met Khuśālsiṅha and remained with him for sometime.

Khuśālsiṅha, Ratan Rāṇā, Nāthūsiṅha of Bhaṭānā and others became heroes of folk-songs. Bārhaṭ Tilokdān, Bārhaṭ Bisandān, Sūryamall Miśraṇ and others composed Ḍiṅgal gīts on the Āuvā attacks and eulogized the heroism of Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha. Motīrām Āsiyā, Rāmlāl Ṭāpariyā, and Kamajī Dadhawaḍiyā composed Ḍiṅgal gīts on Rāwat Jodhsiṅha Koṭhāriyā. Rāwat Kesarīsiṅha of Salumbar has been praised in the poems composed by Bakhatrām Āsiyā, Saṅḍhāyac Buddhā and Sāndū Rāghaudās.

The Gadar uprising was unsuccessful and, by the end of 1858, the British consolidated their rule over India.

In this transitional phase two poets deserve special notice. They are Sūryamall Miśraṇ of Būndī and Śaṅkardān Sāmaur of Bobāsar (Sujāngarh, Bikaner).

Sūryamall Miśraṇ (1815-1868) is considered the last great scholar and poet of the Cāraṇ style in the modern times. He had the patronage of Mahārāv Rāmsiṅha of Būndī (1811-1889) and at his behest, started writing the *Vaṅś-Bhāskar* in 1840. Written in Campu form and in a variety of metres and prose-pieces, it is a monumental work of its own type and is encyclo-

paedic in nature. It is not only the story of the Cauhān ancestors of Mahārāv Rāmsiṅha of Būndī but is a veritable storehouse of information about the other clans of the Rājput royal houses, historical events, anecdotes and miscellaneous topics. The basic linguistic structure of this work is Piṅgal, but Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, and Marūbhāṣā or Ḍiṅgal have also been used at places. Unfortunately it could not be completed by the poet. It is a major narrative historical poem and not history as such. From the point of view of history, it has many lapses, yet the 7th and the 8th rāsīs dealing with Buddhasiṅha, Ummedsīṅha, Rāmsiṅha and other contemporaries are of considerable historical value. Descriptions of armies, battles, heroes, townships, social customs, and festivals abound in the work and are enchanting.

His another famous poem *Vīr Satsaī*, consisting of 288 dohās, is also incomplete. The sentiments expressed in this poem do not pertain to particular individuals but depict the heroic emotion in general. The poet has followed his predecessors in doing so. He voiced the lofty ideals of medieval Rājput heroism in a powerful way. These ideals have been expressed mostly through the medium of brave women. The purpose seems to be to inspire the adoption of these ideals by the contemporary and future generations. It is a unique and powerful poem of vīr ras in literary Rajasthani. Influence of the poems from Hemcaṅdra's *Apabhramśa-Vyākaraṇ*, *Prakrit Paiṅgalam* and of Īsardās's *Hālān Jhālān rā Kuṇḍaliyā* and Bāṅkīdās's poems is found on the dohās of this *Satsaī*. It was composed during and after the 1857 Gadar. The poet's implicit intention seems to be to arouse the dormant Rājput chivalry. Gadar might have been a source of inspiration to the poet, but except in three dohās (nos. 4, 5 and 6, *Satsaī*, ed., Sahal *et al.*, v. s. 2005) there is no mention of it. However, we find his response to the prevailing political conditions in his letters to friends. They contain, in an implied way, his suggestions about the patriotic duty of people towards the uprising. He did not give a direct call for rebellion, as his predecessor Bāṅkīdās had done but his call was couched in the metaphor of his poetry. Sūryamall was almost the last great poet of the era of heroic poetry.

Rām Raijāt (145 verses) and *Balwad 'lās* (584 verses) are Sūryamall's narrative poems on Mahārāv Rāmsiṅha of Būndī and Rājā Balwaṅtsiṅha of Bhiṅāy respectively. *Rām Raijāt* was composed in 1825 when the poet was only ten years old. His stray Ḍiṅgal gīts are in praise of many contemporary persons such as Ṭhākur Khuśālsiṅha of Āuvā, Cainsiṅha of Narsinggarh, Ḍūngjī and Jawāharjī. His *Dhātu Rūpāwalī* is a work of no great merit. *Chāṇḍomayūkh* and *Satī Rāso* are also attributed to him but they are not available. A man of vast learning and poetic genius, Sūryamall had a great impact on contemporary Rajasthan poetry.

Three dohās from the 'Satsai' are given below:

Only those deserve to be the masters of land who make horses' backs their home, a home which is roofed by the shadow of the sheild and pillared by bayonets.

My husband's glory amazes me. How shall I describe it, O maid mine? With his headless body he kills the hostile hosts. Has he eyes in his heart as well?

The mother seeks to train the child for death through lullaby at the cradle. 'O child,' says she, 'there is no fun in life on land trampled by the enemy's feet.'

Śaṅkardān Sāmaur (1824-1878) could, for many reasons, be called the first great Cāraṅ poet of the Modern Period. He gave a clarion call to the nation against the British, their corrupt, selfish ways and dishonest motives. He depicted the miserable social and political conditions of the country, eulogized and encouraged the heroes who rose against the British in 1857 and inspired the people, particularly the Ṭhākurs and Jāgirdārs, to rise to the occasion. He did not hesitate to chide fearlessly the princely rulers for siding with the British, and also the poets who demeaned their poetic genius and praised the unpatriotic rulers. He raised his voice against injustice. He was neither a court-poet nor enjoyed any patronage.

His stray Ḍiṅgal gīts, chappayas and dohās have become

available through शृंगल tradition. They are on a variety of subjects. Some gīts describe contemporary events and heroes such as Ṭhākur Khummāṅsiṅha Bīdāwat Loḍhsar, Ḍūṅgī and Jawāharjī, Tāntiā Ṭopi, the British policy, devastation caused by locusts, and dharaṅas (sit-ins). Others are in praise of Śakti and Bhairav. The gīts and chappayas describing Śakti or Devī are collectively known as *Sugatī Sujas*. Some chappayas are in exaltation of Bhāgīrathī called *Bhāgīrathī Mahimā*. Poems in dohā metre are *Bakhat ro Bāyaro*, *Deś Darpaṅ* and *Sāket Satak*. They depict the prevailing chaotic social, economic and political condition in the country, ways of the princely rulers, the baneful policies of the British, their oppressive administrative system, the plight of the downtrodden, and the realities of practical life in a vivid and powerful manner. His style is simple and language fluent Rajasthani. He was a poet of the people, a nationalist, a progressive modern poet in the true sense of the term, a phenomenon almost unique in the contemporary literary history of North Indian languages.

He goes a step ahead of Sūryamall Miśraṅ (dohā quoted on p. 197) when he says:

The mother does not have to train the child in the ways of the Rājput and in the dignity of death. She solely depends on her milk doing the miracle for, who teaches the tiger to pounce and tear?

Rabīndranāth Tagore and Maithilīśaraṅ Gupta have been justly praised for their portraiture of Urmilā as an embodiment of silent sacrifice but, long before them, Śaṅkardān Sāmaur took note of Urmilā's self-sacrifice:

All praise to you, O Tulasīdās, for composing your charming *Rāmāyaṅ*. What, however, surprises me, is how could you ignore the silent sacrifice of Urmilā?

Here are a few more lines from Śaṅkardān Sāmaur:

From *Bakhat ro Bāyaro*:

Patriots' lives are today full of pain, and selfish people are flourishing. O Rāmji, it is now difficult to preserve one's self-respect.

The association of the British has corrupted the bureaucracy. O Rāmji! common people are the worst hit these days.-

The British exploitation has destroyed all vocations. How can the hungry people carry the burden of existence?

To quarrel, to kill one's own people and to brandish swords against each other is now the sole business of our so-called heroes.

The prevailing order is like a multi-storied building standing on the ruins of poor peoples' huts.

From *Deś Darpan*:

Earlier invaders like Chingīz Khān looted only the palaces of kings. The degraded British do not spare even the poor peoples' huts.

I bow to thee, O my poor countryman! On you lies the real burden of its destiny. You are the genuine sardār (whose having a head on the shoulders is worth-while).

Two verses of a gīt on Tāntiā Ṭopī:

'O brave Tāntiā, you raised a storm in the whole Hind like Hanumān striking terror in Laṅkā with his mighty mace. The vanishing Rājput glory showed its last sparks in your sword. Your might in war was tireless and unfathomable. The disappointed war-goddess has forsaken the Rājput's hand. You, the brave southerner, gave her company. You

proved a worthy successor to the Chattiskul Kṣtriya warriors and upheld the prestige of the motherland.

MOVEMENTS, NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

Works concerning Rajasthan and Rajasthani

In the latter half of the 19th century the British consolidated their power. Their effort in this direction correspondingly gave rise to the national awakening and unity of India. Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* was first published in 1829. Though, by implication, it provided a clue to a communal and clannish interpretation of history by way of Hindu-Muslim differences, it also contributed to the inculcation of a feeling of national pride. The valour and glorious life of Rājput warriors and their women, described in it, inspired the people and the writers alike, the latter basing their compositions on many of its themes.

Socio-religious movements in the country and political events elsewhere had their impact and repercussions in Rajasthan too and the feeling of nationalism began to take root. Swāmī Dayānand and his ideology gave much impetus to it. Śyāmjī Kṛṣṇa Varmā, Bārhaṭ Kesarīsīnha and some other disciples of Swāmī Dayānand kept the fire of nationalism burning against all odds. The founding of the Ārya Samāj (on the 10th April, 1875, at Bombay) and the establishment of Indian National Congress (in December, 1885, also at Bombay) were two formative events. European scholars began to take more interest in the studies concerning the Orient. A peep into the past glories raised new hopes.

In 1871 Kavirājā Śyāmaldās was persuaded by Mahārāṇā Śambhūsīnha to write an elaborate and detailed history of Mewār. His *Vīr Vinod* is a monumental work on the history of Rajasthan. Later the study of Indian palaeography and Rajasthan history was taken by Gaurīśaṅkar Hīrācaṅd Ojhā to new heights.

The works of Rām Karaṇ Āsopā (1857-1943) of Jodhpur constitute the foundation stone of the edifice of modern Raja-

sthani language and literature. He was an erudite scholar of scriptures, history and poetics. Grammar, lexicography and history of literature are the three essentials of any living language. Āsopā's *Mārwāḍī Vyākaraṇ* (published in 1896) was the first work of its kind in the Modern Period. He compiled two dictionaries of Rajasthani containing sixty thousand and twenty thousand words respectively, the second being a concise form of the first. Unfortunately none of these has seen the light of the day as yet. For beginners and learners of Rajasthani, he wrote three elementary books, *Mārwāḍī Pustak*, Part I, II and III (1906). They were prescribed in the curriculum of the schools of Mārwār and continued almost for twenty years. He edited the *Rājrupak* of Ratanū Virbhāṇ, *Sūraj Prakās* of Kaviyā Karaṇidān and the poems of Āsiyā Bānkīdās. He translated the *Gītā* into easy Rajasthani prose. He was a fine scholar of Cāraṇ literature and his history of Mārwār in Hindi bears ample testimony to his scholarship. His services to Hindi and Sanskrit are also notable. He translated the *Bhāgwat Purāṇ* and Tulasīdās's *Rāmāyaṇ* in Khaḍī Bolī and wrote *Sacitra Bāl Bodh* for beginners of Hindi. His grammar *Hindi Vyākaraṇ* was published in 1911 (v.s. 1968), nine years before the well-known *Hindi Vyākaraṇ* of Kāmatāprasād Guru. His epic in Sanskrit named *Rāṣṭroday*, consisting of twenty thousand ślokas, is the history of the Rāṭhores and is like the *Rājtarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇ. In 1914 he taught Rajasthani language and literature to Dr. Tessitori. He was a scholar of high merit with vision and foresight. He paved the way for systematic study of Rajasthani language and literature in its many aspects.

These scholars gave a boost to the study of history, culture, language and literature of Rajasthan. It was further strengthened by the works of foreign scholars such as MacAlister, Grierson and Tessitori, and Indian scholars like Bhaṇḍārkar, Sunīti Kumār Chatterjī, and Muni Jinvijay. By about the thirties and the forties of the twentieth century a team of dedicated scholars including Sūryakaraṇ Pārīk, Rāmsiṅha, Narottamdās Swāmī, Motilāl Menāriyā, and Agarcaṇḍ Nāhaṭā rose in the cause of Rajasthani.

The works of the Italian scholar Lugi Pio Tessitori (who was

born in Udine, Italy in 1887 and died in 1919 at Bikaner) are of great historical importance and deserve special mention. His *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani with special reference to Apabhramsa and Gujarati and Marwari* were published in the successive issues of the *Indian Antiquary*, Calcutta, from April 1914 to July 1916. He edited the poems of Khidiyā Jaggā (*Vacānikā Rāṭhauḍ Ratansinghji rī Mahesdāsaut rī*, 1917), Pṛthvirāj Rāṭhore (*Veli Krisana Rukamañi rī*, 1919) and Viṭhū Sūjo Nagarājota (*Chāṇḍ Rāu Jaitasī rau*, 1920) besides some Ḍiṅgal texts. He prepared three *Descriptive Catalogues of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts*: (1) Prose Chronicles of Jodhpur (1917), (2) of Bikaner (1918), and (3) Bardic Poetry, Bikaner (1918). He prepared *A Scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana*, with three appendices (1915). The results of this survey appeared in the form of four reports: (1) *A Progress Report on the Preliminary work done during the year 1915 in connection with the proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajasthan*, with six appendices (1916), (2) *Work done during the year 1916 with Touring Report* and one appendix (1917), (3) *Work done during the year 1917* with two appendices (1919), and (4) *Work done during the year 1918* with one appendix (1921). Tessitori's earliest contribution to the study of Rajasthani was his article 'Origin of the Dative and Genitive and Dative-Postposition in Gujarati and Marwari' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1913.

Two disciples of Swāmī Dayānaṇḍ, Śyāmji Kṛṣṇa Varmā, and Bārhaṭ Kesarīsīṅha, joined by Rāv Gopālsīṅha of Kharwā, and Seṭh Dāmodardās Rāṭhī of Beawar, were the fore-runners of the revolutionary movement in Rajasthan. Arjunlāl Seṭhī was also connected with it. In 1911, Bhūpsīṅha (Bijaysīṅha Pathik), also joined the movement. In the southern regions of Rajasthan, a Samp Sabhā was formed by Swāmī Goviṇḍ in 1905. In fact, it was a swadeśī (nationalist) movement which was crushed by the British by military operation in 1908. These movements had their repercussions. Many reforms were introduced. Mahārājā Gaṅgāsīṅha of Bikaner was a leading figure in this respect. Among other reforms, he announced the creation of a

Legislative Assembly, as far back as 1913. The revolutionaries were very active in Rajasthan in the early years of the present century, but by the end of the first World War, all their plans failed. The Bijoliyā movement of the farmers, started in 1913, came to an end by 1922.

In 1916, Gāndhijī appeared for the first time on the Indian political scene in the Congress session at Lucknow. After the death of Bāl Gaṅgādhār Tilak in 1920, he emerged as the most powerful leader and directed the political movement of the country for many years to come.

Thus, after the first World War, a new cultural awareness and a political awakening started taking root. At the Delhi session of the Congress in 1918, a Rājputānā-Madhya Bhārat Sabhā was formed by the efforts of Bijaysiṅha Pathik, Ganés Śaṅkar Vidyārthī, Cānd Karaṅ Sarḍā, with Jamanālāl Bajāj as its President. The political affairs of Rajasthan were thus linked with the Indian National Congress. Later, the Sabhā merged into the Congress and took part in the regional activities under its direction.

A decision was taken in the 1927 session of the Congress to secure the institution of representative governments in the States also. Accordingly, Prajāmaṇḍal was formed in Jaipur in 1931 for the first time. In Haripurā session of the Congress in 1938, it was decided to start political organizations in different States and Prajāmaṇḍals were established in Jodhpur, Mewār, Alwar, Jaisalmer, Shāhpurā etc. In 1939, Jawāharlāl Nehrū was elected President of the Deśī Rājya Lok Pariṣad. All the Prajāmaṇḍals were affiliated to this Pariṣad. Thus the Pariṣad came into large and closer contact with the Congress.

During the second World War there was not much change in the political scene of Rajasthan. With the death of Mahārājā Gaṅgāsiṅha of Bikaner in 1943, the influence of the princely rulers on the wider political scene of the country came to an end. In 1945 the session of the Akhil Bhārtīya Deśī Rājya Pariṣad was held at Udaipur and Jawāharlāl Nehrū was re-elected its President. Strong demands for representative governments were made. This had its effect and agitations started. However, representative governments, in some States, though

only in name, were formed for a short while. Jaynārāyaṇ Vyās (Jodhpur), Hīrālāl Śāstrī (Jaipur), Harībhāū Upādhyāy (Ajmer), Gokul Bhāī Bhaṭṭ (Sirohi), Māṇikyalāl Varmā (Udaipur), Rāj Bahādur and Jugal Kiśor Caturvedī (Bharatpur), Bhogīlāl Paṇḍyā (Dūngarpur), Raghuvardayāl Goyal (Bikaner), Sāgar-mal Gopā (Jaisalmer) and others were the leading workers of the Prajāmaṇḍals. 15 August 1947 marks the end of an era of slavery which had lasted for centuries.

The period of 90 years, from 1857 to 1947, was one of growing nationalism throughout the country. All the movements, social, religious and political, were inspired and governed by a pervading nationalism and human liberation in one form or the other.

POETRY

Traditional Poetry

In the Modern Period Rajasthanī poetry found expression in the traditional as well as in new forms. We shall take note of the poetry in the traditional form without making any trend-wise distribution, for the traditional and the modern are rather inextricably mingled, more so upto 1947-50.

Rāmnāth Kaviyā (1801-1879) has composed poems in dohā-soraṭhā. *Pābūjī rā Soraṭhā* (32 verses) describes the deeds and glorious death of Pābūjī Rāṭhore, the legendary folk-god of Rajasthan.

When Pābūjī's marriage party reaches Ūmarkoṭ, the bride unknowingly makes a forecast of her destiny when her brother's wife asks her to see the bridegroom:

My lord will hold my hand in this world and we shall together walk to the high heavens. The land of the Divine is to be the place of our marital pleasures, to which my Lord will proceed with me and his heroic company.

Karuṇā Bāwnī (59 verses) is based on the Cīr-haraṇ episode of Draupadī, described in the Sabhā Parva of the *Mahābhārat*.

The poet has vividly described the plight of Draupadī, in a simple and straightforward manner slightly tinged with sarcasm.

Draupadī says:

All my five husbands whose foot-falls made the earth tremble are now looking at my face! With their eyes downcast they are scratching the earth with their toes, as if my humiliation does not touch them! •

She invokes Lord Kṛṣṇa:

O the saviour of the three Lokas, you know what is happening. Nothing is hidden from you. Don't you see that Draupadī is being humiliated and 'dharma' destroyed thereby?

He has also written verses in praise of Karaṇjī, the Cāraṇ goddess, and marsiyās on Sūryamall Miśraṇ, Śaṅkardān Sāmaur and others.

Profundity of emotion, pathos, suggestiveness, simplicity of language and ease of style mark the poems of Rāmnāth Kaviyā. His poems were very popular and were frequently repeated and even imitated, with the result that varying versions were mixed up with the genuine ones.

Besides stray poems, some heroic narrative poems have been written on the legend of Pābūjī, e.g., Moḍjī Āsiyā's *Pābū Prakāś* (1932, v.s. 1989) and Jodhā Agarsiṅha's *Pābū Prakāś* (fifth ed., 1957).

Swarūpdās (1801-1863) was a follower of Dādū sampradāy, and scholar of Sanskrit, Rajasthani, Piṅgal and Hindu Religion. Out of his twelve books, *Hṛnnayanāñjan*, *Ras Ratnākar*, *Pākhaṇḍ Khaṇḍan*, *Varṇārth Mañjarī*, *Dṛṣṭānt Dīpikā*, *Vṛti Bodh*, *Cijjaḍ Bodh Patrikā*, *Sūkṣmopadeś*, *Tark Prabaṇdh*, *Sādhāraṇopadeś*, *Avivek Paddhati* and *Pāṇḍav Yaśeṇdu Caṇdrikā* or *Ukti Caṇdrikā*, the last one is the best and most popular. It is mainly a summary in verse of the *Mahābhārat*, in 16 sections, mostly in Braj mixed with Rajasthani.

Sāndū Rāysiṅha (1813-1878) was a bhakt poet. His *Motiyāi rā Sorāṭhā*, about 100 in number on nīti and bhakti, is well known. Motiyā was a servant of Ṭhākur Nawalsiṅha of Rūpnagar who nursed the poet during his illness. The poet was so much pleased that he addressed all his sorāṭhās to Motiyā. The poet says:

The ten headed Rāwaṅ ruled over Laṅkā, the city of gold.
O what luck! not a grain of gold was available at his death-
bed to be put in his mouth as a last ritual.

Woe to the miser who has a mound of gold in his house
but not even the smallest part of it is spent to help others.

Rāv Bakhtāwar (1813-1894) was a favourite poet of Mahārāṇā Swarūpsiṅha of Udaipur and was also respected by three succeeding rulers. His *Rasotpatti*, *Swarūp Yaś Prakāś*, *Sambhū Yaś Prakāś*, *Sajjan Yaś Prakāś*, *Fatah Yaś Prakāś*, *Sajjan Citra Caṅdrikā Saṅcārṇava*, *Anyokṅ Prakāś*, *Sāmaṅt Yaś Prakāś* and a book on music are mostly in Braj. But a major poem *Kehar Prakāś*, composed in 1879, is mostly in Rajasthani with a slight tinge of Braj. It describes the love story of Kesarisiṅha and Kamal Prasanna, a concubine, in ten sections, consisting of 1486 metres of different types, including rhymed prose, which the poet has described as vārtā.

Samān Bāi (1825-1885), the daughter of the well known poet Rāmnāth Kaviyā, and married to Rāmdayāl of village Māhuṅd (Kishangarh, Alwar) was a famous bhakt poetess. Her *Īś Mahimā* (105 sawaiyās), *Rādhikā Śarīropamā* (29 verses), *Śrī Kṛṣṇopamā* (18 verses) and *Patī Patropamā* or *Patī Śatak*¹ are in Braj. However, in Rajasthani she is known mostly for her padas, about seventy in number. Some of these are in the nature of songs on the marriage of Ram. Others describe Kṛṣṇa-līlās. The rest are devotional.

Kaviyā Cimanjī (1833-1887), son of Ludradān of village Birāi (Shergarh, Jodhpur) was a scholar and poet of high merit

¹Only six verses are available.

in the tradition of Cāraṇ Poetry. He composed about 21 poems, large and small, on a variety of subjects, which may be enumerated in three categories: (1) Historical and Heroic poems, such as *Soḍhāyaṇ*, *Prāgrāv Rūpag*, *Sammān rā Jhulaṇā*, *Rāṇai Ummed Singh rā Chaṇd*, and *Soḍhai Ānaṇdsiṅgh rā Marsiyā*; (2) Bhakti poems, in praise of God, mythological and folk-gods and goddesses, such as *Harijan Mokhyārthī*, *Pichmī Pīr rā Chaṇd*, *Gumān Bhāratī rī Vel*, and *Rāmdev Carit*; (3) Prosody and Rhetoric, such as *Jaswaṇt Piṅgal*, and *Bhākhā Prastār*.

Soḍhāyaṇ is a significant historical narrative poem dealing with the heroic deeds and works of Rājput̄s of the Soḍhā branch of the Parmār clan. At the time of its composition, Soḍhās were mostly inhabiting the Dhāt̄ and Pārkar regions of Sindh (now in Pakistan). It is the only poem of its kind.

Cimanjī contributed to all the trends of the traditional Cāraṇ Poetry. Since his poems were composed at a time when the new trends had set in, he was not very popular. He remained largely unknown as his works were not published till a few years ago.

Gumānsiṅha (1840-1914), the jāgirdār of Lachmanpurā (Mewār), was a yogi and a bhakt poet of high order. The subject-matter of his poems is mostly spiritual contemplation. He expresses devotional feelings in a lucid manner. The language is mostly Rajasthani with slight colloquial influence and has a tinge of Braj. His books include *Mokṣa Bhawan*, *Maniṣā Lakṣa Caṇdrikā*, *Yog Bhānu Prakāśikā*, *Gītāsār*, *Yogāṅk Śatak*, *Subodhinī*, *Ratnasār*, *Tattwa Bodh*, *Rām Ratna Mālā*, *Lay Yog Battīsī*, *Samaysār Bāwnī*, *Adwait Bāwnī*, *Rājñiti*, *Śrī Rām Gopī Gīt Aṣṭak*, and *Gumān Padāwalī*.

Here are a few lines from a pada from *Gumān Padāwalī*:

I have pierced the pearl of my interior (Ātmā). I have threaded this precious pierced pearl into a necklace. The unpierced pearl of the interior is just a stone. The saint knows how precious does it become when pierced. Therefore, I have pierced the pearl of my interior. I have made the Lord's memory a thread and passed it through the pearl of

the interior. If one peeps into the beauty of this pearl with the inward eye, he will find in it the shine of a million moons. O Yogī, the seeker of truth, believe what Gumān says, the worldly pearl decorates only the prostitute. I have reached at the pearl in my interior.

Bārhaṭ Śivbakhśa Pālhāwat (1844-1899) was a court poet of Mahārājā Maṅgalsiṅha of Alwar. His *Alwar kī Ṣaṭṛtu Jhamāḷ* is in 128 jhamāḷ verses in Rajasthani. The poet has depicted the grandeur of the Mahārājā, the beauty of women, hunting and festivals through a description of seasons. His *Vṛndāvan Śatak* is in Braj, with occasional verses in Piṅgal. *Alwar Rājya kā Itihās* is a history in verse of the Alwar State. The language is a mixture of Braj, Khaḍī Bolī and Urdu.

Ūmardān Lālas (1851-1903) became a disciple of Māṅgī Rām of the Rām Snehī sampradāy of Khedāpā tradition after the death of his parents in childhood. He came in contact with Swāmī Dayānand in 1883 and was much influenced by his preachings. He later turned gṛhasth (house-holder). A collection of his poems is published under the title *Ūmar-Kāvya*. The main note of his poems is social reform and realistic depiction of the prevailing social conditions. His satires on social evils are sharp and uncompromising and occasionally his language becomes crude. His descriptions are charming, impressive and are often rendered in popular similes and sayings. The language is easy Rajasthani.

Two verses describing the condition of poor women in the horrible famine of v.s. 1956 (1899 A.D.) are given here:

Women's wearing of gold and silver and use of cosmetics have become a matter of dream. In the terrible famine of the Samvat year 1956, they wander hither and thither without even an ornamental ring on finger. Their forehead without any 'ṭiki' and the corners of their eyes without any 'kājal' (collyrium) look famished. The difference between the wife and the widow is not easy to make out.

Even the women of the well-to-do in Mārwar starve and

fail to get food a whole day or even for days together. They draw deep breath and keep the body and soul together in some vain expectation. Poor women! they are bound to the homes of men who fail to feed them.

Mahārāj Catursiṅha (1879-1929) is considered a great yogi, bhakt and poet of Mewār, where his poems are still popular. He wrote 18 books, mostly small in volume: *Bhagawad Gītā kī Gītāñjalī Ṭikā*, *Parmārath Vicār*, *Yog Sūtra kī Ṭikā*, *Sāṅkhya Tattwa*, *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, *Mānav Mitra Rām Caritra*, *Śeṣ Caritra*, *Alakh Paccīsī*, *Tuhi Aṣṭak*, *Catur Ciṅtāmaṇi*, *Mahima Stotra*, *Caṅdraśekhara Stotra (Mewāḍī Ṭikā)*, *Hanumān Pañcak*, *Samān Battīsī*, *Catur Prakāś*, *Anubhav Prakāś*, *Bālakāṅ rī Pothī* and *Navo Rog*.

The subject-matter mainly is yog, devotion, nīti, precepts and social incompatibilities. He has pleaded for the uplift of women and farmers and desistance from all social evils, practices, and superstitions. Originality in explaining profound thoughts, giving new similes, lucidity and simplicity of expression are noticeable. He has written prose annotations on some scriptures. He urged that children should be taught in their mother tongue, and for this he wrote *Bālakāṅ rī Pothī*. The language of most of his works is easy Rajasthani with colloquial influence of Mewāḍī

Here are three verses from *Catur Ciṅtāmaṇi*:

Don't step into a house unless respectfully and beseechingly invited. Even a railway engine steams into the station only when invited by the signal.

Invert or upturn as strictly as the occasion demands. Invert the pitcher if you have to swim with it and turn it up if you want to fill it with water.

Pen and ink are not responsible for the contents of the script. With them you can write obeisance or obscenity according to the dictates of your mind.

Moḍsiṅha Mahiyāriyā was born in 1861 in Mārwar. Ganeś-

puri was his guru. Sūryamall Miśraṅ could not compose full seven hundred verses though he called his work *Vīr Satsaī*. Modji made an attempt to do so but the number of dohās in his *Vīr Satsaī* ultimately exceeded 700 as, in addition to his own 453, he borrowed 288 from Sūryamall and 1 from Bāṅki-dās. Sūryamall and Modji have covered the same ground. Modji is, however, not profound in emotion or thought, as Sūryamall had been, except in a few dohās. As a poet, Modji does not stand high, but deserves mention as a vanishing link in the tradition of Cāraṅ poetry.

Hiṅglājdān. Kaviyā (1861-1948) of village Sewāpurā (Jaipur), a poet of conspicuous merit, was the last great representative of the tradition of the Cāraṅ poetry. He is said to have composed many poems out of which the following are well-known: *Mṛgayā Mṛgeṅdra*, describing the tiger-hunting by Śersiṅha of Kucāman and an imaginary dialogue between the hunter and the hunted; *Pratyay Payodhar*, a book on prosody; *Sāl Girah Satak*, composed, on the birth anniversary of Indra Bāi of village Khuḍad, deemed to be a goddess incarnate; *Mehāi Mahimā*, describing the battle between Kāmraṅ and Rāv Jaitasi of Bikaner, and goddess Karaṅji's help to the latter; *Durgā Bahattari*, in praise of Durgā; *Ākheṭ Apjas* and *Vāṅyā (Bāṅiyā) Rāsau*, both ironical poems. He also composed stray poems including *Rūpsiṅgh Rūpak*, and stutis of Karaṅji, Indra Bāi, Bhawāni (Śakti) in Ḍiṅgal git, bhujāṅ prayāt, śikharinī and kavitt metres. The themes of his poems are mainly historical, heroic and devotion to goddess in the form of Śakti. He is sarcastic about selfish traders and cowards posing as brave warriors. The depiction of vīr ras and Śakti is vigorous. The language is mostly literary Rajasthani over which the poet has a good command.

Kesarisiṅha Bārhaṭ (1871-1941) was a revolutionary and nationalist poet. He and his family made great sacrifices for the freedom of the country. He gave the call of awakening in his stray verses. He reminded the princely rulers of their past glories and warned them against the baneful policies of the British. His *Cetāwaṅī rā Cūṅgaṭyā* (13 soraṭhās) is historic. It was addressed to Mahārāṅā Fatehsiṅha of Mewār, as he

was going to attend the Delhi Durbār in 1903 on an invitation from Lord Curzon, and awakened the Mahārāṇā to the traditional glory of his house; the result was the Mahārāṇā's conspicuous absence from the Durbār, which had far reaching political repercussions.

Four sorāṭhās are given here:

Mewār and Mahārāṇās have found a place in the heart of Hindustan. They preferred glory to gain and traversed hills and vales, gave up territory but kept the glorious tradition of independence.

Rāṇās of Mewār were steady in the face of direst strife. How is it, O Fatmal (Fatehsīṅha), that a mere paper-command has caused you such flutter?

All the princes at the British Durbār shall offer tributes with bowed heads and extended hands. O Fatā (Fatehsīṅha), how will your mighty hands extend in humility before the British?

The proud fort of Delhi will cast surprised looks at you and smile quietly, when it sees the Sisodiyā's yet unbent head bowing before it.

Udayrāj Ūjaḷ (1885-1967) was a scholar of Cāraṇ literature and a good poet of the traditional style. His efforts towards propagation and recognition of Rajasthani are commendable. The main note of his poetry is love for Rajasthan, its glory, language and literature. His verses contain a sense of sadness at the vanishing glory of Rajasthan and an appeal to those who could preserve it. He eulogized the heroes of yore and admired the freedom fighters of his times. The metres he used most were sorāṭhā, dohā, Ḍiṅgal git and chappay. He also composed songs in popular folk tunes. A line of his sorāṭhā, '*Dīpai vānrā des Jyānrā sāhit jagamagai*' ('Only countries with bright literature live to shine') has become a rallying cry for the lovers of Rajasthani. Out of his many works, the following are well-

known: *Dhūdsār*, *Marwāḍ rā Vīr Dūdh Prakās*, *Mātṛbhāṣā Dohāwalī*, *Bhāniyai rā Dūhā*, *Swarāj Satak*, *Ujwal Satak*, *Tej Satak*, *Sarwoday Satak*, *Śram Satak*, *Satī Satak*, *Jāgīrdārān rai Avgunān rā Dūhā*, *Gāndhī rā Dūhā*, *Vigyān rā Dūhā*, and *Bhāṣā Satak*.

Three of his verses on Gāndhīji, Kesarisīnha Bārhaṭ and Hindi and Rajasthani are given below:

O Bhāniyā! it was difficult to understand why Christ was crucified. But the fate of Gāndhī shows us how even the saviours of the world are killed.

The lion (Kesarisīnha) gave up his land, livelihood, dearest of kin and all earthly possessions, for the sake of the country.

Let Hindi and Maru Bhāṣā both grow in glory, one as the language of the country and the other as the language of my own state.

Nāthūsīnha Mahiyāriyā (1891 (v.s. 1948)—1973) was a poet of heroic and nationalist themes in Cāraṇ style. *Vīr Satsaī*, *Gāndhī Śatak*, *Hāḍī Śatak*, *Cūṇḍā Śatak*, *Jhālā Mān Śatak*, *Vīr Śatak*, *Kaśmīr Śatak*, etc., are his famous poems. Though he has mostly followed the old style, diction and tradition of the historical and heroic poetry, and is influenced by the poems of Isardās, Bāṅkidās, and Sūryamall Miśraṇ, he is not bound by the stereotyped, conventional pattern, and this is the main strength of his poetry. He has given new interpretations to the traditional values and ideals of heroism, and has kept pace with the contemporary consciousness and modern nationalistic feelings. He eulogized the national heroes of the modern age. From poetic point of view his *Vīr Satsaī* is a very important poem. Here are two couplets from it:

‘Rajvaṭ’ (the quality of a Rājput) has a simple test. There is no ‘rajvaṭ’ in a man who wants to preserve his life at all costs. ‘Rajvaṭ’ is where there is readiness to give up life for a worth-while cause.

O Sakhi! a Rājput is not one who dons a 'Chatra' and a 'Cañwar'. A real Rājput is he who lays down his life for the sake of his country.

Rāwal Nareñdrasiñha of Jobner (1893-1967) was a historian and a poet of traditional Cāraṇ style. His soraṭhās, about 700 in number, were at first named *Vīr Pūjā Satsai* but due to addition of more soraṭhās, the number rose to about 1,000. Collectively they have now been called *Vīr Hazārā* and are yet to be published. The *Vīr Hazārā* is basically a historical poem with accent on heroism. The characters described include Karañijī, Ram, Hanumān, Kṛṣṇa, Buddh, Pārasnāth, Pajjavānrāy, Sūrajmal Jāṭ, Pratāpsīñha Narūkā, Rāṇā Pratāp, Rāṇā Rājsīñha, Pābūji Rāṭhore, Amarsiñha Rāṭhore, Ballū Cāmpāwat, Durgādās Rāṭhore, Tejojī Jāṭ, Bārhaṭ Kesarisīñha, and Śaitānsīñha Bhāṭī. His contribution to the almost decaying traditional poetry of Cāraṇ style is notable.

Kavirāv Mohansiñha (1899-1964) was a scholar and a poet. He composed poems in both Rajasthani and Braj. The number of his poems is large and many of them are yet to be published. They include: *Mohan Satsai*, *Vīr Caritra Satsai*, *Kumbhā Kīrti Prakāś*, *Pratāp Yaś Cañdroday*, *Mahārāṇā Caritāmṛta*, *Vyañgyārth Prakāś*, *Kuñḍaliyā Śatak*, *Nīti Śatak*, *Mṛgayā Bāwnī*, *Bhūpāl Bhūṣaṇ*, *Kūrma Yaś Kalānidhi*, *Mān Paccīsī*, *Vaṇik Bahattarī*, *Rāmdās Paccīsī*, *Jaimal Paccīsī*, *Prapañc Paccīsī*, *Bhūpāl Paccīsī*, *Durgā Bāwnī*, *Rāj Bahār*, *Raghuvāṇś Carit* and *Vinay Pāṭh*.

Vīr Caritra Satsai consisting of 721 dohās in easy Rajasthani is significant. The poet has depicted the characters of heroes like Mahārāṇā Pratāp, Rāv Cañdrasen, Surtāṇ Dewḍā, Rāṭhore Durgādās, Shivājī, Chatraśāl Buñdelā, Guru Goviñdsīñhā, and Mahārājā Rañjitsīñha in an effective manner. The style, however, is traditional.

Ācārya Tulasī (born in 1914), the 9th Ācārya of Terāpañth (Śwetāambar) has revived the tradition of Carit Kāvya by composing in Rajasthani *Māṇak Mahimā*, *Ḍālim Caritra*, *Kālū Yaśovilās* and *Magan Caritra*. They are on the lives, works and preachings respectively of Māṇak Gaṇi, Ḍāl Gaṇi, Kālū Gaṇi

(the 6th, 7th, and 8th Ācāryas) and Muni Maganlāl of Terāpañth. The language is easy and the style simple.

Some other poets of this tradition are Murārīdās of Būndi (1838-1907), Bārhaṭ Bālābhakṣa Pālāwat of Gujūkī, Alwar (1813-1917), Mahārājā Saṅgrāmsiṅha of Indragarh, Kota (latter half of the 19th century), Mukuṅd Dān of Bhuwāl, Mertā (1886-1952), Rāv Mān Kumārī of Udaipur (born in 1905), Ṭhākur Revatsiṅha Bhāṭi of Narwar, Kishangarh (born in 1902), Kesarisiṅha Sonyāṅā of Udaipur, Fateh Karaṅ Ūjaḷ of Ūjlān, Jodhpur, Sādhu Bhāwan Dās of Jodhpur, Akṣay Siṅha Ratanū of Jaipur; Haṅūṅtsiṅhā Dewḍā, Dev Karaṅ Bārhaṭ, Indokali, and Śaktidān Kaviyā of Jodhpur.

The contribution of sañt-bhakti and nīti poems is no less either. The tradition of religious and spiritual poems by poets belonging to some religious sects and the poets free from such sectarian attachment continued in the Modern Period but mostly in the conventional style. Rājśrī 'Sādhanā', Kanhaiyā Lāl Dūgaḍ (*Gītāñ rī Guñjār*) and others have written devotional poems. Nīti poems include Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā's *Ramañiyai rā Soraṭhā* (1940), Māṅgelāl Caturvedī's *Maru Bhāratī* (1952), Bhaumrāj Bhambīrū Maṅgal's *Mūñghā Moī* (1944), Manohar Śarmā Mañjul's *Rajasthānī Guñj* (1959), Caṅdraśekhara Vyās's *Śekhara kā Soraṭhā* (1957), and Kanhaiyālāl Dūgaḍ's *Vicār Bāwnī* (1969).

Poetry: Changing Phase and Voice (1947 onwards)

With the organization of Prajamañḍals in the States, some local workers attempted to awaken socio-political consciousness through composition and recitation of songs mostly based on the popular folk-tunes and styles. Māñikyalāl Varmā, Hirālāl Śāstrī, Jaynārāyaṅ Vyās, Sumaneś Jośi, Ganeśīlāl Vyās 'Ustād', Bhairavlāl 'Kālā Bādal' and others wrote such songs, meant more to create a climate of political awakening than to be pieces of literature proper. They drew the attention of the people towards their mother tongue. This trend still continues in some form.

Two notable poems, which paved the way for future Rajasthanī poetry, are Caṅdrasiṅha's poem on tiny clouds, *Vādaḷī*

(1941) and *Saināñī* by Meghrāj 'Mukul', first recited in the Rajasthani Sahitya Sammelan held at Dinājpur in 1944. *Vādañī* is nature-poetry and *Saināñī* is a versified story based on a historical event. The motivation is the prevailing current of patriotism. Both the poems are of historic importance.

Saināñī attracted not only thousands of people towards Rajasthani but also inspired poets to compose poems on similar themes. It paved the way for recitation of Rajasthani poems in 'Kavi Sammelans'.

Later on, longer narrative poems or proto-epic poems were written. In fact, there is no difference between a story in verse and a proto-epic poem, in the nature of contents. The difference is only in the intensity of treatment. The story of a life or an isolated event is the common factor on which both are based. Some longer poems by way of homage have been written. A major part of modern poetry is lyrical. There are also poems in stray metres which cannot be specifically classed as lyrics.

Literary magazines in Rajasthani have played a significant role, after Independence, in the promotion of modern Rajasthani literature. Pioneer among them is *Maru Vāñī*, a monthly magazine started in 1953 in Jaipur by Rāwat Sāraswat. This was followed by *Oḷamo* at Ratangarh by Kiśor Kalpnākāñt. More than a hundred writers in Rajasthani have been brought to light by these magazines.

After Independence, partly due to social, economic and political conditions, and partly due to spread of socialistic ideologies, many poems designated as pragatiśīl (progressive) were composed. Humorous and satirical poems were also produced. Chinese aggression and wars with Pakistan revived the nationalist fervour, unity and patriotism. Many poems depicting national awakening and heroism were composed. The poets hailed Rajasthan for its glorious history.

In the middle of the seventies, some young poets started writing on the pattern of Hindi. This came to be known as Naī Kavītā. Changes in attitude to life, human values, environment and individualistic tendencies are the main notes of this poetry. Due to this movement, a change in literature has come about and this is visible in the whole modern Rajasthani literature.

It may broadly be said, however, that the modern Rajasthani poetry is mostly based on and motivated by nationalism, thoughts of human liberation, and individual sentiments in one form or the other.

Many Rajasthani writers have been influenced by the conspicuous trends in contemporary literature in other Indian languages. There are only a few poets who may be isolated as belonging to a particular trend. Many of them have contributed in a larger or smaller degree, to more than one of the trends mentioned hereinafter.

The Modern Rajasthani Poetry may be classified under the following heads:

(1) Narrative or Proto-Epic Poetry including 'Homage Poetry'.

(2) Nature Poetry.

(3) Lyrical and other Poetry, which may be further subdivided as follows:

- (i) Stories in Verse
- (ii) Humour and Satire
- (iii) Pragatiśil (Progressive)
- (iv) Love of the land
- (v) Patriotic and Heroic
- (vi) Odes and Elegies
- (vii) Love and Eroticism
- (viii) Nai Kavitā.

We shall now briefly take note of the notable poems under these heads.

(1) *Narrative or Proto-Epic Poetry*

The subject matter of such poems is mainly (1) Mythological and Religious (2) Historical, and (3) Legendary. The poets have tried to give a new interpretation to such stories.

Rāmdūt (1966) by Śrīmañt Kumār Vyās, in 14 small 'sargas', is about Hanumān and his deeds, based on the *Rāmāyaṇ* story, and is the only Rajasthani poem of its type. The poem starts with Hanumān, in the disguise of a Brahmin, meeting Ram and ends with his showing Ram and Sita in his

heart in the court at Ayodhyā. The poet presents a compact and comprehensive picture of Hanumān in this poem.

Rām Kathā (1966) by Viśwanāth 'Vimaleś', divided into five 'adhyāyas', retells briefly the story of Ram from His birth to coronation at Ayodhyā. It is the only poem in this style and is in easy Rajasthani with colloquial influence of Śekhāwaṭī.

Laṅkāṇ Dhaṇī (1976) (the Master of Laṅkā, i.e., Rāwaṇ) by Nānūrām Saṅskartā is about Rāwaṇ, presenting the lofty side of the Rāwaṇ legend. Rāwaṇ has been presented as a great patriot, scholar and a person of lofty character. The poem starts from Śūrpaṅkhā's complaint to Rāwaṇ about her humiliation at the hands of Ram and Lakṣmaṇ and ends with Rāwaṇ's death on the field of battle. Lord Śiv calls Rāwaṇ's death the departure of one of the noblest symbols of humanity. Vibhīṣaṇ has been characterised as a devotee of Ram but a traitor to his homeland. Sacrifice for one's own land has been eulogized. Though the poet has tried to give a new orientation to the Rāwaṇ legend, the effort has failed to create the desired impact because of the prevailing traditional sentiments about *Rāmyāṇa*. The poem is in six 'sargas' and in easy Rajasthani.

Manohar Śarmā's contribution in this respect is remarkable. His *Kuñjān* is a poem on separated lovers, on the model of *Meghdūt*. A prince in love, belonging to Bikaner, sends home messages to his beloved through a bird known as Kūñjān. Through the description of the bird's flight, the geography of Rajasthan with relevant historical background is given.

His *Gopī Gīt* is in the tradition of Bhramar Gīt poetry and deals with Nirguṇ and Saguṇ bhakti and purity of love.

Mārwaṇī is based on the folk love tale of Ḍholā-Mārū. Here Ḍholā, Mārū and Mālwaṇī have been presented respectively as symbols of 'Jiv', 'Vidyā' and 'Avidyā' and thus an allegorical significance has been imparted to the story.

Pañchī narrates the pathetic story of a parrot.

His *Bāpū* deals with the life of Mahātmā Gāndhī.

Amarphaḷ and *Aṅtarjāmī* are based on the *Kaṭh* and *Ken* Upaniṣads. *Amarphaḷ* tells the story of Naciketā and his attaining Ātmagyān from Yamraj. Objects of Nature have been presented as symbols of different emotions. Indra, the hero of

Āntarjāmī, has been presented as a symbol of modern man. It is a thought-provoking poem.

All these poems by Manohar Śarmā were published during three years (1958 to 1960). His *Dhorān ro Saṅgīt* (1978) comprises short poems set to musical tunes and portray the characters of popular love stories. The poet occasionally reshapes the stories and adds an allegorical touch. He emphasizes purity of love.

The story of *Mānakho* (1964) by Girdhārīsīnha Paḍihār has been woven from stray references available in the *Mahābhārat* and other Purāṇs. Kṛṣṇa wished to punish Cetan Gaṇḍharva for his rash act of spitting a betel on Gālav ṛṣi. None gave shelter to Cetan Gaṇḍharva, who decided to burn himself. This resolve of Cetan gave a shock to his wife who wailed bitterly. Her wailings were heard by Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa. This noble lady sheltered Cetan against the wrath of Kṛṣṇa. This infuriated Kṛṣṇa, but Arjun and Subhadrā fought Him. This fight created a disastrous chaos in the universe. Nārad and Gālav apprehending danger to the entire universe, interceded and the fight was ended. In Girdhārīsīnha's poem Subhadrā has been presented as the saviour of humanity. The poem is remarkable for its depth of emotion, charming description and felicity of language. It draws pointed attention to the horrors of war.

Satyaprakāś Jośī's *Rādhā* (1960) portrays Rādhā's boundless love in a new context. It is not limited to herself and only her own joy and pain. She tries to desist Kṛṣṇa from devastation in the battle of Mahābhārat and asks him to spread the constructive message of prosperity and peace. The poem appears to be influenced by *Kanupriyā* of Dharmvīr Bhārati.

Satyaprakāś Jośī's *Bol Bhārmalī* (1974) is an erotic poem, purported to be based on history. The main character is Bhārmalī, who narrates her own story. She was the maid servant of Umāde, the sulky queen of Rāv Māldev of Jodhpur. She brought grief to her own mistress. Ultimately, she left the Rāv's palace and sought shelter with Bāghā of Koṭḍā. We have already stated this episode while discussing Bārhaṭ Āsā's poetry.

The poet seems to depict the wanton sexual urge of a

woman, according to his own whims, in the name of Bhārmali, irrespective of historical and literary traditions, realism and decency. Jośi's poetic genius would have been better utilized, had he chosen some other story. However, if the historical context is ignored, the feelings of Bhārmali at some places are touching.

Bārhaṭ Karaṇīdān's *Śakuṅtalā* (1974) is based on the mythological story but offers a new interpretation. It emphasizes the feminine self-respect. His other poem is *Śrī Rāṇī Satī* (1975) based on the popular story. Rāṇī Satī is worshipped as a folk goddess, whose temple is at Jhunjhunū. Śeṭh Jālījī was a munīm (accountant) of the Nawab of Hissar. His son Tanadhan had a mare. The Nawab's son wanted to have this mare but Tanadhan would not part with it. A conflict ensued in which the soldiers of the Nawab's son were killed by Tanadhan. Then Tanadhan went to fetch his wife Nīrāṇī from her father's place. While on their way back, the Nawab's son attacked them again. Tanadhan was killed fighting. Nīrāṇī then fought and killed the Nawab's son. She then performed Satī near Jhunjhunū.

Maru Mayaṅk (*Śrī Rāmdev Caritra*) (1961) by Kānha Maharṣi narrates the life and work of Rāmdevjī Tanwar, one of the famous five folk gods of Rajasthan. He is worshipped for his benevolent deeds and miraculous powers. But, in this poem, he has been presented as a social worker who gives up his claims to ancestral property and works for social uplift and eradication of untouchability.

Mīrāṅ (1976) by Nārāyaṅsiṅha Bhāṭī is about Mīrāṅbāī. The emphasis is on Mīrāṅ's emotions and her pathetic circumstances. There are occasional descriptions of nature in the context of varying human moods. Mīrāṅ's love is for Lord Kṛṣṇa, the Absolute. The poet has not neglected the historical tradition though there are occasional lapses. The language is sometimes clumsy and renders some passages unintelligible.

Delyāṅ ko Diwalo (1963) by Banwārīlāl Miśra 'Suman' narrates the life and deeds of Rāṅā Pratāp. It starts from 'jauhar' of Rāṅī Karmā and other women and Pannā Dhāy's sacrifice of her son in order to save Udaysiṅha. It is a poem of

vīr ras written in fluent Rajasthani in a forceful way with effective imagery.

Sīsdān (1961) by Satyanārāyaṇ 'Aman', in two sargas, is a tale of heroism and sacrifice by Jagdev Pañwār, a courtier of Siddhrāv Jaysiṅha of Gujarat. The story is based on a mixture of history and folk-lore. The expression is lively with frequent use of idioms and proverbs.

Dharatī (1976) by Sūryaśaṅkar Pārīk describes realistically the rural Rajasthan life, its customs, traditions and culture, its daily life, joys and sorrows in the context of nature and seasons. It is purely a descriptive poem, not based on any connected story. The language is unsophisticated Rajasthani. Pārīk's *Siddh Jasnāthjī ro Siraloko* (1977) is a versified biography of saint Jasnāthjī in three prakaraṇas in 354 verses.

Gopīcaṅd (1977) by Nānūrām Saṅskartā in six 'samai' is on the well-known nāth siddh Gopīcaṅd. The poem is based on popular legends with slight variations.

Raghurājsiṅha Hāḍā's *Hardaul* (1978) is a short poem in five 'sargas' on the Buṅdelkhaṅḍ warrior Hardaul, the younger brother of Jhujarsiṅha the ruler of Oḍchā. The narrative is mostly in colloquial Hāḍautī.

Biṅdrāban (1978) by Mahāvīrprasād Jośī is a narrative poem in 17 'sargas' on Kṛṣṇā's various līlās in Vṛṅdāvan. There are occasional descriptions of nature. The poem is tinged with bhakti. The narrative is smooth and the language easy.

Sūraj (1978) by Premjī 'Prem' is a poem of 101 verses on the famous poet Sūryamall Miśraṅ. It portrays Sūryamall Miśraṅ's feelings.

Very different in nature is the simple narrative poem *Piv Bāṅdhav rai Bhekh* (1978) by Kalyāṅ Gautam. Based mostly on folklore, it tells the moving story of a young Rājput husband who gives a pledge to a moneylender to treat his wife as his sister till he pays off the loan of two thousand rupees which he had taken to bring his bride home. After faithfully keeping his pledge through a period of hardship, he pays off the debt through the generosity of the queen of Cittore in whose household the couple had taken up service.

Homage Poems

Such poems pay homage to some historical character and in the process depict the lofty human values. These poems, devoid of any continuous story, take into account the event or environment as a whole with particular relation to the character concerned as its background.

Nārāyaṅsiṅha Bhāṭī, Rāmeśwardayāl Śrīmālī, Rāmsiṅha Solaṅkī and others have written such poems.

In *Durgādās* (1956) by Bhāṭī, Durgādās Rāṭhore of Mārwar has been depicted as a hero who rises to the occasion and proves his valour and humanity. The diction is powerful.

In his *Param Vīr* (1963) Bhāṭī pays high homage to Major Śaitānsiṅha of Kumaūn Regiment, celebrating his heroism. Śaitānsiṅha laid down his life in defending the air base at Chuśul in Laddākh during the Chinese attack in 1962.

Many others, such as Rewatsiṅha Bhāṭī, Sawāisiṅha Dhamorā, Mukansiṅha, Surajansiṅha Śekhāwat, Haṇuṅtsiṅha Dewḍā, Udayrāj Ūjaḷ, Akṣayasiṅha Ratanū, Saubhāgyasiṅha Śekhāwat, Mān Kumārī Rāv, Sāṅwaldān Āsiyā, and Jogidān Kaviyā have also paid poetic homage to Śaitānsiṅha and other heroes including Param Vīr Chakra winner Pīrūsiṅha who sacrificed their lives in fighting against the Chinese attack on India.

Rāmeśwardayāl Śrīmālī's *Hāḍī Rāṅī* (1965) is based on the same historical episode which is narrated in Mukul's *Saināṅī*. The newly married Hāḍī Rāṅī urged her husband to go to the battlefield. He sent a messenger to ask his bride to give a memento to the husband who was proceeding to war. The bride suspected that the love-lorn warrior might fight only with an attention divided between her and the war. She resolved the suspense by cutting off and presenting her own head as a memento. This lofty sacrifice of the Rāṅī has earned heartfelt homage from the poet.

Both the above poems, Nārāyaṅsiṅha Bhāṭī's *Durgādās* and Śrīmālī's *Hāḍī Rāṅī*, are in blank verse.

Bāwno Himalo (1971) by Śrīmālī describes the ideals for which Mahātmā Gāndhī fought, his life and work. It is in the traditional form of Diṅgal gīt.

Rāmsiṅha Solāṅkī's *Jan Nāyak Pratāp* (1976) presents Rāṅā Pratāp as a hero of the people who fought for freedom and sacrificed everything for the sake of country, high ideals and values. The poem consists of 234 sorāṭhās.

Some other poems dealing with Rāṅā Pratāp and the battle of Haldighāṭī have also been written. But their treatment is narrative and is not exactly in the nature of homage.

Pratāp Patākā (1973) of Ṭhākur Raṅvīrsiṅha Śaktāwat 'Rasik' eulogizes Rāṅā Pratāp in 236 dohās. *Mahārāṅā rī Oḷyūn* (1956) by Kuṅwar Ummedsīṅha Khīndāsar and *Bhārat Sūrya* (1965) by Dīnēś Mīśra, both small poems, describe in easy Rajasthani mainly the battle of Haldighāṭī and the condition of the Rāṅā based mostly on Tod's version.

(2) Nature Poetry

In the Old Rajasthani literature nature has been described more as a stimulus to emotions than as an object of portrayal in her own right. *Vasaṅt Vilās*, already mentioned in the Early Period, and a few old stray poems, however, may be taken as exceptions. In the Modern Period portrayal of nature as an object begins with Caṅdrasiṅha's poem on the tiny clouds, *Vādaḷī* (in 130 dohās), already mentioned. Another of his poems *Lū* (in 104 dohās) is on the fierce hot winds that blow during summer in Rajasthan. This poem is even more important in the tradition of nature poetry. In these poems the rain and the summer have been respectively depicted in a subtle, picturesque and natural way. The expression is powerful and effective. In *Vādaḷī* the pleasurable enthusiasm generated by rains has been presented. In *Lū*, after describing the terror of the hot wind, the torment and plight of living beings caused by it, the climatic condition has been held out as bestower of life to the clouds. Selective diction and minute observation of nature are the characteristics of these poems. Caṅdrasiṅha's contribution in this field is unique.

Nānūrām Saṅskartā's poems, *Kaḷāyaṅ* (1949), *Das Dev* (1955) and *Prakṛti Saīkaḍo* (100 verses) on nature, included in his *Chappay Satsai* (1972) are significant. *Kaḷāyaṅ* does not confine itself to describing the rainy season only but extends to

description of summer, winter and spring in natural sequence, including the life of the people in general. In *Das Dev*, the significance of the ten village gods has been brought out in a simple manner. Of the ten gods five, viz., Nim, Khejḍā, Phog, Jhāḍkho and Jāl are trees and the remaining five, viz., Kūvo, Joḍō, Dhorā, Khaṇdeḍo and Khāṇ are aspects of Earth in different situations. In *Prakṛti Saīkaḍo* objects of nature along with human feelings and activities have been depicted in chap-pay metre.

Manohar Śarmā has also dealt with nature in his stray poems such as 'Uṣā', 'Vandevī', and 'Kiraṇ' included in *Ras Dhārā*, and 'Arāwalī', 'Jharṇo', and 'Ṭibā' in *Arāwalī kī Ātmā* (1947). In another poem *Gajmotī* (in 100 verses) nature has been viewed with mystic curiosity.

Sāñjh (1954) by Nārāyaṇsiṅha Bhāṭi depicts in 115 verses the reaction of the living beings to the evening, desires and doings of the village folk and above all the beauty of the evening. *Sāñjh* is rich in imagery and is notable for depiction of rural life.

Meghmā! (1964, v.s. 2021) by Sumersiṅha Śekhāwat depicts in 108 verses the beauty of the dense clouds in the rainy season, with occasional reference to human joys and sorrows. At certain places, the poem appears to be influenced by Kalidās's *Meghdūt*.

Ḍāñphī (1973) of Udayvīr Śarmā describes the cold wave, and its terrible effects on nature and on living beings. The language is easy and idiomatic.

Kalyāṇsiṅha Rājāwat's *Parabhāṭī* (1979), a major nature poem, makes use of the device of personification to portray nature.

It may broadly be said that these poems contain a composite picture of nature and human life. Attribution of human thoughts and feelings to nature is also discernible. This tendency is prominent in *Sāñjh*.

Apart from these poems which are exclusively on nature, there are many lyrical poems portraying its various aspects. The poets include Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā, Gajānan Varmā, Kiśor Kalpanākānt, Manohar 'Prabhākar', Raghurājsiṅha Hāḍā (*Phūl*

Kesulā Phul, 1976), Kalyāṅsiṅha Rājāwat, Saubhāgyasiṅha Śekhāwat, Sumaneś Jośi, Gaṇeśilāl Vyās 'Ustād', Madangopāl Śarmā, Trilok Goyal, Meghrāj 'Mukul', Satyen Jośi, Śaktidān Kaviyā and Nārāyaṇ Datt Śrīmālī (in the anthology *Mimjhar*, 1963).

Bārahmāsā of Gajānan Varmā describes the twelve months of the year, but, due to a preoccupation with folk-life and preponderance of musical tunes, it differs slightly from this sort of traditional poetry.

Nature has been chosen as a medium for philosophical speculation, presentation of ideologies, and solution of human problems. This tendency is noticed in the poems of Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā. Nature has been viewed with mystic curiosity, as in the poems of Manohar Śarmā. Seṭhiyā's poems in this respect are important. Sometimes, in depicting an object of nature a universal truth is hinted only at the end, or a thought or experience is projected in allegorical description of nature throughout. This style charged with imagination is unique. Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā ranks high in this respect. Many such poems, e.g., 'Jhar-Jhar pākā pān paḍai', 'Bhaṅwaro', 'Dūbaḍī', 'Papiho', 'Pañchī', 'Māṭī', 'Git', 'Ciḍkalyān', 'Sarwariyo' etc., are included in his *Mimjhar* (1972, v.s. 2029).

In *Līlāns* (1974) and *Dhar Kūncān Dhar Majaḷān* (1979) Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā has broken new grounds. The poems are not merely ideological, but have grown out of his experiences and a deep insight into human existence. The poems reflect his faith in Indian cultural values and seek to awaken critical thinking.

Objects of nature have been chosen as symbols in expressing progressive ideology. 'Dānphar' and 'Chiyān Tāwaḍo' by 'Mukul', 'Inklāb ri Āndhi' by Rewatdān Cāraṇ and 'Rohiḍo' by Gajānan Varmā, 'Rohiḍai rā Phul' by Iswarānaṅd Śarmā are instances in point.

Some other poets describing nature in one form or the other are Rāmgopāl Śarmā 'Nawal', Raśid Ahmad 'Pahāḍī', Oṅkār Pārīk, Lakṣmaṅsiṅha 'Raswaṅt', Raghurājsiṅha Hāḍā, Jamanāprasād Ṭhāḍā 'Rāhi', Gopāl Lāl Prajāpati, Māṅak Tiwāī 'Baṅdhu', Sitārām Maharṣi, Śāntilāl Bhārdwāj 'Rakeś', Bāl-

kṛṣṇa Tholambiyā, Brajeś 'Cañcal', Kānsiñha Bhāṭi, Dayā-śaṅkar Ārya, Brajmohan Māthur, Sūryaśaṅkar Pārīk, Gauri-śaṅkar Ārya, Gaṅgārām Pathik, Naṅdkīśor Pārīk, Viśwanāth 'Vimaleś' and Durgādānsiñha Gauḍ.

Most of the poems are on rains, clouds, rainy season, and Sawan—subjects naturally dear to the desert dwellers. Next come Phāgūn and Spring. Other subjects include Cāndani, Amāwas, Panaghat, Prabhāt, Khejaḍā, Jāl, and the river Chambal.

(3) *Lyrical and Other Poetry*

(i) *Stories in Verse*

Celebration of heroes and heroism has been the tradition of Cāraṇ Poetry as also of the Rajasthani folk literature. This tradition continued in the modern times though in a lesser degree. Heroes, anecdotes of heroism, self-sacrifice, honour, human qualities, love for freedom and high ideals were chosen as subjects by the poets to project and strengthen the national feelings.

Mukul's *Saināṇī*, already mentioned, is an event in this respect. He wrote many other poems including 'Hiraul', 'Āṇ ri Bāt', 'Koḍamde', 'Cañwari', and 'Rāṇi Padmaṇī' (*Saināṇī ri Jāgī Jot*, 1967; *Kiratyāñ*, 1968). An equally powerful and important poem, 'Pātaḷ'r Pīthaḷ' (*Mīñjhar*, 1972) was composed by Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā. It recalls the plight of Rāṇā Pratāp in the jungles and the poet Pṛthvirāj's letter to him, and is based on history and popular legend.

Most of the poems are based on facts and there are a number of poems on a single theme.

Poems were also composed on mythological and secular love stories and popular folk legends. Girdhārisiñha Paḍihār's *Jāgatī Jotāñ* (1960) scaled new peaks in the decaying tradition of this kind of poetry. His poems 'Meghnād', 'Sispāl', 'Puru', 'Pābūjī' are notable in this respect.

Poems of 'Mukul', Seṭhiyā and Paḍihār rank high due to their narrative beauty, diction and dialogues. They depict a variety of emotions, internal conflicts of characters, quickness

of action and touching incidents. Manohar Śarmā's poems, *Arāwalī kī Ātmā* and *Gīt Kathā* (1947), are in the traditional dohā metre and significant. Some other poets who have tried their hand at writing stories in verse include Banwārīlāl Miśra 'Suman' (*Prem Pradīp*, 1969, v.s. 2026), Karaṇīdān Bārhaṭ (*Jhar Jhar Kañthā*), Sūraj Solankī (*Jūnī Vātāñ*), Rāmpālī Bhāṭī (*Cār Gāthā*, 1953), Raghurājsiñha Hāḍā (*Añ Bāñcyā Ākhar*, 1970), Nānūrām Sañskartā (*Sāñkaḷ Sañdhāñ*, 1973), and Dayā-śañkar Ārya (*Maru Miñjhar*, 1966).

(ii) Humour and Satire

The aim of humorous and satirical poems is delight, exposure of evils and anomalies, and reform. What Satyanārāyaṇ 'Aman' has written about his own poems is valid for others as well:

Your pinches, O Aman! are like the brew of leaves of 'nim' and 'gilory'. It does give a bitter taste in the mouth but restores health to the body. (*Cūñṭhiyā*, 1961, v.s. 2018).

Humour and satire change with changing social conditions and ideas. With the increasing complexity and variety of life, the scope of such poetry has increased. Such poems have been written on individual, political, social, religious and cultural oddities.

Viśwanāth 'Vimales' is a pioneer in this field. His poems are on social and political themes, with pleasant teasings. A collection of his poems, *Nav Ras Meñ Ras Hāsya*, was published in 1973. This includes the poems earlier published in *Cheḍ-khāñī*, *Kucarāñī* and *Ṭaskolī*. Vimales's forty-eight poems in *Janatā ko Darbār* (1977) seek to express his reaction to the experience of the Emergency (June 1975- March 1977). In his characteristic style he also writes about the members of the caucus that ruled the country then.

This is also the style of Nāgrāj Śarmā whose major poems (*Birkhā Bīnañī*, *Thāro ke Lyāñ Hāñ*, 1974) deal with social and political themes.

Satyanārāyaṇ 'Aman' hints directly at the political situation in his poem *Cūñṭhiyā*, and makes the reader painfully restless.

Like 'Vimaleś', he is very effective.

Premjī Prem's poems in his *Camaco* (1973) ridicule the opportunistic political leaders and their stooges.

The poems of Annārām 'Sudāmā', in his *Piro! meñ Kuttī Byāī* (1969), portray the corrupt and perverted life resulting from the materialistic outlook, particularly in the cities.

In his *Cūñkyā* (1964), *Cabaḍkā* (1964), *Tirasā* (1964), *Kaldār*, and *Īndar Sūñ Interview* (1969), Buddhiprakāś Pārik points out in minute detail the helplessness, poverty and social evils prevalent among the lower middle class people.

(iii) *Pragatiśīl (Progressive)*

Rajasthani poets have been alert and ahead of time about the changing political and social conditions. We have already considered the political foresight of Bāñkidās and Śaṅkardān Sāmaur and the reformist note of Ūmardān Lālas. After the Independence, the poets felt the hard realities in political, social and economic spheres. They began to expose the mad race, corruption, injustice, anomalies, disparities and exploitation prevalent in these fields. They gave voice to sorrows and sufferings of the common man, particularly the farmer. Their styles, of course, varied. A few poets took to humour and satire. Many others depicted the pitiable conditions in two ways: (1) by drawing attention to the realities and giving straightforward warnings, (2) by pleading steadfast adherence to the path of virtue inspite of difficulties.

In the first type of poetry, glimpses of pleasures and pains of rural life have been portrayed.

Gaṇeśīlāl Vyās 'Ustād', a powerful poet, is a pioneer in this field. Himself a freedom fighter and a man of wide experience, he raised his voice against all kinds of injustice. Straightforwardness, clarity of thoughts, and unsophisticated language are the characteristics of his poems. Some of his poems have been published in *Jan Kavi Ustād* (1972). He also composed *Nṛtya Gīt Rūpak*, *Nṛtya Gīt* etc.

Sumaneś Jośī is another notable poet in this sphere. Mukul's contribution is significant in that he continuously wrote on a variety of topics with pointed emphasis and purposeful satire.

In the poems of Gajānan Varmā, Rāmeśwardayāl Śrīmālī and a few others, vivid glimpses of village life have been portrayed with progressive thoughts in a natural and lucid way. In *Jūjhatī Jūṇ* (1979) Mohammed Sadiq has portrayed man's untiring struggle for survival with a rare optimism. The poems of Rewatdān Cāraṇ, Premcaṇḍ Rāwal, Manuj Depāwat, Trilok Śarmā, Śrīmaṅtkumār Vyās, Bhīm Pāṇḍiyā and others bear the influence of communist thought. The poems of Rewatdān Cāraṇ are notable for their diction, content and emotion.

Almost all the poets writing patriotic poems have also tried their hand at pragatiśil poetry. Kiśor Kalpanākānt, Satyanārāyaṇ 'Aman', Oṅkār Pārīk, Raghurājsiṅha Hāḍā, Kalyāṇsiṅha Rajāwat, Satyaprakāś Jośī, Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā, Haṇūṅtsiṅha Dewḍa, Ved Vyās, Bhaṅwarsiṅha Sāmaur, Durgādānsiṅha Gauḍ, Harivallabh 'Hari', Girdhārīlāl Mālav, Gaurīśaṅkar Śarmā and Māṇak Tiwāri 'Baṅdhu' have contributed to both the patriotic and the pragatiśil schools of poetry.

In the second type of poems, the emphasis is on the value of human virtues. 'That in the modern times the brain has progressed but the heart has shrunk'; 'Men are many but real human beings few'; 'Man should hold his own against odds'; such and similar ideas have been emphasized in sensitive and impressive ways. These poems form a class by themselves in lyrical poetry.

Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā's 'Minakh'; Mukul's 'Ghyārī meṅ Mānakho', 'Māṇas aur Kumāṇas', and 'Minakh Bāpḍo'; Nārāyaṇsiṅha Bhāṭī's 'Māṅṇas'; Gaṇpaticāṇḍra Bhaṅḍārī's 'Minakhpaṇai ro Kāl'; Māṇak Tiwāri Baṅdhu's 'Label', and 'Mānakhai rā Āsār'; Sūryaśaṅkar Pārīk's 'Dīsāt rā Minakh'; Satyaprakāś Jośī's 'Jai Mānakhā', and 'Dharati rā Diyā'; Gaurīśaṅkar Kamleś's 'Manakh Nāṅgo Hoto Jā Ryo Che'; Mūlcaṇḍ Prāṇes's 'Āvo Āpāṅ Ādamiyat Ūgāvāṅ'; Dīndayāl Ojhā's 'Mānavatā rā Ākhar'; Caṇḍīdān Sāṅḍū's 'Minakh ro Māp'; Vinod Somāṇī Haṅs's 'Jiwaṇai ro Maram' and 'Minakha Jūṇ', and Dayāśaṅkar Ārya's 'Ādmī Sūṅ Pyār Kar Tūṅ' are good examples of this class of poetry.

(iv) Love of the Land

Many modern poets have sung praises of Rajasthan with deep love and reverence. Such poems portray the characteristics of the people, nature, historical places, heroes and the glory of Rajasthan. Some poems caught the popular imagination so widely as to have assumed the status of folk songs. Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā's 'Dharatī Dhorān rī' (*Mīnjhar*) is an example.

Gaṇpaticāndra Bhaṇḍārī's 'Pyāro Marudhar Des' (*Rakta-dīp*), Oṅkār Pārik's 'Git Dhīrān Vīrān rī Dharatī ro' (*Mor-pāṅkh*), Madangopāl Śarmā's 'Dhorān Hāḷo Des' and 'O raṅg Rūḍo Rajasthan' (*Gokhai Ūbhī Goraḍī*), Māṅak Tiwārī Baṇḍhu's 'Jalam Bhom' (*Ākharmā!*), Aman's 'Mātā nai Baṇḍaṅ' (in the anthology *Āj rā Kavī*), Rāmdev Ācārya's 'Nit Rājasthān Jiyo' (in the anthology *Rajasthan ke Kavī*, Part II), Gaṇpati Swāmī's 'Murdhar Des' (*ibid.*), Caṇḍidān Saṇḍū's Ḍiṅgal gīt 'Rūḍo Rājasthān' (*ibid.*) are some such poems.

(v) Patriotic and Heroic

Rajasthan is an area from which many soldiers for the Indian Army are recruited. Consequently, the sons of Rajasthan have contributed to the glory of our fighting forces and quite a number of them have acquired high military distinctions or embraced death in battle. Their bravery and sacrifice have naturally inspired poets to sing their praises. Wars against China and Pakistan have brought forth poetic celebration of bravery and patriotism. Such poems are both in the traditional form and in the modern style. Because of their patriotic tone and profusion of numbers, they appear quite distinct from the other Rajasthani poems. Almost every poet contributed to the prevailing national feeling. Their diction is forceful and style individualistic. Such poems mostly depict the feelings of self-sacrifice, dedication, glory, enthusiasm, challenge and even reproach. We have already mentioned a few poets while discussing 'Homage Poetry'. Some more names are: Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā, 'Mukul', Kalyāṅsiṅha Rājāwat, Raśīd Ahmad Pahāḍī, Dayāśaṅkar Ārya, Karaṇidān Bārhaṭ, Chaganlāl Śarmā, Raghurājsiṅha Hāḍā, Gopāl Lāl Prajāpati, Māṅak Tiwārī 'Baṇḍhu', Sūryaśaṅkar Pārik, Sitārām Maharṣi, Hari-

vallabh 'Hari', Brajés 'Cancal', Premjī 'Prem', Rādheśyām Śarmā, Śiv Pānde, Kānha Maharṣi, Nānūrām Saṅskartā, Maqbūl Ahmad, Bhaṅwarsinḥa Sāmaur, Girdhārīsīnḥa Paḍihār, 'Ustād', Sumaneś Jośi, Amar Depāwat, Rewatdān Cāraṇ, 'Vimaleś', Buddhīprakāś Pārik, Lakṣmaṅsinḥa Raswaṅt, Trilok Goyal, Gajānan Varmā, Rāwat Sāraswat, Bhīm Pāṅḍiyā, Nirānjan Nāth Ācārya, Madangopāl Śarmā, Satyaparakāś Jośi, Śrimaṅt Kumār Vyās, Dev Kisan Rājpurōhit, and Bastīmal Solānki.

(vi) *Odes and Elegies*

Marsiyās were written in abundance in Old Rajasthani poetry and the tradition is still not extinct. The elegy and marsiyā, though apparently similar, could be differentiated on the basis of a strong personal note. While the sentiment of grief in marsiyā is more personal, such sentiment in elegy is more universal. Elegies written on the death of Mahātmā Gāndhī are notable. Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā's 'Bikhai rā Āṅkh meṅ Āṅsū', Mukul's 'Lori', 'Dharm ro Marm Gāndhī Jānyo' (*Gāndhī Jīwan Jyoti*, 1970), Girdhārīsīnḥa Paḍihār's 'O Cār Bhujā ro Viṣṇū Hai' (in the anthology *Gāndhī Gāthā*), and Karaṅidān Bārhaṭ's 'Jad Minakhpaṅoṅ Hiḍakāyo to' (*ibid.*), are such poems. Apart from these elegies, many eulogizing poems, forming a class by themselves, have been composed on Mahātmā Gāndhī and are published in *Gāndhī Gāthā*, *Gāndhī Jas Prakāś* and elsewhere.

In odes some object or being has been addressed and human feelings have been imposed on it. Nārāyaṅsinḥa Bhāṭī, Madangopāl Śarmā, Satyaparakāś Jośi, Kalyāṅsinḥa Rājāwat and others have composed good odes. But this is a sphere still to be enriched by poetic genius.

(vii) *Love and Eroticism*

In style, diction, imagery, similes and tunes, poems on love and eroticism are much influenced by Rajasthani folk-songs. Naturally their appeal is wider and effective. Such poems are mainly of two types: (1) Those which depict family and village life, and (2) Those which express human emotions, joys and sorrows. On the whole, the environment of both these types

of poetry is mostly rural and belongs to the past. Many poems, including the Oḷyūñ (memory of dear one) poems, cover both these aspects. Gajānan Varmā, Oñkār Pārik and Rām Gopāl Śarmā 'Nawal' have written erotic and love poems. Other poets are Raghurājsiñha Hāḍā, Ved Vyās, Bālkr̥ṣṇa Tholambiyā, 'Mukul', Māṇak Tiwāri 'Bañdhu', Nārāyaṇsiñha Bhāṭī, Trilok Goyal, Gordhansiñha Śekhāwat, Cañdrakumar 'Sukumār', Kalyāṇsiñha Rājāwat, Udayvīr Śarmā and Satyen Jośī.

Most of the second type of poems go by the name Oḷyūñ or Oḷūñ. Rajasthani folk-literature is rich in Oḷyūñ songs and this can be said about the modern literature too. Three long poems have also been written in this form. These are *Oḷūñ* (1964, 121 verses) by Nārāyaṇsiñha Bhāṭī, *Oḷūñ rī Oḷyāñ* (1970, 157 verses) by Tejsiñha Jodhā and *Prīt Pīḍ rī Pāḷ* (1971, 101 verses) by Sītārām Maharṣi. A note of pathos resounds in these poems.

In Bhāṭī's *Oḷūñ*, emotions of a newly married 'virahiṇī' bride have been expressed in a simple and touching way. The diction at places is quietly suggestive. There is a strong personal note in Jodhā's poem, which appears to be influenced by the famous Hindi poet Prasād's *Āñsū*. The metre is also similar. In *Prīt Pīḍ rī Pāḷ* expression of emotion is dominant over thought. Sītārām Maharṣi is basically a poet of tender emotions and pathos. This is evident also in his collection of poems *Machalī Man Mhāro* (1977).

Some small poems of this nature have also been written. Satyaprakāś Jośī's 'Oḷūñ', and Śrīmañt Kumār Vyās's 'Oḷyūñḍī' are such poems.

(viii) *Nai Kavita*

It appears that the nūñiñ (nayı) kavita of Rajasthani is inspired and influenced by the Nai Kavita of Hindi and modern British and American poetry. The motivating force behind this poetry is the rapid change in human values and aesthetics. This is due to a change in the environment and ways of urban life, breakdown of old patterns of relationships, the individualistic tendencies, complexities of life, struggle for existence, frustration and growing estrangement and isolation in social relations. The poet feels that life is insignificant and

meaningless, and that complexities, sufferings, longings and restlessness are the lot of man. To him urban social life appears to be divided into moments, devoid of contact. Such thoughts and the consequent pain have been expressed in *Naī Kavita*. This poetry does not always represent either a well considered view of life or intimate emotion but is mostly an intellectual reaction to life's problems. The tendency is personal, individualistic and often leads to pessimism. Naturally its outlook and frame of reference are limited.

The *Naī Kavita* of Rajasthani describes in detail the silent changes in the village life in particular and changes in individual life in general. Intimations of such changes are available in the poems of 'Mukul', Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā, Satyaprakāś Jośī and others, but the tendency gained force in the mid-seventies, mostly in the poems of the younger generation. They include Tejsiṅha Jodhā, Harman Cauhān, Maṇi Madhukar, Rāmeśwar-dayāl Śrīmālī, Sānwar Daiyā, Govardhansiṅha Śekhāwat, Naṅd Bhārdwāj, Rām Swarūp 'Pareś', Pāras Aroḍā, Prakāś Parimal, Omprakāś Bhāṭi, Onkār Pārīk, Kṛṣṇagopāl Śarmā, Sivraj Chaṅgāṇī, Caṅdraprakāś Dewal, Premji 'Prem' and others.

This trend is still in process and its future is unpredictable.

Blank verse was used by Nānūrām Saṅskartā in his *Samay Vāyaro* (1953), by Nārāyaṅsiṅha Bhāṭi in his *Durgādās* (1956), and others.

PROSE

(1) *Novels*

Śivcaṅdra Bhartiyā (1853-1918) was the pioneer novelist in Rajasthani. His *Kanak Suṅdar* (1903) is the first novel in Rajasthani, for which he has used the popular Gujarati term 'Nawal Kathā'. This deals with social evils through a tale of two families, headed by two brothers, Hazārimal and Muralīdhar. The family of Muralīdhar is reformist and that of Hazārimal orthodox. The writer upholds the ways of Muralīdhar's family.

Śrīnārāyaṇ Agrawāl's *Campā* (1925) deals with the problem of marriage in old age.

Both the novels are idealistic.

Thirty-one years after the publication of *Campā*, was published *Ābhai Paṭkī* (1956) by Śrīlāl Nathmal Jośī. *Ābhai Paṭkī* deals with the problems of the Hindu widowhood, and incidentally with superstitions and social evils. The writer offers a solution. Kisanā, widow of a wealthy trader Rāmcaṇḍ, is re-married to Mohan, a cousin of her deceased husband.

Jośī's *Dhorāñ ro Dhorī* (1968) tells the story of the famous scholar Dr. Tessitori, and presents him as a man of inexhaustible energy and lofty ideals. His *Ek Bīnañī Do Bīn* (1973) is a Rajasthani rendering in prose of Tennyson's narrative poem *Enoch Arden*. Jośī is a reformist and idealist. The result is that the selection of events and the characterization are guided by this view.

In Annārām Sudāmā's *Maikatī Kāyā Muḷakatī Dharatī* (1966), an old woman, Suganī (Suthāri Nāni) narrates her tragic story. She was forsaken by her husband, at the incitement of her widowed sister-in-law (nanad). Suganī did not lose faith in life and bore all hardships with a smile. The writer has drawn a realistic picture of life and emphasized the love of one's land.

Another of Sudāmā's novels, *Añdhī ar Āsthā* depicts the village life of Rajasthan. It is the story of a poor Brahmin family which holds its own in spite of social oppression and evil fate. Sudāmā has a style of his own, punctuated by idioms and proverbs.

In his story of the Rajasthan village in *Mevai rā Rūñkh?* (1977) 'Sudāmā' has in fact narrated the harrowing experience of the whole countryside of Rajasthan during the Emergency (June 1975- March 1977). It portrays the changing faces of the politicians during that time, describes forcible vasectomy, and the arrogance of the so-called 'youth leaders'. However, the focus of the novel is on the pivotal position that moneylenders occupy in the village life. It paints realistically the helpless dependence of the village folk on the moneylenders and their pathetic need to be on their right side. Sudāmā's style and language reached

a new peak in this work.

Yādaveṇdra Śarmā 'Caṇdra' has written two novels in Rajasthani—*Hūñ Gorī Kīñ Pīv rī* (1970) and *Jog Sañjog* (1973). *Hūñ Gorī Kīñ Pīv rī* depicts the life of a potter's widow, Sūrajaḍī, and her re-marriage with Mādho, her husband's younger brother. At places the psychological delineation of characters is very effective. *Jog Sañjog* narrates the story of a middle class trader Baṭuk's son, Gaṇeś who, cutting across the barriers of caste and tradition, marries a Christian girl. The main emphasis is at two levels: first, that sometimes things happen not as planned but as destiny decrees; second, that humanity and compassion sometimes enlighten the interior of apparently bad characters. *Hūñ Gorī Kīñ Pīv rī* ranks high in Rajasthani fiction.

Chatrapatisiṇha's *Tirasaṅkū* (1974) tells the story of Pawan, the graduate son of a zamīndār's kāmdār living at Naṇdgāñv. The first half describes his romance with Līnā, the wife of the zamīndār's son Baijū. Then he goes to Delhi for further studies and comes in contact with a girl Śail who is one of a group of revolutionaries. Through Śail, he is attracted towards the revolutionary movement. He finds evil motivation and selfishness in some of the revolutionaries. He returns to his village and divides all his property among the farmers and workers and forms a cooperative society of which he is the president. He loses the position due to the conspiracy of fellow members. He finds that the people in rural areas are fast becoming as crafty as in urban areas. Śail comes to Naṇdgāñv and disapproves his reformist scheme. Thus, Pawan, torn between the village and the city, becomes a Triśaṅku. In the novel romance is more prominent than the message of revolution. One wishes that the novelist might have avoided the display of cheap love.

Satyen Jośi's *Kaṇwa! Pūjā* is a novel relating to the early history of Jaisalmer, and mainly deals with the battle between Rāv Vijayrāv and Mahmūd of Ghaznī. The Rāv is said to be the ruler of Taṇauṭ. The historical facts and times presented, though commendable, require a little more understanding.

Sitārām Maharṣi's two novels *Kuñ Samajhai Cañwarī rā Kaul* (1976) and *Lālaḍī Ek Pherūñ Gamagī* are about marital

maladjustments.

Vijaydān Dethā converts a folk tale into modern fiction in his novel *Tiḍo Rāv*. Tiḍo Rāv is portrayed as a hypocrite and success comes to him just by chance and cunning.

Rāmniwās Śarmā's *Kāl Bhairavī* (1976) deals with the tāntrik system in the background of nature and rural surroundings. Simply by mentioning names of Rāv Māldev of Jodhpur and Vīramdev of Meṛta the writer wishes the readers to believe that the tale belongs to the 16th century. However, it has no historical background.

Pāras Aroḍā's novelette *Khulatī Gāñṭhān* appeared in 1977. It tells the story of three raw youths and their girl friends. The novelist finds a solution for the situation of one of them in inter-caste marriage. Written in an easy style, the work does not display much maturity of thought.

Some novels have been published fully or partly in magazines, such as, *Harāwal*, *Oḷamo*, and *Lāḍesar*. They include Din Dayāl Kuṇḍan's *Guñwār Paṭho*, Kiśor Kalpnakānt's *Dhāḍawī*, Rāmdattā Sānkṛtya's *Ābhalde* and Lakṣmīniwās Birlā's *Padamaṇi ro Sarāp*.

(2) Stories

Rajasthani literature is rich in stories called 'vat'. But the modern short story is the gift of the West. Śivcaṇḍra Bhartiyā is pioneer in this field also. His short story 'Viśrānt Pravāsī' was first published in 1904 (v.s. 1961) in a Calcutta Hindi monthly *Vaiśyopakāarak*. This was followed by 'Baḍi Tij', 'Beṭi kī Bikri Tathā Bahū kī Kharidī' by Gulābcaṇḍ Nāgaurī (published in *Māheśwarī*, Aligarh, in 1912), and 'Vidyā Paramdai-vatam', 'Strī Sikṣaṇ ko Onāmān' by Śivnārāyaṇ Toṣaniwāl (published in *Pañcrāj*, Nasik, in 1916). They deal with social problems in a realistic way and end on a reformist note.

After about twenty years, during mid-forties, Muralidhar Vyās, Śrīcaṇḍ Rāy, and others began writing short stories. Rajasthani short story writers were mostly influenced by Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati short stories. They were inspired by the literary activities of Rajasthani Sahitya Pīṭh, Bikaner, particularly by one of its members, Narottam Dās Swāmī.

About 1950, and after a good number of stories were written, the sphere widened and subjects became more varied with changes in values and viewpoints. In mid-seventies the realistic and individualistic note in stories became sharp and explicit. Social stories form a major portion of Rajasthani fiction. The main trends in the social stories written during the last forty years are given below, although in some stories, the difference is more of degree than of kind.

Reformatory and idealistic stories suggest a solution of a particular social problem or give a realistic description of the problem urging for a solution. Among the writers of such stories are Muralidhar Vyās (*Varas Gāṇṭh*, 1956), Manohar Śarmā (*Kanyādān*, 1971), Nānūrām Saṅskartā (*Das Dokh*, 1966, *Gyoyī*, 1957, and *Ghar kī Gāy*, 1970), Nṛsiṅha Rājpurohit (*Rāt Vāso*, 1961, *Amar Cūnaḍī*, 1969), Annārām Sudāmā (*Āndhai nai Āṅkhyān*, 1971), and Baijnāth Paṅwār (*Lāḍesar*, 1970).

Stories depicting social life and changes in ideology have been written by Śrilāl Nathmal Jośī (*Paranyoḍī Kaiṅwārī*, 1974), Nṛsiṅha Rājpurohit, Baijnāth Paṅwār (*Naiṅān Khūṭyo Nir*, 1977, v.s. 2034), Nānūrām Saṅskartā, Mūlcaṅd 'Prāṅeś' (*Ukaḷatā Āntarā Silā Sāns*, 1973, and *Paradeśī rī Gorāḍī*, 1965), etc.

Some writers have portrayed in a realistic way the changes in various aspects of social structure, family and individual life. In mid-seventies, many young writers were particularly inclined towards this tendency. Among the effective stories written during this period are 'Jasodā', 'Kāṅcalī', 'Saṅjivaṅ' and 'Saḷa-vaṭān' by Rāmeśwardayāl Śrīmālī, 'Jāpo' by Baijnāth Paṅwār, 'Pagothiyā' by Śrilāl Nathmal Jośī, 'Uḍik', 'Kalam rī Mār', 'Utar Bhīkhā Mhārī Bārī' and 'Kuai Bhāṅg Paḍī', by Nṛsiṅha Rājpurohit.

Rāmniwās Śarmā, Kiśor Kalpnākānt, Naṅd Bhārdwāj, Premji 'Prem', Dāmodarprasād Śarmā (*Pretātmā rī Prīt*, 1973), Rāmprasād Cakalāṅ, Sānwar Daiyā (*Aswāḍai Paswāḍai*, 1975), Karaṅidān Bārhaṭ (*Ādamī ro Sīṅg*, 1974), Bhaṅwarlāl Suthār 'Bhramar' (*Tagādo*, 1972 and *Amūjo Kad Tāṅṅ*, 1976), are making good attempts in this respect.

All these and a few other writers, including Satyanārāyaṅ

Gaṅgādās Vyās and Mūlcaṅd 'Prāneś', have also written psychological stories. But the number of such stories is comparatively less.

Stories describing the plight of the exploited have been written in considerable number. On the other hand, some stories of Manohar Śarmā depict the compassion and humanity of the rich, and the heroic qualities among the feudals, of defending the weak and keeping the pledges.

Famine is a recurrent feature in Rajasthan, especially in some parts. The horrors of famine, its repercussions and the plight of the poor have been described vividly in some stories. 'Meh Māmo' and 'Peṭ ro Pāp' by Muralidhar Vyās, 'Gānv 11 Hathāi' by Nṛsiṅha Rājpuṛohit, 'Dhāpī Bhūwā' by Baijnāth Paṅwār (*Naiṅān Khūṭyo Nīr*, 1977), and 'Purab Pacchim' by Puruṣottam Chaṅgāṇi are a few such stories.

In some stories of Annārām 'Sudāmā' and others the ideological aspect is explicit.

A few stories depict individual passions and sentiments. Kiśor Kalpanākānt's 'Gītān ro Bāwāliyo' is a good example.

There are some stories which are more descriptive than narrative. Nṛsiṅha Rājpuṛohit, Bhagwāndatt Goswāmī, Nānūrām Saṅskartā, Mūlcaṅd 'Prāneś', and Lakṣmīkumārī Cūṅḍāwat have written such stories.

A few stories such as 'Bāraṅai nai Jharokhai ro Kajiyō' by Badariprasād Sākariyā, 'Doy Kūkariyā' by Mūlcaṅd 'Prāneś', 'Āndhai nai Āṅkhyān' by Annārām Sudāmā, and 'Khejaḍī ar Botī' by Śrilāl Nathmal Jośi may be classified as symbolic stories.

Next to social stories come historical and semi-historical stories. Lakṣmīkumārī Cūṅḍāwat is a pioneer in this field and has written *Mānjhaḷ Rāt*, 1957, *Mūmaḷ*, 1961, *Gir Ūncā Ūncā Gaḍhān*, 1960, *Kai Re Cakawā Vāt*, 1960, and *Amolak Vātān*, 1962. Most of the stories have been written in the traditional Rajasthani Vāt style. Vivid description of the environment, pleasant and precise diction, fluent and powerful expression of emotion are the characteristics of her stories.

Brajmohan Jāwaliyā's *Āḷ Jānjāḷ* (in the anthology *Āj rā Kahāṅikār*, 1976) depicts historical characters, particularly

Pannā Dhāy, in a lively way and is a commendable effort. Saubhāgyasiṅha Śekhāwat and a few others have also written such stories.

Religious and mythological stories include 'Devī Subhadrā' and 'Kac Devyānī' by Satyanārāyaṇ Gaṅgādās Vyās, and 'Jojan Gaṅdhā' by Nṛsiṅha Rājpurohit.

There are a few humorous and satirical stories, but they are more satiric than humorous. Nānūrām Saṅskartā, Śrilāl Nathmal Jośī, Rāmdev Ācārya, Bhagwāndatt Goswāmī, Nārāyaṇdatt Śīmālī, Kiśor Kalpanākānt, Brajnārāyaṇ Purohit (*Vakīl Sāhab*, 1973), Rāmniraṅjan Śarmā 'Ṭhimāū' (*Bemātā kā Āṅk*, 1975, v.s. 2032), Rāmeśwardayāl Śīmālī and others have written such stories.

There are some stories in the style of *Pañc Tantra*, symbolizing a particular thought or idea, where the story proper is not of much importance. Manohar Śarmā's *Sonal Bhīṅg* (1976) is an illustration.

Except the historical or semi-historical stories, most of the stories deal with the rural life or the life of middle-class or lower-middle class people.

Much work on medieval Rajasthani Vāt literature has been done by Manohar Śarmā, Kanhaiyālāl Sahal, Narottamdās Swāmī, Sūryakaraṇ Pārīk, Goviṅd Agrawāl, Saubhāgyasiṅha Śekhāwat and others. They have published Vāts and thrown light on their importance and beauty.

(3) Drama, One-Act Play

Drama

Śivcaṅdra Bhartiyā's *Kesar-Vilās*, published in 1900, may be said to be the first drama in Rajasthani. This and his other dramas *Phāṭkā Jaṅjāl*, and *Buḍhāpā kī Sagāī* are about social evils and are motivated by reformist objectives. They are idealistic and have a didactic note. This tendency is also noticed in Bhagwatī Prasād Dārūkā's *Bāl Vivāh Nāṭak*, *Vṛddh Vivāh Nāṭak*, and *Sīṭhaṇa Sudhār Nāṭak*, Gulābcaṅd Nāgaurī's *Mār-wādī Mausar aur Sagāī Jaṅjāl* (1923), Bālkrṣṇa Lāhoṭī's *Kaṅyā Bikrī* and Nārāyaṇdās Agrawāl's *Bālbyāv ko Phārs*, *Vidyā Uday*

and *Akal Baḍī kai Bhaiṅs*. Except *Kesar Vilās*, they were not successful on the stage. *Jaypur kī Jyoṅār* by Madanmohan Siddh and *Naī Bīnaṅī* by Jamanāprasād Pacoriyā are comparatively more successful in this respect.

Nārāyaṅdās Agrawāl's *Mahābhārat ko Śrī Gaṅeś* and *Mahārāṅā Pratāp* are mythological and historical dramas. *Praṅvīr Pratāp* (1958) by Girdhārīlāl Śāstrī and *Pannā Dhāy* (1963) by Āgyācaṅd Bhaṅḍārī are also historical dramas. In the former, characters speak in colloquial Mewāḍī

Bharat Vyās's *Ḍholā Mārvaṅ* (1949, v.s. 2006) and *Raṅgīlo Mārwaḍī (Rāmū Canaṅā)*, though successful on stage, are not of much literary value.

Tās ro Ghar (1973) by Yādaveṅdra Śarmā 'Caṅdra' deals with modern life in cities and its complexities, unemployment, corruption, sexual liberty, etc., and is forceful and effective.

Badriprasād Paṅcolī's *Pāṅī Palī Pā!* (1973), a stage play in five acts, is based on a plot in the times of Mahābhārat. It is mainly in colloquial Hāḍautī. The dramatist lays emphasis on two principles for the progress and prosperity of the country. They are: 'arjan ar samarpaṅ' (earn and spend on good causes) and 'pāṅī palī pā!' (forewarned is forearmed).

One-Act Play

In *Vaiśyopakārak*, a monthly Hindi magazine of Calcutta, some dialogues under the title 'Kanak Suṅdar' were published in 1904. In 1905, Mādhav Prasād Miśra published in it a dialogue named *Baḍā Bazār*. This dialogue consists of two scenes, and comes very near being a one-act play. It is about social evils.

Vṛddh Vivāh Vidūṣaṅ (1930) by Śobhācaṅd Jammaḍ, and *Gāṅv Suahār yā Gomā Jā!* (1931) by Śrināth Modī are about social reforms. *Boḷāvaṅ* or *Pratigyā Pūrti* (in the anthology *Rājasthānī Ekāṅkī*, 1966) by Sūryakaraṅ Pāṅk depict the Rājput trait of keeping a pledge even at the cost of life.

Govīṅdlāl Māthur (*Satraṅgiṅī*, 1955) wrote about a dozen plays on social evils and various burning problems of rural and urban life. They are realistic and can be staged. Similar plays were written by Nārāyaṅdatt Śīmālī (*Chiyāṅ Tāwaḍo*), Dāmo-

darprasād (*Top ro License*), Śrīmañt Kumār Vyās (*Cānaṇau*), Jagdiś Māthur (*Pitarāñ ro Āgamañ*), Sureñdra 'Añcal' (*Ragat ek Minakh ro*), Satyanārāyaṇ 'Aman' (*Guwāḍ ri Jāyoḍī*), Yādaveñdra Śarmā (*Dewatā*), Śrīlāl Nathmal Jośī and others.

In some plays, solutions of social problems have been suggested. Such plays are more moved by idealistic views. *Nuvon Mārag* by Dineś Khare, *Naharī Jhagaḍo* by Nirañjan Nāth Ācārya, *lb to Ceto* by Nāgrāj Śarmā, *Badalā ri Āg* by Āgyācañd Bhañḍārī, *Ādarś Vidyārthī* by Kanhaiyālāl Dūgaḍ, and *Māṭi ro Pauredār* by Nārāyaṇdatt Śrimālī are good examples.

Many writers have taken their themes from Rājput history. *Naiñsī ro Sāko* (1973) by Manohar Śarmā, *Sām Dharmā Mājī* by Lakṣmīkumārī Cūñḍāwat, *Des Bhagat Bhāmāsā* by Āgyācañd Bhañḍārī, *Des ro Helo, Jalam Bhom ri Mūrat* by Rāmdatt Sāñkrṭya and *Sihan Jāyā Sāv* by Gaṇpaticāñdra Bhañḍārī are a few such plays. Dāmodarprasād's *Kāmrāñ Kī Añkhaḍlyāñ* is, however, an exception.

Sampādak ri Maut by Rāwat Sāraswat, *Āpaṇo Khās Ādmī* by Baijnāth Pañwār, and *Rāñg meñ Bhañg* by Vinod Somāñī 'Hañs' are a few satirical plays. Nāgrāj Śarmā has tried his hand at humorous plays (*Rām Milāī Joḍī*, 1972 and *Ṭamarak Ṭūñ*, 1972, v.s. 2029).

Little attention is paid towards modern stage-technique in most of these plays.

(4) *Sketches, Recollections and Reminiscences*

Muralidhar Vyās is a pioneer in this field. His *Jūnā Jivañtā Citarām* (1960) gives sketches of professionals, who, till recently, were part of daily life but are fast vanishing with the increase in modernization.

Śrīlāl Nathmal Jośī's collection of sketches named *Sabaḍkā* (1960) is a much mentioned book. Except a few sketches, they are mainly humorous. Most of the sketches seem to be based on living originals. In his sketch 'Baḍ ro Peḍ', the banyan tree narrates its memoirs.

Śivrāj Chañgāñī follows this pattern in his *Uñiyārā* and *Oḷakhāñ* (1976). Many distorted characters have been painted in *Uñiyārā*. *Oḷakhāñ* deals with women. At places the descrip-

tion seems to lack personal touch, and a didactic note comes in.

Kuñjbihārī Śarmā's sketches (*Bātāñ hī Cālai*, 1968, v.s. 2025) are so natural, charming and lucid that they hold an important place in this form of prose literature.

Annārām Sudāmā's *Dūr Disāwar* (1975) is a travelogue. Observing interesting details with a keen eye, the writer has narrated his recollections in a style of his own.

Brajnārāyaṇ Purohit has written interesting sketches and recollections in his *Aṭārwañ*, (1973) and *Vakīl Sāhab* (1973).

A few other writers have also contributed to this form. Their stray compositions have been published in different magazines, and include 'Log Kevai Kamāvai Konī, Kaṇai Kamāvāñ Vīrā' by Dāudayāl Jośī, 'Baijo Chail', 'Panjī Bhagat', and 'Baḍā Māji' by Manohar Śarmā, 'Kūdaṇ Bābo', 'Kuttāñ ro Rājā', 'Surajo Nāyak' and 'Gogājī rā Ghodā' by Nemnārāyaṇ Jośī, 'Hemi' by Oñkār Pārik, 'Daulūbhā' by Mohanlāl Purohit, 'Lābhū Bābo' by Bhañwar Lāl Nāhaṭā, (*Bānagī*, 1965), 'Paro' by Dīnānāth Khatī, and 'Annadātā nai Araj Karūñ' by Bhagwāndatt Goswāmī.

(5) Poetic Prose (*Gadya Kāvya*)

Only a few writers have written poetic prose. Nine pieces of poetic prose by Cañdrasiñha were first published in 1946 under the title *Sīp*. Other writers who have tried their hand at this form are Lakṣmīkumārī Cūñḍāwat ('Māt Bhom'), Baijnāth Pañwār ('Bo āyo ar calyo gayo'), Manohar Śarmā (*Sonal Bhīng*), and Goviñd Agrawāl (*Nukatī Dāñāñ*, 1978). But the contribution of Kanhaiyālāl Seṭhiyā is unique in this field. His book *Galgaciyā* (1972) consists of 64 pieces of poetic prose. His ideas and ideals, mingled with emotion, have been expressed with utmost brevity and lucidity.

On page 240, lines 20-21, please read "Nāgrāj Śarmā and Rām Nirañjan Śarmā have tried their hand" in place of "Nāgrāj Śarmā has tried his hand".

(6) *Essay and Other Forms**Essay*

Not many essays have appeared in the modern period. This is also true of other forms mentioned hereafter. Most of the essays that have appeared are descriptive. The earliest form nearer to essay, may be seen in Śivcañdra Bhartiyā's introductions to his Rajasthani books, *Kanak Suñdar*, *Phāṭkā Janjāl* etc.

Brajlāl Biyañī is a pioneer in writing emotional and elegant essays. His 'Mogarā Kaiī', 'Baḍī Fajar ko Dīvo', 'Mārwāḍī Bolī' etc., are fine essays. Girirāj Bhañwar ('Paṅghaṭ ri Sāñjh') is also notable in this respect. Kṛṣṇagopāl Śarmā's 'Ai Utar-yoḍā Ghaḍā' is a personal essay. Kāveri Kāñt's 'Māñdgī Sūñ Phāydā' and Dhanurdhārī's 'Bas Mhāne Swarājya Hoṇo' are humorous and satirical essays. Manohar Śarmā's satirical essays in his book *Rohiḍai rā Phūl* (1973) are delightful. Other essayists include Lakṣmīkumārī Cūñḍāwat ('Mewāḍī Phāgaṇ'), Śrīlāl Nathmal Jośī ('Ṣac Bolyāñ Kiyāñ Pār Paḍai'), and Rāwat Sāraswat ('Thothī Bātāñ').

Articles and Literary Criticism

Introductions, reviews and comments have been written by many modern writers. The pioneers include Narottamdās Swāmī, Agarcañd Nāhaṭā and Manohar Śarmā, followed by Rāwat Sāraswat, Kiśor Kalpanākāñt, Cañdradān Cāraṇ, Śrīlāl Miśra and many others. Such efforts, in fact, answer the description of 'articles' rather than essays.

Apart from such articles, virtually no serious attempt has been made in Rajasthani in the field of literary criticism.

Biographies

Dīn Dayāl Ojhā has written, mostly for children, short biographies of many national leaders of modern India in his *Dās rā Gaurav*, 1972; *Bhārat rā Nirmātā*, 1972; and *Choḍī Ūmar Moḍā Kām*, 1972. The leaders include Swāmī Dayānañd Saraswatī, Iśwarcañdra Vidyāsāgar, Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy, Lokmānya Tilak, Mahātmā Gāñdhī Sardār Patel, Lālā Lājpat Rāy, Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū, C.R. Dās, and Subhāṣcañdra Bose.

Śrīlāl Nathmal Jośī's *Āpanā Bāpūji* (1969) is on Mahātmā Gāndhī and Śāntā Bhānāwat's *Mahāvīr rī Olakhāṇ* (1975) on Lord Mahāvīr. They are objective and in simple language.

Magazines

Magazines have played a very significant role in the furtherance of Rajasthani language and literature. In the early years of the present century compositions relating mainly to social reforms, mostly by the migrant Rajasthanis, were published in several Hindi magazines such as *Vaiśyopkārak* (Calcutta), *Māheśwarī* (Aligarh), and *Pañcāj* (Nasik). Rajasthani writings also found place in the well-known Hindi magazines, like *Hans* (Allahabad) and *Viśāl Bhārat* (Calcutta). Likewise, some magazines in Rajasthani, though short-lived, served the cause. They were *Mārwaḍi* (Ahmadnagar), *Mārwaḍi Bhāskar* (Sholapur), *Mārwaḍi Hitkārak* (Dhāmāṅgaon), and *Āgīwāṇ* (Beawar). New compositions were published besides old literature in Hindi magazines like *Rajasthani* and *Rajasthan* (both from Calcutta). Magazines published by some colleges and schools also brought out such writings

After Independence many magazines were started in Rajasthan. The Hindi magazines, oriented to humanities, with emphasis on literature, language, history and culture, have published a good number of old literary writings as also the works of modern authors. These magazines include *Śodh Patrikā* (Udaipur), *Rajasthan Bhāratī*, *Vaicāriki*, *Viśwambharā* (Bikaner), *Maru Bhāratī* (Pilani), *Paramparā* (Chopasani, Jodhpur), *Varadā* (Bisāū), *Maru Śrī* (Churu), *Vāṇī*, later named *Lok-Saṅskṛti* (Borunda, Jodhpur), *Vāgva*, *Rajasthani Ratnākar* (Dūngarpur), *Hāḍauti Patrikā*, later changed to *Cidambarā* (Kota) and *Saṅgh Śakti* (Jaipur). Some of them have rendered memorable service and acquired important position.

Remarkable and valuable work, particularly in the sphere of modern Rajasthani language and literature, has been done by Rajasthani magazines. We have already taken note of *Maru Vāṇī* (Jaipur) and *Olamo* (Ratangarh) in this connection. *Mārwaḍi* was published by Śrīmaṅt Kumār Vyās from Jodhpur. They were followed by *Harāwa!* (previously Bombay, now

Jodhpur), *Kurjān* (Ratangarh), *Olkhān*, *Jānkārī* (Jodhpur), *Joḷambhom*, *Helo*, *Mūmaḷ* (Bikaner), *Cāmal* (Kota), *Lāḍesar*, *Sarwar*, *Naiṅsi*, *Mhāro Des* (Calcutta), *Rajasthani-'Ek'*, and *Dīḥ* (Raṅsar, Nāgore), *Isarlāḥ* (Jaipur) and others. Though some of these were short-lived, they did useful work for Rajasthani language and literature.

CAUSE OF RAJASTHANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The formation of Rajasthan Sahitya Akademi (Saṅgam) (Udaipur) in 1958 and the publication of its journal *Madhumatī*, gave new impetus to the work of the writers of Rajasthan. The establishment in 1972 of Rajasthani Bhāṣā Sāhitya Saṅgam (Akademi) at Bikaner as a separate unit of the Akademi and the publication from 1973 of its journal in Rajasthani *Jāgatī Jot* are further steps in the cause of Rajasthani language and literature. The recognition of Rajasthani as an independent modern literary language by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi (National Academy of Letters, India) and the starting of a separate Rajasthani Department in the University of Jodhpur have further promoted the cause of Rajasthani.

In the modern period Rajasthani grammar and lexicon have also attracted much attention. The work of compiling a modern lexicon was first taken up by Rām Karaṅ Āsopā of whose work an account has already been given. He was followed by Sitārām Lālas whose *Rājasthānī Sabad Kos* (Rajasthani-Hindi dictionary) has been published in 9 volumes (1962-79). It contains about 200,000 Rajasthani words besides idioms and proverbs.

Rām Karaṅ Āsopā's pioneer work on Rajasthani grammar was followed by Sitārām Lālas's *Rājasthānī Vyākaraṅ* (1954) and Narottamdās Swāmī's *Sanḥṣipta Rājasthānī Vyākaraṅ* (1960). Motīlāl Menāriyā has given a short account of Rajasthani language and grammar in his *Rājasthani Bhāṣā Aur Sāhityā* (2nd., ed., 1951, v s. 2008). He was followed by the author of the present history with *Rājasthānī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (v.s. 1500-1650) published in 1960.

We conclude here our account of the origin, growth and

development of Rajasthani language and literature. This covers a period of about ten centuries, a period that has produced writers and litterateurs who would be a glory to any literature. They have added to the richness of Indian literature as a whole. This work will, we hope, be helpful not only in understanding the trends of Rajasthani language and literature but will also assist in appreciating Rajasthan's links with the rest of the country and its literature.

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Glossary

This glossary does not attempt to give comprehensive notes. Words of Indian languages accepted in English and found in dictionaries ordinarily available have not been included. Not all the meanings of a word have been given; only the contextual meaning is given. The nearest equivalent has been given where exact translation is not possible.

- ācārya* : head of a religious seat.
adhyāyas : cantos
āgam : Jain sacred writings; future
ajapā-jāp : a way of silent meditation consisting of a mantra called 'Haṅs' comprising a certain number of inhalations and exhalations
āk : swallow wort, *Catotropis gigantea*
Alakh : God
amarjaḍī : a mythical herb supposed to have regenerative powers
amāvasyā, amāwas : the last day of the dark fortnight
aṅgas : topics
anunāsik : a nasal sound
anuṣṭup couplet (śloka) : originally a class of metres of four feet (padas) of eight syllables each. Later the name used for all metres containing eight syllables in each foot
anuswār : a nasal sound in Nāgarī script which is marked by a dot above the line and which always follows the preceding vowel
- anuyog* : a division of Jain sacred writings (i.e. Āgams)
anyokti : allegory
Āraj Bhāṇ : Superior Aryan
Āraj kuḷ : Aryan family
āryā : a metrical composition
aṣṭ pratyay : aṣṭ – eight; pratyay – the method of determining the kinds and numbers of metres.
ātma gyān : Self realization
avidyā : nescience
- babūl* : accacia tree
Bāṅgarū : a dialect, also known as Jāṭū or Hariyāṇī, spoken mostly in Hariyana
bārah māsā : a poetic composition describing emotions, mostly of a woman, separated from her lover, through the twelve months of the year
bhajan : devotional song
bhakt : devotee
bhakti : devotion
bhāṅḍs : professional clowns
Bhārat Barṣ : variant spelling of

- Bhāratvarṣa**
bhāt : gifts required to be given by custom to the children of the sister or daughter on the occasion of their marriage
bhāv : emotion, sentiment
bhāv guru : a person or god accepted as a guide or preceptor
bhramar : bumble-bee
bhramar gīt : songs apparently addressed to the bumble-bee but really expressing the pangs of separation from Kṛṣṇa by the gopīs in the context of Uddhav's visit
bhāsas ; cantos
bhaṭṭārak ; a celibate head of a Jain religious seat
bhūwā : father's sister
bībhatsa (ras) : the sentiment of disgust
Braj : a dialect spoken mostly in the Mathura, Agra, Aligarh region of Uttar Pradesh
Buṇdelī : a dialect spoken mostly in Jhansi, Jalon (Uttar Pradesh) and Gwalior, Bhopal, Orcha (Madhya Pradesh) regions
- caityawāsī* : Jain sadhus of a particular sect who live at religious places
cakra : wheel
cakras : the six particular spots in the body of a man according to Yoga philosophy
cakravayūh : a battle mentioned in the *Mahabharat* fought through forces arranged in intricate geometrical patterns
cakrawartī : emperor
campū : a literary composition with alternation of prose and verse.
cāṇḍanī : moonlight
cāṇḍrāyaṇ : a metrical composition
cañwar : a whisk
carit kāvya : character sketch in verse
cāturmāsya : four month stay at one spot by sādhus during monsoon
cetāwani : warning
chañd : metre
chappay : a metrical composition
chatra : umbrella
chatrapatīs : kings using ceremonial umbrellas
chattīskul kṣatriya : thirty-six clans of Rajputs
citra kāvya : a verse or a poem written in the form of a picture or figure
- dagdhākṣar* : letters of Nāgarī alphabet not permitted to be used as the first letter of the first word in the beginning of a verse or poetic composition
Dakṣiṇī : a dialect spoken at one time in the southern parts of Rajasthan
dān dharm : charity
dañḍak : a metrical composition
Daśaharā (Dusserah) : a Hindu festival celebrating Ram's victory over Rawan
dāsī : female devotee who imagines herself as the slave of the guru or the Almighty
dāsya bhāv : devotional feeling in which the devotee considers himself a slave of the Almighty
dawāvait : a prose composition using frequently Rajasthani with Khadi Boli and/or Urdu mixed Hindi
dhatūrā : thorn apple
Ḍhūñḍhāḍī : a dialect spoken mostly in the Jaipur region

- dhūndhiyās* : sādhus of Jain sect who originally lived in dilapidated houses
- dhyān* : meditation
- Dillaṅ* : a Rajasthani adjective formed from the spoken word for Delhi and used for the dialect spoken at one time in and around this city
- Ḍiṅgal-gītkārs* : composers of Ḍiṅgal gīts
- five mudrās* : attitudes and poses associated with Yoga
- five Pīrs* : phrase used collectively for Gogojī Cauhān, Pābūjī Rāṭhore, Rāmdevjī Taṅwar, Mehojī Māṅgaliyā and Haḍbhūjī Sāṅkhalā, venerated as folk deities
- five tatwas* : a phrase used collectively for earth, water, fire, air and sky
- four avasthās* : four states of a human being according to Vedantic philosophy: jāgrat (wakefulness), swapna (dream), suṣupti (sleep) and turīya (transcending earthly bonds in which glimpses of the divine are experienced)
- gacchas* : Jains who believe in a particular school of philosophy or thought
- gadar* : the uprising of 1857 called 'Mutiny' by the British historians
- gaddī* : religious seat
- gaḍhpatīs* : lords of castles
- gāhā* : a metrical composition
- gaj* : elephant
- gaṅ* : a foot in prosody
- gaṅas* : communities of Jain sādhus
- gilory (read giloy)* : *Tinospora cardifolia* (a creeper used for medicinal purposes)
- gīt* : Ḍiṅgal gīt
- Godhwāḍī* : a dialect spoken mostly in Barmer region of Rajasthan
- goh* : monitor lizard
- grāh* : crocodile
- grhastha* : a householder
- graṅths* : books
- guru* : a term in Hindi and Rajasthani prosody for double unit of sound; also preceptor, teacher
- gyān* : knowledge
- gyān pañcamī* : the fifth day in the bright half of the month of Kārtik (November)
- hakār* : sound of 'h'
- hand-length* : at one time a common unit of length measurement, one hand representing the length from the point of elbow joint to the tip of middle finger
- haraṅkalā* : a metrical composition
- harjas* : a song in praise of the Almighty
- Hathyog* : a kind of yoga
- hawan* : Hindu religious ritual of pouring ghee into fire
- jāgaran* : vigil
- jāl* : *Salvadora oleoides* (a common Rajasthani tree)
- jarah* : hyena
- jatīs* : religious mendicants of the Jain sect
- jīv* : living being, soul
- jīwan mukti* : liberation from the cycle of births
- jog dhyān* : yoga and meditation
- jogīs* : a class of singers
- Kābalī* : a dialect spoken at one time in and around Kabul
- kaliyug* : the fourth and the last age of human history according

- to the Hindu belief
- kām* : desire of carnal gratification
- Kannaujī* : a dialect spoken at one time in and around Kannauj in Uttar Pradesh
- Kāmdār* : an important functionary employed by landowners
- kāñta bhakti* : worship of the Almighty as lover
- kāñta bhāv* : the sentiment which sees the Almighty as the lover
- karuṇ (ras)* : pathetic sentiment
- kathās* : religious stories
- kavi-sammelans* : a gathering in which poets recite their compositions
- kāvya-prayojan* : the purpose of composing poetry
- kāyā siddhi* : culture of the body
- kewal gyān* : all knowledge; a state in which a Jain sādhanak acquires all knowledge; detachment of the soul from the matter
- khamā-khamā* : lit. forgiveness; God forbid (said at the time of an unlucky event)
- kharatar* ; one of the Jain gacchas
- khejdā* : *Prosopis spicejera* (a common Rajasthan tree)
- Khurāsānī* : a dialect spoken at one time in and around Khurasan
- khyāl* : an open air musical play
- khyāts* : histories
- kīrtan* : devotional chanting of the name of a god
- krodh* : anger
- kṣatriya dharma* : the duty of the Rajput
- kuñj līlā* : phrase for Kṛṣṇa's divine love play
- laghu* : a term used in prosody for single unit of sound
- Lāhaurī* : a dialect spoken at one time in and around Lahore (Pakistan)
- lākh pasāv* : royal rewards in the form of cash, horses, elephants etc., supposed to represent the value of one hundred thousand rupees
- lapasī* : a sweet dish made of wheat flour and sugar or molasses
- līlā* : deeds of an incarnation; dramatic performance representing exploits of a deity in an incarnation
- lobh* : greed
- loks* ; the fourteen worlds of which seven are above and seven below the earth
- madhur bhāv* : see kāñta bhāv
- mahañtas* : the heads of religious seats
- māherā* : see bhāt
- mālā* : garland; rosary with a string of 108 beads
- mañgalācaran* : invocation
- marsiyās* : elegies
- maruā* : sweet marjoran, bot., *Oriyanum marjoran*
- maryādā* : propriety of conduct
- māsā* : at one time a unit of weight equal to 15 grains troy, used in India
- maḥwāsī* ; those who live at religious places
- mlechas* : the generic term for barbarians or foreigners in India
- mukaṭ* : crown
- mukti* : salvation
- Multānī* : a dialect spoken at one time in and around Multan (Pakistan)
- nādīs* : veins
- nāgañī* : female serpent
- nām-jap* : unspoken repetition of any of the Almighty's names

nām-smaraṇ : see *nām-jap*
navadhā bhakti : nine ways of
 bhakti

neti-neti : a Sanskrit expression,
 meaning 'there is no end', used
 to convey the idea that God is
 beyond description or definition

nikuñj bhakti : a form of devotion
 to Lord Kṛṣṇa

nīm (neem) : margossa

Nirguṇ : the concept that Brahma
 is beyond all attributes

Nirākār Brahma : God beyond all
 form

Nirañjan : God beyond the spell
 of Māyā

nirlep : detached, uninvolved

nṛtya gīt : dance music

nṛtya gīt rūpak : musical dance
 drama

oḷūṇ, oḷyūṇ : remembrance of the
 loved one

padas : devotional songs

pagarī : ceremonial head dress

pālo : shrub leaves fed to goats
 and camels

Pāṇḍiyās : a pejorative for Brah-
 mins

panghat : a source of water for
 community normally frequented
 by women

pañihārī : a woman carrying water
 from a public water source

pañth : a sect, usually named after
 a saint

pātāl : the lowest of the seven
 regions or worlds under the earth

pātradev yātrā : a kind of pilgrimage

payāḍo, pavāḍo : an epic, also a
 connected narrative poem

Phāgun : the twelfth and the last
 month of the year according to
 the Hindu calendar

prabañdh : a series of connected
 narratives

prabhāt : dawn

prakṛti : nature

prāṇāyām : exercising control
 over the process of breathing

prāṇ sādhanā : a religious or yogic
 exercise

prasaṅgas : topics

prastār : spreading, a term in pro-
 sody

prasthān-trayī : a phrase used for
 the Upanishads, the *Gita* and
 the *Brahma Sutra*

premā bhakti : devotion to the
 Almighty as lover

pūrṇa kumbh : a religious festival
 of the Hindus occurring every
 twelve years

purohit : family priest

Pūrvī : a dialect spoken at one
 time in eastern parts of Rajasthan

rākṣas : demon

ras (pl. rasas) : a poetic sentiment,
 mood or rhetorical effect

rasāyan siddhi : expertise in medi-
 cinal preparation from metals
 and minerals

rāśīs : cantos

rāskriḍā : the sports of Kṛṣṇa at
 Vrindavan when He danced with
 the gopīs, female cowherds

rūpak : a phrase generally used for
 a unit comprising a number of
 one kind of metrical compositions

sabad yog : Yoga consisting of
 unspoken chanting of a mantra

sādhanā : worship

sādhak : one who undertakes or
 performs a religious practice or
 devotion over a period of time

sādho : sādhu, saint

saguṇ : concept that God has cer-

- tain positive attributes
saguṇ bhakti : worship of God with attributes
sahacarī-bhāṇ : a form of devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa
sākār : concept that God has a concrete form
sākhī : doha or couplet; also a kind of short poem
samādhi : a yogic posture of deep and devout contemplation
samai : canto
sāmānya nāyikā : in Indian poetics the concept of a female character whose love is imbued with the motive of gain
sampradāy : religious sect
saṅgha : a term used for Jain community comprising men and women sādhus and householders
sañjīvanī : see amarjaḍī
Śaṅkar's Vedānt : philosophy propounded by Śaṅkarācārya
saṅkucit : contracted; also hesitant or suspicious
Sāṅkhya : one of the six systems of Indian philosophy
śānt (ras) : the sentiment of quietism
sañt : saint
sañyog : the erotic sentiment, wherein the lover and the beloved are united; in Poetics, one of the two kinds of śṛṅgār ras
sarjīt mañtra : a mantra believed to have the power of resuscitation
śarṇāgati : refuge in the Almighty
sargas : cantos
satguru : true preceptor or saint
satīs, suttees : widows burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands
satyayug : the first of the four ages (yugas) of the human history according to the Hindu belief
savaiyā : a metrical composition
Śāwan : the fifth month of the Hindu calendar, the month of rains
seh : porcupine
Śil dharm : chastity
ślokas : see anuṣṭup couplet
smaraṇ : unspoken repetition
śmaśān : cremation ground
sorathā : a metrical composition
śrāvakas : followers of Jainism who observe certain religious conducts
swāṅg : dramatic performance based on caricature and fancy dress
swarṇ yagya : a kind of religious ritual performed by kings in ancient India
swarūp : figure, form, concept
swayamvar : a ceremony in ancient India wherein a maiden selected her husband from amongst suitors assembled for the purpose
tadbhav : words of Sanskrit origin which have assumed, and are used, in a modified or changed form in Indian languages
Tailaṅgī : a dialect spoken at one time in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh
tāñtrik system : system of the tantras
taraṅgas : cantos
tatsam : a word of Sanskrit origin used in any Indian language
thākurs : Rajput chiefs
Thataicī : a dialect spoken at one time in the Thāṭ region of Sind (now in Pakistan)
thawañī : canto
ṭikī : the cosmetic mark applied

- by the Hindu women on their forehead
- tilak* : religious mark on the forehead
- Tīrthaṅkars* : the twentyfour leading religious preceptors of Jainism, the last of them being Lord Mahavīr
- tolā* : an ancient Indian unit of weight equivalent to 180 grains
- tribhaṅgī* : a metrical composition
- upāsanā* : worship
- Uttarādī* : a dialect spoken at one time in the northern region of Rajasthan
- vacanikā* : a narrative in verse mixed with rhymed prose
- vairāgī* : one who is detached from worldly affairs
- vairāgya* : detachment from worldly affairs
- vāṇī* : corpus of verse compositions
- varṇ* : a letter of the alphabet
- vārtā* : story
- vātsalya bhāṇ* : sentiment of affection
- vāyus* : kinds of air in the human body according to some schools of yoga
- Vedānt* : one of the six systems of Indian philosophy
- Vidhimārg (Sāṅvigna)* : a Jain system of ideology and belief
- vidyā* : knowledge
- Viharmāns* : according to Jain thought twenty pious persons still living in the universe (in Mahāvīdeh Kṣetra, a region accepted in Jainism) and deemed Tīrthaṅkars for that region
- vilāsas* : cantos
- vīṇā* : a musical instrument
- vīnatī* : prayer
- vīr (ras)* : heroic sentiment
- virah* : sentiment of separation from the loved one
- virahinī* : a woman separated from her lover or husband
- viṣ-kanyā* : In ancient India a maiden brought up on poisons so that cohabitation with her resulted in death; used by kings to trap their enemies
- virakt (tapasvī)* : one who is detached from the world
- Viśiṣṭādwaitvād* : a system of Indian philosophy
- viyog* : separation
- yoginīs* : subordinate goddess attendants on Durga and created by her, believed to be 64 in number
- yojan* : an ancient Indian measure of distance, roughly equal to eight miles
- Yugal-swarūp* : the twin concept of the Almighty as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa

Index

- Abdul Rahmān, 36
 Ābhā Bāi (Ambhā Bāi), 141
 Ābhai Paṭakī, 233
 Ābhalde, 235
 Abhaysiṅha, 69, 70, 71
 Abhayvilās, 71
 Ābū Rās, 28, 29
 Acal Bodh, 139
 Acal dās Khīcī rī Vacanikā, 12, 18, 21, 44, 45, 68, 69, 147, 159, 181, 183
 Acalo Bāṇiyo, 18, 41
 Acal Siṅha, 67
 Ācārya Nirañjan Nāth, 230, 240
 Ācārya Rāmdev, 229, 238
 Ācārya Tulasī, 213
 Ādamī ro Siṅg, 236
 Ādarś Vidyārthī, 240
 Āḍhā Durasā, 61-63, 66
 Āḍhā Kisanā, I, 66, 69
 —II, 74, 178
 Āḍhā Opā, 13, 88, 91, 92
 Āḍhā Pahāḍkhān, 72
 Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇ, 82, 135
 Adhvātma Rāmāyaṇ (of Bhagwān Dās Nirañjanī), 119
 Ādibodh Siddhānt Granth, 123
 Aḍiṅg Ūdojī, 115
 Ādūrāmjī, 143
 Advait Bāwnī, 207
 Agad Datt Rās, 154
 Aḡam Bodh, 143
 Aḡyāt Bodh, 145
 Āḡīwāṇ, 243
 Agradās, 100, 106-109, 133, 135
 Agrawāl Goviṅd, 188, 191, 192, 238, 241
 Agrawāl Nārāyaṇdās, 238, 239
 Agrawāl Śrīnārāyaṇ, 233
 Agrawāl Swarṇlatā, 188
 Ahmadśāh, 16
 Ahmano, 190
 Ahmadābād rā jhagḍā rā kavitt, 70
 Āī Āṇad Vilās, 147
 Āījī (Jijī Devī), 146, 147
 Āī Mātā rī vel, 147
 Āī Ugra Prakās, 147
 Ajāmīl kī Paracī, 140
 Ajampā jāp, 88
 Ajaysiṅha, 18
 Ajītsiṅghī rī Dawāvait, 69
 Ājītsiṅha, 70, 73, 88, 89
 Āj rā Kahāṇīkār, 237
 Āj rā Kavi, 229
 Āj sahar meṅ surtā jogisar āyājī, 188
 Akal Baḍī kai Bhaiṅs, 239
 Akal rī vāt, 184
 Akbar (the great), 47, 48, 61, 62, 67, 117
 Akbar Nāmā, 182
 Akhairāj (Songirā), 53
 Akhairāmdāsī, 132
 Ākharmāl, 229
 Ākhet Apjas, 210

- Alakh Ārādh*, 88
Alakh Paccīsī, 209
Alakh stuti Prakāś (Alakh Mahimā stuti), 146
Alahadād, 131
Ālam Gañj, 125
 Ala-ud din Khalji, 16, 17, 53, 54, 156
Alwar kī Śaṭṛtu Jhamāl, 208
Alwar Rājya kā Itihās, 208
Amar Bodh
 — of Parśurāmdevacāryā, 97
 — of Rāmdāsji, 144
Amarbodh Līlā, 121
Amar Cūnaḍī, 236
Amarlok Dhām Varṇan, 132
Amarkoś, 125
Amar Kumār Caupai, 156
Amarphaḷ, 217
Amarsen Vayarsen Caupai, 157
Amarsinḥa — Rāṇā of Mewār, 68
 — Rāv of Nāgore, 63
Ambaḍ, 33
Āmbā Ras, 190,
Ambdev Sūri, 30
Amiyā Dīn, 111
Amolik vāṭān, 237
Āmṛtdhārā, 119
Amṛt Sār Bodh, 136
Amrū Śatak, 34
Amūjo Kad Tānīn, 236
Aṇabhai Bodh, 140
Aṇ Bāñcyā Ākhar, 226
Aṇbhai Vāñi, 134
Ānaṇḍ, 40
Ānaṇḍghan, 161
Ānaṇḍ Rāmāyaṇ, 82
Anaṇṭānaṇḍji, 100, 106, 108, 109, 141
Anaṇṭdās (Dādūpañthī), 126
Anaṇṭ Līlā, 125
Āndās, 119
Aṇḍhai nai Āñkhyān, 236
Aṇḍhī ar Āsthā, 233
Anekārthī Nām Mālā, 179
Aṅgad Baḍsālo, 83
Aṅgadji kī Paracī, 126
Aṅgad Viṣṭi, 83
Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 1, 200
Annārām 'Sudāmā', 227, 233, 236, 237, 241
Āñsū, 231
Añtarjāmī, 217
Anubhav Mañjarī, 105
Anubhav Prakāś
 — of Banānāth, 105, 106
 — of Mahārāj Catursinḥa, 209
Anurāg Līlā, 132
Anyokti Pañcāsikā, 75, 76
Anyokti Prakāś, 206
Apabhramśa Vyākaraṇ, 196
Āpaṇ, 79
Āpaṇā Bāpūjī, 242
Āpaṇī Kathāwān, 191
Āpaṇo Khās Ādami, 240
A progress Report on the preliminary work done during the year 1915 in connection with the proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajasthan etc., 202
Ārāadhanā, 180
Arath Siddhānt, 145
Arāwalī kī Ātmā, 223, 226
Arjundāsji, 145
Arjun Gauḍ, 66
Aroḍā Pāras, 232, 235
Ārya Dayāśaṅkar, 225, 226, 228, 229
Ārya Gaurīśaṅkar, 225
Āryākhyān Kalpadrum, 182
Ās, 90
Āśā Bhāratī, 187
Āsāit, 35
Āsig (Āsigu), 28
Āsiyā Bakhatrām, 195
Āsiyā Bāñkidās, 75, 77, 84, 182, 196, 201, 210, 212, 227
Āsiyā Budhājī, 194
Āsiyā Dānā, 72

- Āsiyā Girdhar, 67
 Āsiyā Karamsi Khinvsarot, 63
 Āsiyā Mānsiṅha, 71
 Āsiyā Moḍji, 3, 205
 Āsiyā Motirām, 195
 Āsiyā Pattāji, 72
 Āsiyā Sānwaldān, 179, 221
 Āsiyā Tejdān, 194
 Āsiyo Dūdo Amarāwat, 60
 Āsopa Rām Karaṇ, 200, 201, 244
 Aṣṭāṅg Yog Varṇan, 132
 Āsthān, 19
 Aswāḍai Paswāḍai, 236
 A scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana, 202
 Aṭārwan, 241
 Āth Des ri Gūjari, 6
 Aticār, 180
 Ātma Bodh—of Sukhrāmdās, 140
 — of Parśurām, 145
 Ātma Dhyān Jog Saṅvād, 129
 Ātma Gyān, 144
 Ātma Kṛt Brahma Prāpti Jan Vicār, 143
 Ātmoparaci, 145
 Ātmā Rām, 120
 Ātmasār—of Ramdāsji, 144
 — of Murārī Rām, 145
 Ātmaveli, 144
 Ātma Vicār, 143
 Ātmik Chattīsi, 160
 Aurangzeb, 67-69, 89, 107
 Avivek Paddhati, 205
 Awadhān Mālā, 179
 Āwaḍji, 77
 Awatār Caritra, 65-66

 Bābar, 48, 55
 Baḍā Bazār, 239
 Bādāl, 156
 Badlā ri Āg, 240
 Bādsāh ki Sawārī, 192
 Bagaḍāwat, 189
 Bagasoji (Khātī), 187
 Bāghā, 58
 Bāghji (Rāv) Lākṇaut, 66
 Bāghji rā Dūhā, 58
 Bahlīmā ri Vāt, 185
 Bahurūpiyā ki Sawārī, 192
 Bairāgi ko Āṅg, 125
 Bairsāl, 52
 Bājū, 131
 Bakhnāji, 124
 Bakhtāji (Cāraṇ), 91
 Bakhtāwar, 186
 Bakhat ro Bāyaro, 198, 199
 Baksā, 131
 Bālakān ri Pothī, 209
 Bālakdāsji - Rām Snehī, Reṇ, 138
 — Rām Snehī, Kheḍāpā, 145
 Bālak Rām, 135
 Bālāvbodh, 161
 Bāl Bhāratī (Bāl Guru), 151
 Bālbodh, 144
 Bālbyāv ko Phārs, 238
 Bālechā Sūjā, 64
 Bāl vivāh Nāṭak, 238
 Balwad Vilās, 197
 Bānagi, 241
 Banānāth, 104, 105
 Banārsidās, 24
 Bāndhī Buhārī ri Vāt, 184
 Bānkidās Granthāwalī, 75
 Bānkidās ri Khyāt, 75
 Bappā Rāwal, 158
 Bāpū, 217
 Bārah Māsā—of Sānyā Jhūlā, 83
 — of Jangopāl Rāhorī, 125
 — of Gajānan Varmā, 224
 Bārah Māsā rā Dūhā, 157
 Bārhaṭ Aiṅjan, 66
 Bārhaṭ Akho Bhāṇaut, 64
 Bārhaṭ Ācā, 56-59, 61, 78, 218
 Bārhaṭ Bālābakṣa Pālhāwat, 214
 Bārhaṭ Bisandān, 195
 Bārhaṭ Cauhath, 54
 Bārhaṭ Dev Karaṇ, 214
 Bārhaṭ Harisūr, 54
 Bārhaṭ Īsardās (Īsardās), 60, 61, 77, 79, 80, 84, 88, 113, 196, 212

- Bārhaṭ Kānhojī, 77, 111
 Bārhaṭ Karaṇidān, 219, 226, 229, 230, 236
 Bārhaṭ Kesarisīṅha, 200, 202, 210, 212
 Bārhaṭ Lakkhā, 65
 Bārhaṭ Murārīdās, 90
 Bārhaṭ Nāndaṇ, 59
 Bārhaṭ Narharidās, 65, 66
 Bārhaṭ Narharidās Sānwlot, 90
 Bārhaṭ Śaṅkar, 65
 Bārhaṭ Śivbakṣa Pālhāwat, 208
 Bārhaṭ Tilokdān, 195
 Bārhaṭ Ummedrām Pālhāwat, 73
Bātān hī Cālai, 241
Bātān rī Phulwādī, 191
Bāt Bagasīrām Prohit Hīrān kī, 183
Bāwno Himālo, 221
Behad Bodh, 145
Bemātā kā Āṅk, 238
Beṇī Gūnṭhan Līlā, 132
 Bhacūṇḍ, 48
Bhagatī Māṅgoṅ bāp bhagatī māṅgoṅ munaiṅ tāharā nāṅm nau prem lāgau, 123
Bhagwad Gītā kī Gītānjali Ṭīkā, 209
Bhāgīrathī Mahimā, 198
 Bhagwāndās—Rām Snehī, Shāhpurā, 133-135, 138
 —Niraṅjanī, 119
Bhāgwat Prakāś, 70
Bhāgwat Purāṇ, 42, 77, 80, 82, 88, 94, 115, 131, 132, 135, 201
Bhagwatī Sūtra, 161
 Bhairavlāl 'Kālā Bādal', 214
Bhākhāḍī Mahārājā Gajsiṅgh rī, 66
Bhākhā Prastār, 207
Bhakta Vaṅsāwalī, 140
Bhakti Mahimā, 138
Bhakti Nirūpaṇ, 136
Bhakti Padārth Varṇan, 132
Bhaktisāgar, 132
Bhaktmāl - of Dayāludās, 144
 —of Harakhā Rām, 140
 —of Kisandās, 139
 —of Mūldāsji, 143
 —of Nābhādās, 78, 106, 135
 —of Pūraṇdās, 145
 —of Pyāre Rām, 120
 —of Rāghavdās, 118, 125, 126
 —of Rāmdāsji, 144
Bhakti Vaikūṅṭh Jog, 104
Bhakt Virudāwalī, 138
 Bhāmbhū Karamojī, 117
 Bhānāwat Maheṅdra, 190, 192
 Bhānāwat Śāntā, 242
 Bhaṅḍārī Āgyācaṅd, 239, 240
 Bhaṅḍārī Gaṅpaticāṅdra, 228, 240
 Bhaṅḍārī Uttamcaṅd, 105
 Bhaṅḍārkar (R.G.), 201
Bhāniyai rā Dūhā, 212
Bharam Tod—of Sukhrāmdās, 140
 —of Dīn Darveś, 151
Bharam Vidhūns, 104
 Bharatarī (Bharatharī), 102, 186
Bharateśwar Bāhubali Ghor, 21, 27
Bharateśwar Bāhubali Ghor Rās, 21, 27
Bhārat rā Nirmātā, 242
Bhārat Sūrya, 222
 Bhārdwāj Naṅd, 232, 236
 Bhārdwāj Śāntilāl 'Rākeś', 224
 Bhārmal, 47
 Bhārmalī, 57, 58
 Bhartiyā Śivacaṅdra, 232, 235, 238, 242
Bhāṣā Caṅdrikā, 73
Bhāṣā Rājnīti, 73
 Bhāṭ Chochū, 189
 Bhāṭī Bhīm, 62
 Bhāṭī Harjī, 186
 Bhāṭī Kānsīṅha, 225
 Bhāṭī Nārāyaṅsiṅha, 219, 221, 223, 228, 230-232
 Bhāṭī Omprakāś, 232
 Bhāṭī Rāmpālī, 226
 Bhāṭī Revatsīṅha, 214, 221

- Bhāṭi Sattā, 52
 Bhāṭi Somsī, 59
Bhāṭi Somsī Ratnāwat ro Chaṇḍ,
 59
Bhāṭiyān ri Vāt, 183
 Bhāṭ Mālidās, 181
 Bhāṭ Nallasinḥa, 8
 Bhaṭṭarak Padmanaṇḍi, 24
 Bhaṭṭarak Prabhācaṇḍra, 24
 Bhaṭṭ Mayaṇ (Mayaṇ Bambh), 38
 39
 Bhaumrāj Bhambīrū 'Maṅgal' 214
Bhāv Virahī, 88
Bhawāī, 192
Bhawānī Chaṇḍ, 154
Bheṇṭ ke Savaiye, 125
 Bhīkhaṇjī (Ācārya), 23, 160, 161
 Bhīkhaṇ Sādh, 127, 130
 Bhīkhjanjī, 125
 Bhīm, 35, 165
 Bhīm Amarsinghot, 62
 Bhīmdev, 16
Bhīmo Bhārat, 190
Bhīmotoṇ ke Sorathe, 52
Bhīm Prakāś, 74
 Bhīmsinḥa, 74, 151
Bhīm Vilās, 74, 178
 Bhīnv, 135
Bhogal Purāṇ, 113
 Bhoj (Parmār), 16, 33
 Bhoj (Bhojrāj Khicī), 44, 147
 Bhojrāj (Son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā), 150
Bhrama Vidhūnś Jog Granth, 117
Bhrama Vidhwaṇś, 140
Bhrama Tod, 140
Bhūlā bhamarlā kāin bhamai e, 149
Bhūpāl Bhūṣaṇ, 213
Bhūpāl Paccīsī, 213
Bhurjāl Bhūṣaṇ, 75
 Bihārīdās, 109
 Bīkā (Rāv, Rāṭhore), 47, 52, 56
Binatā Lachin Bodh (Binatā Bodh),
 136
Binḍrāban, 220
Binhai Rāsau, 66, 67
Binjhā-Sorath, 162, 165, 174
Birah ko Aṅg, 125
Birkhā Binatī, 226
 Birlā Lakṣmīniwās, 235
 Bīsaldev (of Ajmer), 33
Bīsaldev Rās, 16, 33
Bīs Viharmān kā Stavan, 160
 Biyāṇī Brajlāl, 242
 Biyāṇī Prayāgdās, 125
Bolāvaṇ (Pratigyā Pūrti), 239
Bol Bhārmali, 218
 Bohithdās, 135
Brahma Gyān Varṇan, 132
Brahma Jigyāsā, 144
 Brahma Jinadās, 153
Brahma Kavac, 73
Brahma Prakāś – of Pūrandās, 139
 —of Mūldāsī, 143
Brahma Samīdhi Līn jog, 136
Brahma Vilās, 139
Braj Caritra Varṇan, 132
 Brajeś 'Caṅcal', 225, 230
Buddhirās, 28
Buddhi Rāsau, 162, 168
Budhāpā ki Sagāī, 238
 Budhā Rām, 141
Būndelān ri Vāt, 183
Byāwalo, 127
Cabaḍkā, 227
 Cācā, 18, 51
Cahuvāṇ Gogāṭt rā Chaṇḍ, 59
 Caindās, 124
 Cainjī, 127
 Cainrāmjī, 143
 Cakalān Rāmprasād, 236
 Cālairāy, 77
Caḷaknecī, 91
Cālīs Padī, 117
 Cālukya Mūlrāj, 16
Cāmaḷ, 243
Camco, 227
Campā, 233
Cāmpak Seth Caupaī, 155
Cāṇak Bodh—of Kisandās, 139

- of Sukhrāmdās, 140
Cānaṇau, 240
Cāndājī ri Vel, 59
Caṇdan Bālā Rās, 28
Caṇdan Malaygiri Caupai, 157
Caṇd Caupai Samālocanā, 161
Cāṇdmal, 127
Caṇdragupta Rājā kā Solah Sapanā, 160
Caṇd Rājā Caupai, 161
Caṇdrakumār 'Sukumār', 231
Caṇdrasakhī, 186
Caṇdraśekhara Stotra (Mewāḍi Tikā), 209
Caṇdrasen, 58, 62
Caṇdrasiṅha, 214, 222, 241
Cāṇdrāyaṇ (of Vājiṇd), 126
Cāṇd Sādh, 131
Caṇd Vardāyī, 68, 168
Cāraṇ Caṇdradān, 242
Carāṇdāsji, 100, 131, 132
Carāṇdās (of Koḍamdesar), 109, 141
Cāraṇ Narbad, 183
Cāraṇ Rewatdān, 224, 228, 230
Cār Gāthā, 226
Cār Maṅgal Causaṭh Jatiyoṅ ki Sajjhāy, 160
Carpaṇnāth, 9, 50, 102, 103
Catardās, 126
Catur Ciṅtāmaṇi, 209
Caturdās (Rām Snehī, Reṇ), 141
Catur Prakāś, 209
Caturvedī Māṅgelāl, 214
Caubīs Pramāṇ, 187
Caubīsī, 161
Caudah Padī, 117
Cauhān Harman, 232
Cauhān Karamsī, 59
Cauhān Surtāṅsiṅha (Rāwat of Bedalā), 72
Caupaḍā, 151
Caurāsī Bol, 136
Cauvīsī Stavan, 160
Cūṇḍā (of Cittore), 18
- Cetan*, 135
Cetan Bodh, 144
Cetāwaṇi —of Mūldās, 143
—of Nārāyaṇdās, 143
—of Rāmdāsji, 144
Cetāwaṇi kā gīt, 76
Cetāwaṇi rā Cūṅḷyā, 210
Cetāwaṇi Sār Bodh, 136
Chāḍā (Rāv), 19
Chaṇḍ Diwākar, 179
Chaṇḍ Mahādevji ro (Śaṅkar Chaṇḍ), 65, 81
Chaṇḍomāyūkh, 197
Chaṇḍ Ratnāwalī, 120
Chaṇḍ Rau Jaitasī Rau, 202
Chaṇḍ Śrī Gorakhnāth, 65, 81
Chaṅgāṇi Puruṣottam, 237
Chaṅgāṇi Śivrāj, 232, 240
Chappay Satsai, 222
Charles Wood, 193
Chatrapatisiṅha, 234
Chatterji Suniti Kumar, 201
Chāwalī, 189, 194
Chedkhānī, 226
Chihal, 154
Chiyān Tāwaḍo, 239
Choḷā Hari Ras, 79
Choḷi Ūmar Moḷā Kām, 242
Cijjaḍ Bodh Patrikā, 205
Cimanji, 74
Ciṅtāmaṇi, 140
Citāwaṇi —of Surjanji, 113
—of Jagjīwandās Niraṅjanī, 119
—of Lāldās Garībpaṅthī, 126
—of Mukṭ Rām, 138
—of Kisandās, 139
—of Dayāludās, 144
Citāwaṇ Sār, 151
Cokhnāth, 116
Colonel Tod (Tod), 1, 200, 222
Coyal Śivsiṅha, 188
Cugal Mukh Capeṭikā, 75
Cūṇḍā (Rālhore), 18, 19, 42, 47
Cūṇḍā Śatak, 212
Cūṇḍāwat Lakṣmī Kumārī, 188,

- 190, 191, 237, 240, 242
Cūṅkyā, 227
Cūṅhiyā, 226
Cyār Mūrkhān ri Vāt, 184
- Dadhwāḍiyā Cūṅḍojī, 78, 82
Dadhwāḍiyā Dwārkaḍās, 69 181
Dadhawāḍiyā Kamaji, 195
Dadhwāḍiyā Mādhodās, 40, 81, 82
Dādū (Dādūdayāl), 100, 123-126,
129, 135
Dādū Janma Līlā Paracī, 125
Dādūjī ki Bānī, 123
Dādū rā Dūhā, 58
Daiyā Sānwar, 232, 236
Dalā (Johiyā), 42, 43, 72
Ḍālim Caritra, 213
Dalpat Vilās, 182
Dāmo, 169
Dāmodar, 165, 166
Dāmodardās, 109
Dāmodarprasād, 239, 240
Dān Līlā — of Bārhaṭ Ḍsardās, 79
— of Caraṅḍāsji, 132
Dānphī, 223
Dānt Kathāwān, 191
Dariyāvji, 101, 108, 109, 138-141
Darsan de darsan de hūn tau tahnī
mukat nān māngūn, 123
Dārukā Bhagwatīprasād, 238
Das Awtār Carit, 121
Das Awtar kā Chaṅd, 112
Das Dev, 222, 223
Das Dokh, 236
Dāsojī, 67
Daulatvijay, 158
Dawāvait Narsingh Dās Gauḍ ki,
181
Dayā Bāi, 131, 132
Dayā Bodh, 132
Dayāldās, 8
Dayāldās ri Khyāt, 182
Dayāludās, 144, 145
Dayā Rām, 141
Deidān Nāitā, 185
- Ḍelhjī, 11, 92, 190
Delyān ko Diwalo, 219
Depāl (Johiyā), 41, 43
Depāl, 31
Depān, 65
Depāwat Amar, 230
Depāwat Manuj, 228
Desalji-I (Mahārāwal), 72
Desalji ri Vacanikā, 72
Des Bhagat Bhāmāsā, 240
Descriptive catalogues of Bardic
and Historical Manuscripts:
Prose chronicles — of Jodhpur, —
of Bikaner and *Bardic Poetry*,
Bikaner, 202
Des Darpan — of Dayāldās, 182
— of Śāṅkardān Sāmaur,
198, 199
Des rā Gaurav, 242
Des ro Helo, 240
Desūnfo, 116
Dethā Vijaydān, 191, 235
Devā (Rav, Hāḍā), 48
Devāḍās, 138
Dev Guṅ Prakāś, 74
Devīdās Jaitāwat ri Veli, 64
Devisiṅha (Rāv of Sikar), 74, 90
Deviyāṅ, 79
Dev Līlā Kāvya, 190
Devojī, 116
Dewatā, 240
Dewḍā Haṅūṅtsiṅha, 214, 221, 228
Ḍhāḍhī Bādar (Bahādar), 9, 19,
42, 72, 182
Dhāḍwi, 235
Dhāhal, 4
Dhannā ki Paracī, 127
Dhannojī, 23
Dhanpāl, 4, 5
Dhanurdhārī, 242
Dharatī, 220
Dharat Purāṅ, 116
Dhar Kūncān Dhar Majalān, 224
Dharma, 28
Dharma Jahāj Varṅan, 132

- Dharma Saṁvād*, 135
Dharmcarī, 113
 Dharmdāsji, 23
 Dharm Vardhan (Dharmasī), 157
 Dharmvīr Bhāratī, 218
Dhātu Rūpāwalī, 197
 Dhawal, 4
Dhawal Paccīsī, 75
Dholā Mārū, 184
Dholā Mārū rā Dūhā, 157, 159, 162, 165, 166
Dholā Mārwaṇ, 239
Dholā Mārwaṇī Caupai, 154, 168
Dholā raho to hūn rāndhūn Khicaḍī, 188
Dhorān ro Dhorī, 233
Dhorān ro Saṅgīt, 218
Dhrū Caritra - of Bhīkhjanjī, 125
Dhruva Caritra - of Jangopāl Rāhorī, 125
Dhruva Līlā, 190
Dhūḍṣār, 212
 Dhūhad, 19
 Dhukiyā Harcaṅdjī, 115
 Dhūmaṇ, 39
Dhyān Mūl, 140
 Dhyāndās, 118, 119
 Dīn Darveś, 50, 151
 Dīndayāl Kuṇdan, 235
Ḍiṅgal Koṣ, 179
Dīn Prakāś, 151
 Dīn Sudardī, 115
 Dīp Purī, 187
Dīth, 243
 Diwākar, 109
 Dīwān Raṅchoḍ Dās, 179
Dodhak Chattīsī, 157
Draupad Purāṇ, 190
Dr̥ṣṭānt Dīpikā, 205
Dr̥ṣṭānt Sāgar, 134
Dr̥ṣṭānt Vicār Gūḍh Nirūpaṇ, 136
 Dūdā (Rāv, Rāḥhore), 47, 149, 150
 Dūdojī, 99
 Dūgaḍ Kanhaiyālāl, 214, 240
 Dūṅgarsiṅha (Guhil), 48
 Dūṅgarsi Sādḥ, 127, 130
Dūhā Rāv Riṅdhīr rā, 52
Dūhā Rāv Riṅmal rā, 52
Dūhā Saṅyog Śṛṅgār, 105
Dūhā Sattā Bhāḍī rā, 52
Dūhā Solāṅkī Vīramdevjī rā, 62
Dūhā Viyog Śṛṅgār, 105
 Dulhai Rām, 136
Durgā Bahattarī, 210
Durgā Bāwnī, 213
Dūr Disāwar, 241
Durgādās, 221, 232
 Durgādās (Rāḥhore), 158
Durgā Pāḥh Bhāṣā, 88
Durgā Saptśatī, 42, 79, 88, 89
Durgā Sāttasī, 79, 154, 155
 Durgdās, 115
 Durlabhrāj, 23
 Dwārkādās, 135
Ekākṣarī Nām Mālā
 - of Ratanū Vīrbhāṇ, 70
 - of Udayrām Gūṅgā, 179
Ek Bīnaṇī Do Bīn, 233
Enoch Arden, 233
Fatah Yaś Prakāś, 206
 Firoz Khan (of Nāgore), 51
 Gāḍaṇ Aidān, 87
 Gāḍaṇ Colo Mehāwat (Cauthjī), 66
 Gāḍaṇ Gopināth, 72
 Gāḍaṇ Kesodās, 65, 77, 81
 Gāḍaṇ Pasāyat, 18, 51, 52, 56, 182
 Gāḍaṇ Sivdās, 18, 44, 69, 159, 181
 Gāḍaṇ Vīrbhāṇ Thākarsiyot, 69
 Gadda, 153
Gagaḍ Nīsāṇī (of Dīn Darveś), 151
 Gāgil (Cāraṇ), 39
Gajguṇ Rūpak Bāndh, 65, 67, 81
Gajmokh (see *Kathā Gajmokh*), 113
Gajmotī, 223
Gaj Rūpak, 66, 69

- Gajsiṅha – Mahārājā of Bikaner, 72
 — Mahārājā of Jodhpur, 65, 66
Gaj Sukumāl Mahāmuni Caupai
 156
Gaj Uddhār Granth, 88-90
Galāleṅg, 189
Galgaciyā, 241
Gāndhī Gāthā, 230
Gāndhī Jas Prakāś, 230
Gāndhī Jīwan Jyoti, 230
Gāndhī Śatak, 212
 Gaṅeśpurī, 209-10
Gaṅgā Laharī, 75
 Gaṅgārām Pathik, 225
Gaṅgaur, 188
Gaṅgāvataran, 79
 Gaṅpati (Kāyasth), 39, 159, 163-
 166
Gāṅv Sudhār yā Gomā Jāt, 239
Garabh Citāwanī
 — of Harakhārām, 140
 — of Murārī Rām, 145
 Garibdās, 126, 127
Garuḍ Purāṇ, 79
Gauḍān kī Vanśāwalī, 67
Gauḍ Durgādānsiṅha, 225, 228
Gaur Vyāṅwalo, 98
 Gaurīsaṅkar 'Kamleś', 228
Gausālā rī Caupai, 160, 161
Gautam Pricchā 160
Gautam Swāmī Rās, 30
Gawaḍ rī Jāyoḍī, 240
Gawarī, 192
Gawarī Bāī, 152
 George Thomas, 1
Ghaghar Nīsānī, 142
Ghāṇerāv rī (kī) Gazal, 74, 178
Ghar āvojī āmbo Mohoriyo, 188
Ghar kī Gāy, 236
Ghar kī Rel, 191
 Ghāsī Rām, 187
 Ghaṭamdās, 135
Ghūgharī, 188
 Gīdhā, 57
 Girdhārīlāl Mālav, 228
 Girdhārīlāl Śāstrī, 239
 Girirāj Bhaṅwar, 242
Gir Ūncā Ūncā Gaḍhān, 237
Gīt (Ḍiṅgal), 52
Gītā, 110, 129, 135, 201
Gītā Mahātmya, 119
Gītān rī Guṅjār, 214
Gītāsār, 207
Gīt Govind kī Tikā, 150
Gīt Rāji Śrī Rohitāsji ro, 62
Godāwarī Tir rai Jogī rī Vāt, 184
 Godika Amaraṅd, 24
 Godikā Jodhrāj, 24
 Gogā (Rāṭhore), 19, 42, 43, 56
Gogāde Rūpak, 72
 Gogājī (Cauhān), 17, 58, 59, 147
Gogājī rā Rasāwala, 59
Gogājī rī Peḍī 58, 59
Gogājī rī Vārtā, 43
 Gokalji, 115
Gokhai Ūbhī Gorāḍī, 229
 Gopāl Lāhorī, 3
 Gopīcaṅd, 102
Gopīcaṅd, 220
Gopī Gīt, 217
 Gopāl Lāl Prajāpati, 224, 229
 Gorā, 57
*Gorā Bādal Caritra (Gorā Bādal
 Padmini Caupai)*, 156, 159
 Gorakh (Gorakhnāth), 50, 53, 67,
 78, 100-104, 111, 135, 186, 190
Gorakhchaṅd, 115
 Gordhanjī Siṅāwā, 98
 Goviṅdrāj, 17
 Goswāmī Bhagwāndatt, 237, 238,
 241
 Goviṅd Rām, 115
 Goyal Trilok, 224, 229-231
 Goyaṅd, 147
Grabh-Citāwanī, 111
 'Grammar' ('Vyākaraṇ' of Hem-
 caṅdra), 32, 33, 39, 40
Granth Adalānaṅd, 151
Granth Karuṇā Nidhān, 143
Granth Man Haḍ ko, 117

- Granthrāj*, 72
Granth Virā Ras, 117
Grhasth Sār Bodh, 136
Grh Kūp ko Prasaṅg, 145
 Grierson, 201
Gumān Bhāratī rī Veli, 207
Gumānī Rām, 24
Gumān Padāwalī, 207
Gumānsiṅha, 207
Guṇādi Bodh, 119
Guṇāwalī Caupai, 156
Guṇ Āgam, 79
Guṇ Bāl Lilā, 79
Guṇ Bhagwant Haṅs, 79
Guṇ Bhākaḍī, 78
Guṇ Bhākhā Caritra, 66
Guṇ Cāṅak Veli, 78
Guṇ Chabhā Prab, 90
Guṅgañj Nāmā, 120, 127
Gūṅgā Udyarām, 179
Guṇ Govind, 85
Guṇ Jodhāyaṅ, 51
Guṇ Mālā, 116
Guṇmāl Śāh Dev Karaṅ rī, 72
Guṇ Māyā Saṅvād, 119
Guṇ Niṅdā Stuti, 79
Guṇ Niraṅjan Prāṅ, 58, 78
Guṇ Rām Vār Nīsāṅī, 90
Guṇ Rās Lilā, 79
Guṇ Sabhā Parva, 79
Guṇ Sār, 88, 89
Guṇ Sivcarit Prakās, 72
Guṇ Vairāt, 79
Guṇ Vasaṅt Lilā, 83
Guṇ Vijay Vyāh, 90
Guṇwār Pāṭho, 235
Guptā Dulicaṅd, 128
Gupta Maithiliśaraṅ, 198
Gurāwalī Reluā, 29
Gurdev Ko Aṅg, 125
Guru Bhakti Prakās, 132
Gurudev kā Aṅg, 132
Guru Lilā Vilās, 136
Guru Mahimā —of Kisandās, 139
 — of Harakhārām, 140
 —of Nānakdās, 140
 —of Ābhā Bāi, 141
 —of Cainrāmji, 143
 — of Haridevdāsji, 143
 —of Mūldāsji, 143
 —of Pīrārāmji, 143
 —of Rāmdāsji, 144
 —of Murāri Rām, 145
 —of Parśurām, 145
 — of Pīthodās, 145
 —of Pūraṅdās, 145
Guru Mahimā ko Aṅg, 125
Guru Mahimā Nirūpaṅ, 136
Guru Mahimā Sār Nirūpaṅ, 136
Guru Mahimā Stuti, 136
Guru Prakaraṅ, 144
Guru Sampati Nirūpaṅ, 136
Guru Śiṣya Saṅvād, 145
Guru Stuti, 138
Guru Upkār, 138
Gyān Carit, 88
Gyān Dīpak, 140
Gyāngirijī, 146
Gyān Mahātam, 113
Gyān Maṅjarī, 119
Gyān Paccīsī, 104
Gyān Prakās, 138
Gyān Samudra, 140
Gyān Sār, 140
Gyān Sār, 161
Gyān Swaroday Varṅan, 132
Gyān Swarūp, 143
Gyān Tilak (—anonymous), 135
 — of Surjandāsji, 113
Gyān Udās, 139
Gyān Vacan Cūrṅikā, 119
Gyān Vicār, 143
Gyān Vivek, 144
Gyānījī, 153
Gyoyī, 236

Hāḍā Lālsiṅha, 41
Hāḍā Raghurājsiṅha, 220, 223
Hāḍautī Patrikā (Cidambarā),
 243

- Hāḍī Śatak*, 212
Haḍūmān Gīt, 82
Hālān Jhālān rā Kuṇḍaliyā, 60, 79, 196
 Hālā Jasājī, 60
Hamir Nām Mālā, 177
 Hammir—of Cittore, 18
 —of Raṅthambhor, 17, 18, 54, 55
Hammirāyaṇ, 54, 55
Hamroḥ Chattisī, 75
Haṅs, 243
 Hāṅsā (Kesar), 110
 Hāṅsā Bāi, 18, 52
Haṅsāwali, 35
Haṅs Pramodh, 117
 Haṅsrāj-Bacchrāj, 33
Haṅsrāj Bacchrāj Caupai, 35
Hanuman Nāṭak, 135
Hanumān Pañcak, 209
 Harakhārām, 139, 140
Harāwal, 235, 243
Harcaṅd Purāṇ, 99
Harcaṅd Sat Granth, 135
Hardās Ūhad rī Vāt, 183
Hardaul, 220
Hari Bhagati Hiṅ ko Jodau, 121
 Haribhadra (Sūri), 4, 22
Haricaṅd Purāṇ, 46
 Haridās—of Lāldāsī Sect, 127, 129
 —disciple of Saṅtdās, Bārah Hazārī, 125
 —of Rām Snehī Sect, Reṅ, 141
 Haridāsji (Niraṅjanī), 100, 117
Haridās Premdās Saṅvād, 129
 Haridevdāsji, 143
Harijan Mokhyārthī, 207
Hari Kathā, 116
 Harikisan, 179
Hari Līlā—of Lālnāthji, 116
 —of Parśurāmdevji, 121
Hari Piṅgal Prabandh, 177, 178
 Harirāj, 17
 Harirāmdās (Niraṅjanī), 120
 Harirāmdāsji, 101, 108, 109, 141, 144
Hari Ras, 79, 84, 113
Hari Rāsu, 77
 Harivallabh 'Hari', 228-230
 Harivyāsdevācārya, 120
Harkirat Purāṇ, 99
 Hāroji, 117
 Harprasād Śāstrī, 7
 Har Rāj, 154, 165
Har Rāj rai Nalṅān rī Vāt, 183
Har Ras, 116
 Hāthī Gopāldāsot, 62
 Haṭṭi Praviṣṭ, 39
Helo, 243
 Hemcaṅdra (Ācārya), 4, 32, 33, 39-41, 196
Hemī Nām Mālā, 66
 Hemratan Sūri, 156, 157, 159
Hindi Vyākaraṇ
 —of Rām Karaṇ Āsopā, 201
 —of Kamatā Prasād Guru, 201
Hiṅdolo, 121
Hiṅgaḷāj Rāsau, 88
 Hīrālāl Śāstrī, 214
 Hīrānaṅd Sūri, 31, 37
 Hīr Bhāṭ, 38
Hitopadeś, 135
Hitsikṣa Rās, 28
Hiyai Taṅā Upāy, 191
Hūn Gorī Kiṅ Piv rī, 234
Huṅkāro do sā, 191
Hori Līlā, 132
 Hośaṅg Śāh Ghorī of Māṅḍū (Hośaṅg Ghorī), 18, 44, 147
Hṛnnayanāṅjan, 205
 Hussain, 79
Ib to Ceto, 240
Indar Sūn Interview, 227
Indian Antiquary, 202
Indrasīngh Rūpak, 72
Īsar Astut, 151
Īsarlāṭ, 243
Īs Mahimā, 206

- Jab lag apno man nahin sojhai tab lag bhagati mukati kahā khojai*, 122
- Jaḍ Bharat Caritra*, 125
- Jagannāth—of Āmer, 120, 127
- Jāgati Jot*, 244
- Jāgati Jotān*, 225
- Jagatsiṅha (Mahārāṇā of Mewār), 67
- Jāgirdārān rai Avguṇān ra Dūhā*, 212
- Jagjiwandās (Nirañjanī), 118, 119
- Jagjiwanji (Dādūpañthī), 127
- Jagmāl (Rāṭhorē), 42
- Jagmāl (Udyasiṅhot, of Bāns-wārā), 48, 62
- Jaimal, 135
- Jaimal Paccīsī*, 213
- Jaimini Aśwamedh*, 119
- Jain Gurjar Kavio*, 188
- Jain Subhāṣitāwalī*, 135
- Jairāmdās, 135
- Jaisalmar ro Jas*, 60
- Jaitasī Rāsau*, 57
- Jaitasī (Rāv), 56, 57
- Jaitasī Ūdāwāt rī Vāt*, 184
- Jaitāwat Devidās, 62
- Jaitāwat Kesarisiṅha, 87, 92
- Jaitgiri, 187
- Jaitmāl, 19, 42
- Jaitrasiṅha—of Raṅthambhor, 17
—of Mewār, 17
- Jalāl-Būbanā, 162, 175, 184
- Jaḷambhom*, 243
- Jalam Bhom rī Mūrat*, 240
- Jālāndharnāth (Hāḍipā), 102, 103
- Jālāndhar-Caṅdroday*, 105
- Jālāndhar Gyān Sāgar*, 105
- Jālāndharnāthjī rī Nīsānī*, 105
- Jālāndharnāthjī ro Carit Granth*, 105
- Jālaṅsī, 19
- Jalha author of *Buddhi Rāso*, 168
- Jalhaṅ (Jalha, son of Caṅd Vardāyī), 168
- Jamarā Bij*, 192
- Jāmbhojī, 21, 78, 85, 100, 102, 110, 112, 113, 115
- Jambūsawāmī Cariy*, 28
- Jammaḍ Śobhācaṅd, 239
- Janatā Ko Darbār*, 226
- Jangopāl Rāhorī, 125
- Jāṅkārī*, 243
- Jan Kauṅrā, 131
- Jan Kavi Ustād*, 227
- Janma Līlā*—of Arjundāsji, 145
—of Pūraṅdās, 145
- Jan Nāyak Pratāp*, 222
- Jan Prabhāv Paracī*, 145
- Jaiwāī*, 188
- Jasā (Johiyā), 43
- Jasnāth Jāt rī Vāt*, 184
- Jasnāthjī, 100, 115, 116
- Jaswant Piṅgal*, 207
- Jaswantsiṅha—Mahārājā of Jodhpur, 68, 70, 71, 89
- Jathārath Bodh*, 136
- Jatī Bhaggā Bābājī Pañwār, 187
- Jatī Jaycaṅd, 89, 181
- Jatī Rāsau*, 70
- Jāwaliyā Brajmohan, 237
- Jāyasī, 36
- Jaycaṅd, 17, 71
- Jaycaṅd Rāsau*, 69
- Jaymaldās (Jaimaldās), 108, 109, 141, 142
- Jaymalljī, 160
- Jaypur kī Jyoṅār*, 239
- Jaysāgar (Mahopādhyāy), 31
- Jaysiṅha, 77
- Jehal Jas Jaḍāv*, 75
- Jehāṅgīr, 66, 68
- Jethwai rā Sorathā*, (or *Dohā*), 170
- Jethwā-Ūjaḷī, 162, 170
- Jhālā Mān Śatak*, 212
- Jhālā Rāysiṅha, 60
- Jhamāl Rādhikā Śikh-nakh*, 75, 83
- Jhar Jhar Kañthā*, 226
- Jhirmir jhirmir ho sel Mārū varselo meh*, 188

- Jhūlaṇā Acal Tilokdās rā*, 61
Jhūlaṇā Akbar Pātsāhji rā, 9, 61
Jhūlaṇā Dīwān Pratāpsīnghji rā, 9, 61
Jhūlaṇā Mahārājā Rāysīnghji rā, 9, 43, 61
Jhūlaṇā Mahārāv Rājsīngh Sirohī, 66
Jhūlaṇā Rājā Mānsīngh Kachvāhā rā, 62
Jhūlaṇā Rāv Amarsīngh Gajsiṅghot rā, 62, 63
Jhūlaṇā Rāwat Meghā rā, 62
Jhūlaṇā Rāv Surtāṇ rā, 62, 63
 Jhūlā Sāhnyā, 77 83
Jijī Dābhī rī Vāt, 184
 Jijī Devī (Āiji), 101
 Jinarāj Sūri, 157
Jindatt Carit, 29
 Jindatt Seth, 29
 Jineśwar Sūri 23, 29
Jineśwar Sūri Vivāh Varṇan Rās, 29
 Jinharṣa (Jasrāj), 157
 Jin Padma Sūri, 30, 31
 Jinpati Sūri, 29
Jin Prabodh Sūri Bolikā, 29
Jin Prabodh Sūri Carcarī, 29
 Jitmalji (Jayācārya), 180
Jiv Cetāwanī, 160
Jivdayā Rās, 28,
 Jivrāj (Thākur of Rūpnagar), 66
Jiv Samjhotarī, 116
 Jodhā (Rāv, Rāṭhore), 18, 19, 47, 51, 52, 56
 Jodhā Agarsīnha, 205
 Jodhā Indrasīnha (of Khairwā), 72, 73
 Jodhā Tejsīnha, 231, 232
 Jogīdās, 71
 Jogjīti, 132
Jog Samādhi, 117
Jog Sanjog, 234
 Jośi Dāūdayāl, 241
 Jośi Mahāvīr Prasād, 220
 Jośi Nemnārāyaṇ, 241
 Jośi Satyaprakāś, 218, 219, 228, 230-232
 Jośi Satyen, 224, 228, 231, 234
 Jośi Śrilāl Nathmal, 232, 236-238, 240, 242
 Jośi Sumanes, 214, 227, 230
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 202
Jugal Granth, 145
 Juitā Jogī, 189
Jūjhatī Jūṇ, 228
Jūnā Jivāntā Citarām, 240
Jūn Vātān, 226
Juo juo naṇdal jāṅgīḍā nūn rūp, 188
 Kabīr, 106, 128, 135, 148, 166, 186
Kabīr Granthāwalī, 166
Kabīrjī kī Paracī, 126
 Kaḍvā Rāv, 147
Kai re Cakwā Vāt, 237
Kajli Tij rī kathā, 185
Kakkā Battisī (Nirūpaṇ), 136
Kakkā Battisī—of Mukṭ Rām, 138
 —of Ābhā Bāi, 141
 —of Dīn Darves, 151
Kakkā Chattisī, 115
Kakkā Kāyā Karṇī Sār (Nirūpāṇ), 136
Kalāyaṇ, 222
Kāl Bhairavī, 235
Kāl Bodh, 134
Kaldār, 227
 Kalhaṇ, 201
 Kālidās, 223
Kālī Nāthan Līlā, 132
 Kālū, 135
Kālū Yaśovīlās, 213
 Kalyāṇdās, 124, 127
 Kalyāṇ Gautam, 220
 Kalyāṇmal (Rāṭhore, of Iḍar), 83
 Kalyāṇ Rāv, 147
 Kāmarāṇ, 55, 56
Kāmarāṇ kī Āṅkhadlyāṇ, 240
Kanak Suṇdar, 232, 241

- Kanak-Suñdar* (dialogue), 239
Kānhaḍ Dās, 118
Kānhaḍ De Prabañdh, 17, 53, 55
Kānhaḍ Dev, 17, 53, 55
Kanpāl, 19
Kanupriyā, 218
Kañwaḷ Pūjā, 234
Kanyā Bikrī, 238
Kanyādān, 236
Karamcañd, 106, 108, 109
Karamdās, 116
Karañijī, 21, 50, 59, 74, 77, 147
Karañijī rā Chañd, 59
Karañī Rūpak, 74
Karañsiñha (Mahārājā of Bikaner),
 69
Karamānañd, 40, 41
Karpūr Mañjarī, 34
Kārtik Mahātmya, 119
Karuṇā Battisī, 143
Karuṇā Bāwnī, 204
Karuṇā Chattisī, 145
Karuṇā Sāgar
 — of Harkhā Rām, 140
 — of Dayāludās, 144
Kaśmīr Śatak, 212
Kathā Ahmanī, 11, 21, 92, 190
Kathā Autār kī, 113
Kathā Autārpāt, 111
Kathā Bahsowanī, 97
Kathā Bāl Līlā, 112
Kathā Bhāñv Dusāsanī, 97
Kathā Cetan, 113
Kathā Dhaḍābañdh, 111
Kathā Drauṇpur kī, 111
Kathā Gajmokh (Gajmokh), 84, 113
Kathā Gugaliyai kī, 111
Kathā Gyāncari, 111
Kathā Hari Guṇ, 84, 113
Kathā Iskañdar kī, 112
Kathā Jatī Taḷāv kī, 112
Kathā Jaisalmer kī, 111
Kathā Jhorḍāñ kī, 111
Kathā Lohā Pāñgaḷ kī, 112
Kathā Mīglekhā kī, 112
Kathā Meḍtā kī, 112
Kathā Prasiddha, 113
Kathā Pūlhojī kī, 111
Kathā Saiñsai Jokhāñī kī, 112
Kathā Surgārohañī, 97
Kathā Ūdai Atalī kī, 112
Kathā Uṣā Purāñ, 98, 113
Kathā Vigatāwaḷī, 112
Kaṭh Upaniṣad, 217
Kāverī Kāñt, 242
Kavikul Bodh, 179
Kavirājā Murārīdān, 179
Kavirājā Śyāmaldās, 178, 200
Kavirāv Mohansiñha, 213
Kavitt Bhāgwat (*Bhāgwat Daśam*
Skañdh), 41, 42
Kavitt Caḷairāy, 91
Kavitt Cauhāñ Karamsī Aur Sāñwal-
dās rā, 59
Kavitt Māl, 135
Kavitt Rāñā Mokal Mūāñ rī
Khabar āyāñ rā, 51, 52
Kavitt Rāv Rañmal Cūñḍai rī vair
maiñ Bhāṭiyāñ nai Māriyā tai
Samai rā, 51
Kavitt Rāv Rañmal Nāgaur rai
dhañī Peroz nai Māriyā tai
Samai rā, 51
Kavitt Solañkī Jivrāj jī rā, 66
Kaviyā Allūjī, 78
Kaviyā Cimanjī, 206, 207
Kaviyā Hiñgaḷājdān, 179, 210
Kaviyā Jogīdān, 221
Kaviyā Girwardān, 194
Kaviyā Karañīdān Vijayrāmaur,
 69, 70, 71, 74, 77, 88, 201
Kaviyā Rāmnāth, 13, 204-206
Kaviyā Śaktidān, 214, 224
Kaviyā Lūñkarañ, 69
Kaviyā Rāmdayāl, 194
Kāyā Prāñ Sañvād, 125
Kāyar Bāwnī, 75
Kāzī Mahmūd, 9, 128, 135, 148,
 149, 157
Kehar Prakāś, 206

- Ken Upaniṣad*, 217
Kesarīsiṅghjī rā Jhūlaṇā, Dohā vā Nīsānī, 69
 Kesarīsīnha (of Bikaner), 69
 Kesarīsīnha Sonyāṇā, 214
Kesar Vilās, 238
 Kesariyā Haridās, 54
 Kesaudās (Kesodās Godārā), 9, 97, 112
 Khare Dineś, 240
 Khatri Dīnānāth, 241
 Khem, 118
 Khemdās, 124, 127
 Khetā Rām, 141
 Khetsī (Rāṇā), 18, 41
 Khicī Acaldās, 18, 44, 45, 147
Khicī Gaṅgev Nimbāwat ro Beporo, 184
Khiciyon ka Itihās, 74
 Khiḍiyā Bakhatā, 69
 Khiḍiyā Cānaṇ, 18, 51, 52, 77, 182
 Khiḍiyā Hukamīcaṇḍ, 73
 Khiḍiyā Jaggā, 52, 68, 69, 77, 87, 159, 181, 202
 Khiḍiyā Kṛpārām, 90, 91
Khilcīpur kī Khyāt, 147
 Khcḍ Rāmū, 115
Khudāy Bāwalī rī Vāt, 184
Khulatī Gānthān, 235
 Khummāṇ, 158
Khummāṇ Rās, 158, 159
 Khurram, 65, 66
Khyāl Jhāmaḍā, 192
 Kīlhadās, 106, 107, 109
Kīrat Lichamī ro Saṅvād, 13
Kirtār Bāwnī, 62, 63
 Kīrtipāl, 17
Kirtyān, 225
 Kisandās, 139
 Kisanau, 81
Kisan Kilol, 90
Kisan Vyānwalo, 99
 Kīśor Ka'pnākānt, 215, 223, 228, 235-238, 242
Koḍ, 115
Krisanjī rī Velī, 78
Kṛpaṇ Darpaṇ, 75
Kṛpaṇ gṛhiṇī Saṅvād, 28
 Kṛpārām
 — of Rasik Sampradāy, 107
 — of Dāntaḍā 108, 109, 133
 Kṛṣṇadās Payhārī, 106, 109
Kṛṣṇa Dhyān, 79
Kṛṣṇa Vilās, 105
Kucaraṇī, 226
Kukavi Battīsī, 75
 Kumārpāl, 16
Kumārpāl Pratibodh, 4, 32, 40
 Kumbhā (Rāṇā), 18, 155
Kumbhā Kīrti Prakāś, 213
 Kumbhakarāṇ, 8
 Kuṅārīyā Jogīdās (Cāraṇ), 66, 177
Kuṅḍaliyā Śatak, 213
Kuñjān, 217
 Kuñjo Devī, 131
 Kuñtildev (Rājā), 74
Kuṅ Samajhai Caṅwarī rā Kaul, 234
Kuṅwar Raṅmal rī Vāt, 184
Kuṅwar Sardārsiṅghjī ro Viṇḍoḍau, 74
Kuṅwarsī Sānkhālo, 183
Kuṅwar Śrī Anūpsīṅghjī rī Velī, 69
 Kuṅwar Ummedsīnha Khīndāsar, 222
Kurān, 79
Kurjān, 243
Kūrma Yaś Kalānidhi, 213
Kurukṣetra Līlā, 132
 Kuśal Lābh, 79, 154, 155, 165, 166, 168, 177
Kusum Śrī Mahāsati Caupai, 157
 Kutab, 127
Kuvalaymālā, 3, 22
 Labdhoday, 156, 157
Lāḍesar (Magazine), 235, 243
 — (Book), 236
Laghu Hari Prahlād Carit, 115
 Lahoṭī Bālkrṣṇa, 238

- Lākhā (Rāṇā), 18, 52
Lakhsen Padmāwatī Caupāī, 169
 Lakpat, 72
Lakpat Piṅgal, 177, 178
 Lakṣmaṇsiṅha (of Sisodā), 18
 Lakṣmaṇsiṅha 'Raswant', 224, 230
 Lakṣmītilak Gaṇi, 29
Lāladī Ek Pherūn Gamagī, 234
 Lālas Haridās, 90
 Lālas Pīrdān, 88, 90
 Lālas Rāmdān, 74
 Lālas Sītārām, 244
 Lālas Ūmardān, 208, 227
 Lāldās (Māli), 127
 Lāldāsji, 100, 127-131
 Lāldās (Garībdāsī), 126
 Lālgirijī, 101, 145
 Lall (Hall), 41
 Lālnāthjī (Jasnāthī), 116
Lānkān Dhanī, 217
 Lapaṭyo Jagannāth, 118
 Lavjī Muni, 23
 Lāwanya Samay, 38
Lay Yog Battīsī, 207
Līlā Sāgar, 132
Līlāns, 224
Līlāwatī, 156
 Lohaṭ, 110
 Loṅkā Śāh, 23
 Lū, 222
 Lūr, 115
 Lūmbā Bābā, 147
 Lumbaṭ, 52
 Lūṅkaraṇ (Rāv), 56, 57

Machalī man Mhāro, 231
 Madā Rām, 141
 Mādha Dās (Jagjīwanjī's disciple), 127
 Mādhaudās, 135
Mādhavānal Caupāī, 154
Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Caupāī, 165, 166
Mādhavānal Kāmkaṇḍalā Prabandh, 39, 159, 162, 163, 165

Mādhavānal Kathā, 165
 Mādhavsiṅha (Rāwat of Kānaud), 71
 Mādhōdās Maidānī, 109
 Mādhosiṅha (Hāḍā), 48
Madhumatī, 244
 Madu (Johiyā), 43
Magan Caritra, 213
Māgh Piṇḍat, Rājā Bhoj ar Dokarī rī Vat, 184
Mahābhārat, 30, 31, 63, 82, 90, 93, 99, 116, 135, 190, 204, 205, 218
Mahābhārat ko Śrī Gaṇeś, 239
Mahābhārat Rūpak, 179
 Mahādān Bāi, 74
Mahādev Pārwatī rī Veli, 81
 Mahānaṇḍ, 131
Mahānay Prakāś, 4
Mahārājā Ajītsiṅghjī kī Dawāvait, 181
 Mahārājā Bahādursiṅha, 183
Mahārājā Gajsiṅgh ro Rūpak, 72
Mahārājā Ratansiṅghjī ro Rūpak, 74
Mahārājā Rāysiṅghjī rī Satiyon rā Kavitt, 69
 Mahārājā Saṅgrāmsiṅha, 214
Mahārājā Sardārsiṅghjī rā Marsiyā, 74
Mahārājā Śrī Śivsiṅghjī rā Kavitt, 73
 Mahārāj Catursiṅha, 209
Mahārāj Gaṇpatsiṅghjī rā Kavitt, 74
Mahārāj Haridāsji kī Paracī, 120
Mahārāj Kuīwar Sardārsiṅghjī rā Kavitt, 74
Mahārāj Padamsiṅgh rī Vāt, 183
Mahārāj Ratansiṅghjī kī Dawāvait, 181
Mahārāṇā Bhīmsiṅgh rā Jhūlaṇā, 74
Mahārāṇā Caritāmṛta, 213
Mahārāṇā Pratāp, 239
Mahārāṇā rī Oḷyūn, 222

- Maharṣi Kānha, 219, 239
 Maharṣi Sītārām, 224, 229, 231, 234
Mahāvīr rī Olakhāṇ, 242
Māhav Yaś Prakāś, 71
 Maheṇdra Sūri, 28
 Mahesdās (Rāv), 66, 69, 86
Māheśwarī, 235, 243
Mahimāsār Nisāṇī, 145
Mahipāl Caupāī, 156
 Mahiyāriyā Mcḍsiṅha, 209, 210
 Mahiyāriyā Nāthūsiṅha, 212
Mahimna Stotra, 209
 Mahmāy, 77
 Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 15, 17
Mahrī Majej, 70
Maikati Kāyā Muḷkati Dharatī, 233
Mākhan Corī Līlā, 132
Mālā Piṅgal, 161
Malay Suṅdarī Caupāī, 156
Malay Suṅdarī Kathā, 37
 Māldev (Rāv of Jodhpur), 57-59, 64
 —Rāwat, 64
 Mālī Likhamojī, 187
 Mallināth, 19, 42, 43, 58
Mallināth Kāvya, 37
 Mallūkhān, 52
 Malūk (Dās), 135
 Mān, 8
Mānakho, 218
Māṇak Mahimā, 213
 Manasā Rām, 120, 121
Mānav Mitra Rām Caritra, 209
Man Carit, 138
 Maṅcch Kavi (Manasā Rām), 3, 74, 177
 Māṅḍaṇ, 135
Māṅḍaṅsī Kūmpāwat rī Vāt, 184
Māṅdhātā rī Vāt, 184
 Maṅgalī Sādh, 131
 Māṅkiyacaṅdra Sūri, 180
 Māṅkiya Suṅdar Sūri, 37
 Maṅi Madhukar, 232
Manisā Lakṣa Caṅḍrikā, 207
 Maṅiyār Jānkho, 46
Māṅjhaḷ Rāt, 237
Mān Kutuhal (Mānwati Vinaywati Prabandh), 38
 Manmohandāsji, 132
 Manohardās (Rāv of Amarsar, Śekhāwāṭi), 66
 Manohar 'Prabhākar', 223
 Manorath Rām, 138
Mān Pacc's, 213
Man Pratibodh, 144
 Mānsiṅha I - Rājā of Āner, 66-68
 —Mahārājā of Jodhpur, 74, 75, 105
Man Thamb Sarir Sāddhan, 104
 MS. No. 99, Anūp Saṅskrit Library, Bikaner, 44
 MSS. - of Mr. Dulicaṅd Gupta, Alwar, 128, 129
 MS. - of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Newatīyā, Calcutta, 117, 118, 121-123
 Maqbūl Ahmad, 230
Mārkaṅḍey Purāṇ, 42, 77, 79
Marsiyā (of Rāvrajā Bakhtāwar-siṅha, Alwar), 73
Marsiyā Rāv Rāysiṅgh Sirohi rā, 63, 64
Marsiyā Rāv Surtāṅ rā, 62
Maru Bhāratī - (Book), 214
 —(Magazine), 243
Maru Mayaṅk (Śrī Pāmdev Caritra), 219
Maru Māṅjhar, 226
Maru Śrī, 243
Maru Vāṅī, 215, 243
Mārwāḍī, 243
Mārwāḍī Bhāskar, 243
Mārwāḍī Hitkārak, 243
Mārwāḍī Mausar aur Sagāī Janjāl, 238
Mārwāḍī Pustak, Part-I, II, III, 201
Mārwāḍī Vyākaraṇ, 201
Mārwāḍ rā Parganā rī Vigat, 181, 182

- Mārwaṇī*, 217
Mārwād rā Vīr Dūdh Prakāś, 212
Mātājī rā Chaṇḍ, 52, 77
Mātājī rī Vacanikā, 89, 90, 181
Māthur Brajmohan, 225
Māthur Goviṇḍlāl, 239
Māthur Jagdīś 240
Māi ro Poredār, 240
Mati Suṇḍar, 135
Matkī Līlā, 132
Mātrbhāṣā Dohāwali, 212
Matsyodar Rās, 157
Māwaḍiyā Mijāj, 75
Māwjī, 151
Mayaṇ Chaṇḍ, 38
Mayaṇ Purāṇ, 39
Mac Aliester, 201
Meghdūt, 217, 223
Meghmāl, 223
Meghmāl Bhaddarī (Ḍāk Bhaddali), 39
Meghrāj, 58
Meghrāj 'Mukul', 215, 221, 224, 225, 227, 229, 230, 232
Mehāi Mahimā, 210
Mehḍū Khaṅgār, 54
Mehḍū Jādā, 64
Mehḍū Kalyāṇḍās (Jādāwat), 66
Mehḍū Lālji, 54
Mehḍū Mahādān, 74
Mehojī, 11, 85, 95
Mehrajot Kūmpā, 59
Menāriyā Motilāl, 201, 244
Menāriyā Puruṣottam, 188
Merā, 18, 51
Merutuṅg, 32
Mevai rā Rūṅkha?, 233
Mhāne de ne naṇḍal pomaco, 188
Mhāro Des, 243
Mihir Bhoj, 15
Military Memoirs, 1
Mimjhar, 224
Mīnjhar, 224, 225, 228
Mīrān, 219
Mīrān (Mīrān Bāi), 50, 95, 135, 149, 150, 157, 186, 187
Miśra Banwārīlāl 'Suman', 219, 226
Miśra Dineś, 222
Miśra Mādhav Prasād, 239
Miśra Śrīlāl, 242
Miśraṇ Sūryamall, 3, 8, 13, 75, 195-198, 205, 210, 212, 220
Modānī Manasā Rām, 140
Modī Śrīnāth, 239
Mohabbat Khān (Nawāb), 62
Mohakamsiṅha Rāṭhore (of Mewār), 66
Mohammed Sādiq, 228
Mohammed Sāhib, 79
Mohandās—of the tradition of Anantānaṇḍ, 109
- Niraṅjanī, 119
—Mewādā (Dādūpanthī), 123
Mohan Satsai, 213
Mohansiṅha, 191
Mohanvijay, 161
Mohilān rī Vāt, 184
Moh Mardan, 75
Moh Vivek Saṅvād, 125
Mokal, 18, 45, 51, 52
Mokṣa Bhawan, 207
Mokṣamārg Prakāśak, 24
Morpāṅkh, 229
Motī Rām, 135
Motī Rāmji, 143
Motīsar Catarā, 66
Motiyai rā Soraṭhā, 206
Mrgāputra Caupai, 157
Mrgāwatī Rās, 155
Mrgayā Bāwnī, 213
Mrgayā Mrgendra, 210
Mṛṇālwatī, 16
Muhabbatsiṅha (Kachvāhā), 48
Muhammed Ghorī, 16, 17
Muhammed Śāh, 16
Muhammed Tugluq, 16
Muḥnot Naiṅsī (Naiṅsī), 2, 43, 52, 181, 182
Muhtā Rughnāth, 86

- Mukaṇḍ, 135
 Mukansiṇha, 221
 Muktimārg, 132
 Mukt Rām, 138
 Mukuṇḍ Dān, 214
 Mūlcaṇḍ 'Prāṇeś', 191, 228, 236, 237
 Mūldāsji, 143
 Mūl Padam Mahāgyān, 104
 Mūmāl (folk songs), 188
 —magazine, 243
 —anthology, 237
 Mūmaḷ-Maheṇdra, 184
 Mūnḡhā Motī, 214
 Muni Jinvijay, 201
 Muni Kanakāmar, 4
 Muntakhab-ul-tawārīkh, 182
 Murād, 67, 68
 Muralīdhar, 131
 Muralī Rām, 135-137
 Murārīdās (of Būndī), 214
 Murārī Rām, 145
 Murtzā Alī, 74
 Mūsī, 73

 Nābhādās, 78, 106
 Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Vārāṇasī, 166
 Nāgaurī Gulābcaṇḍ, 235, 238
 Nāg Damaṇ, 83, 84
 Nāgdamaṇ Caupaī, 83
 Nāgdamaṇ Chcaṇḍ, 83
 Nāgdamaṇ Kathā, 83
 Nāgjī-Nāgmatī, 162, 173
 Nāgrāj, 56
 Nāgrāj Dīṅgal Koṣ, 179
 Naharī Jhagḍo, 240
 Nāhaḷā A.C. 192, 201, 242
 Nāhaḷā Bhaṇwarlāl, 241
 Nai Bīnaṇī, 239
 Naiṇāṇ Khūṭyo nīr, 236, 237
 Naiṇsī, 243
 Naiṇsī rī Khyāt, 2, 43, 52, 182
 Naiṇsī ro Sāko, 240
 Naiṇ Ūdojī, 111

 Naiṣdhiya Carit, 34
 Najaf Kuli Khān, 74
 Nal Damayaṇṭī Caupaī, 155
 Nām Bāwnī, 154
 Nāmdev, 50, 99, 135, 148
 Nāmdev kī Paracī, 126
 Nāmdev Śrī Kṛṣṇadās, 153
 Nām Mahimā, 143
 Nām Mālā — of Bhīkhjanjī, 125
 — of Lāldās Garībpaṇṭhī, 126
 127
 — of Mohandās Mewāḍā, 127
 — of Hirdai Rām, 127
 — of Rāmdāsji, 144
 — of Kuśal Lābh, 154
 Nām-nidhi, 97
 Nām Nidhi Līlā, 121
 Nām Nīsāṇī, 140
 Nām Pratāp, 138
 Nānak (Dās), 139, 140
 Naṇḍ (King ninth), 30
 Naṇḍ Battīsī, 38
 Nānv Yog, 136
 Narasā (Kāyasth), 163
 Narasī (Mehtā), 135
 Narasījī ro Māhero, 150, 190
 Nārāyaṇdās (of the tradition of Agradās), 109
 — of Jaitpur, 143
 Nārāyaṇjī, 187
 Nārāyaṇ Līlā — of Devojī, 116
 — of Harakhā Rām, 140
 Nārāyaṇ Neh, 88
 Narharī, 67
 Narīdās, 119
 Narpati Nālha, 33
 Narū, 48
 Narwad Sattāwat Supiyārde Lāyau Tai Samai rī Vāt, 183
 Nāsket Līlā, 132
 Nāṭak Samāysār, 135
 Nāthā, 72
 Nāth-Carit, 105
 Nāthjī, 118
 Nāth-Kīrtan, 105

- Nātho, 117
Nāth Pad Puṣpāñjalī, 105
Nāth Stotra, 105
 Nāthū Sādh, 131
Nav Bolī, 6
Navkār Vyākḥān, 180
Navo Rog, 209
Nav Padārth, 160
Nav Ras meṅ Ras Hāsya, 226
 Nawal Nāth, 106
 Nawal Rām, 120, 133-137
Nawal Sāgar, 135
 Nayanañdi, 4
 Nemā Rām, 187
Nemi Bārahmāsā, 28
Nemināth Phāgu, 31
Nemi Rājimatī Gīt, 157
 Newaṭiyā Rādhā Kṛṣṇa, (f.n.) 117
Nhāṅ, 192
Nihāḍe Sultān, 190
Nij Rūp Līlā, 121
Nikaḷṅg Purāṅ, 116
Nimañdhā Bañdh, 78
Nirālamb, 144
Nirapakḥ Mūl Jog, 117
Nirbhai Dhyān, 139
Nirañjan Nirwāṅ, 104
Nirañjan Stuti, 125
Niraṅay Bodh, 144
Nirwāṅ Līlā, 121
Nisāṅī Gajmokḥ, 82
Nisāṅī Mehes Dalapatot rī, 66
Nisāṅī Rādhikāñjī rī (Rādhikā Nisāṅī), 83
Nisāṅī Ratan Mahesdāsaut rī, 66
Nisāṅī Śāhjahāñ Pātisāh rī, 66
Nisāṅī Vivek Vār, 65, 77, 81
Nīti Mañjarī, 76
Nīti Śatak—of Bhartṛhari, 135
 —of Kavirāv Mohansiṅha, 213
Notes on the grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani with special reference to Apabhramśa and Gujarati and Mārwarī, 202
Nukatī Dāṅā, 241
 Nūpā Bāi, 132
Nūvoñ Mārg, 240
 Ojhā Dīndayāl, 188, 228, 242
 Ojhā Gaurīsañkar Hīrācañd, 200
Oḷambo, 116
Oḷamo, 215, 235, 243
Oḷkhāṅ—(Book), 240
 —(Magazine), 243
Oḷūñ, 231
Oḷūñ rī Oḷyāñ, 231
Oḷyūñ (folk songs), 188
 Pābūñjī, 59, 147
Pābūñjī kā Pawādā, 189
Pābūñjī rā Chañd, 59
Pābūñjī rā Sorāñthā, 204
Pābu Prakāś—of Āsiyā Modñjī, 205
 —of Jodhā Agarsiṅha, 205
 Pacoriyā Jamanāprasād, 239
Pad mañī ro Sarāp, 235
Padamāvāt, 36
 Padam Bhagat, 7, 11, 94, 95
Padāwalī—(of Mīrāñ Bāi), 150
 Paḍihār Girdhārīsiṅha, 218, 225, 230
 Padmanābh, 53
Padma Purāṅ, 154
 Padmini (of Cittore), 156-159
Padmini Carit Caupāī, 156-57
Padmini Caupāī, 156
 Pahāḍā, 127
Pākhāñd Khañdan, 205
Palak Dariyāv rī Vāt, 184
 Pālhaṅ, 28
 Pālhwāt Bhūdhardās, 66
 Pall, 5
Pañcāwalī, 105
Pañcendriy Veli, 154
Pañchī, 217
Pañcikaraṅ, 119
 Pāñcoñjī—of Jasnāthī Sect, 117
 —composer of *padās*, 187
 Pañcolī Badrīprasād, 239
Pañc Pāñḍav Carit Rāsu, 30

- Pañcrāj*, 235, 243
Pañc Saheli Gīt, 154
Pañc Tantra, 238
Pāñḍav Yaśeñdu Cañdrikā (Ukti Cañdrikā), 8, 205
Pāñḍe Śiv, 230
Pāñḍiyā Bhīm, 228, 230
Pañdra Tithi, 117
Pañihārī, 188
Pāñī Pali Pāl, 239
Pañkhī Purāṇ (Guṇ Pañkhī Pramod), 87
Pannā Dhāy, 239
Panrah Tithi rā Dūhā, 157
Pañthī Gīt, 154
Pañwār Baijnāth, 236, 237, 240, 241
Paracā ko Aṅg, 125
Paradeśī rī Gorāḍī, 236
Paramparā, 243
Param Vīr, 221
Paranyoḍī Kaiwārī, 236
Parbhātī, 223
Pardesī Prītam ko Joḍau, 121
Pārik Buddhiprakāś, 227
Pārik Nañdkiśor, 225
Pārik Onkār, 224, 228, 229, 231, 232, 241
Pārik Sūrya Karaṇ, 188, 201, 238, 239
Pārik Sūryaśaṅkar, 220, 225, 228, 229
Parmānañdjī, 114, 120, 128
Parmār Muñj, 16
Parmār Sādūl, 64
Parmārth Prasaṅg, 151
Parmārth Satsai, 120
Parmārth Vicār, 209
Parmeśwar Purāṇ, 88
Parśurām, 144
Parśurāmdevācārya, 97, 100, 120-122
Parśurām Sāgar, 120
Parwānā, 105
Pātig Pahār, 88
Pati Patropamā (Pati Śatak), 206
Pātsāh Oraṅzeb rī Hakīgat, 181
Pemdās, 135
Phatkā Jañjāl, 238, 242
Phophānañd rī Vāt, 184
Phūḍol Samādhi, 136
Phūl Kesulā Phūl, 223-24
Pichmī Pīr rā Chañd, 207
Piṅgal Prakāś, 177
Piṅgal Siromanī, 154, 177
Piṅpalī, 188
Pipā, 9, 106, 135, 147, 148
Pipājī kī Paracī, 126
Pīrārāmjī, 143
Pirol meñ Kuttī Byāi, 227
Piṭarāñ ro Āgamaṇ, 240
Pīthodās, 145
Pīṭhvai Cāraṇ rī Vāt, 184
Piv Bāñdhav rai Bhekh, 220
Pohkardās, 138
Popāñbāi rī Vāt, 184
Potho Grañth Gyān, 120
Prabañdh Ciñtāmañi, 32, 41
Prabañdh Koś, 31, 32
Prabhācañdra Sūri, 32
Prabhāvak Carit, 32
Prabhu Sādh, 131
Prabodh Cañdroday, 34, 135
Pradyumna Carit, 29
Pragaṭ Bodh, 144
Prāgrāv Rūp ṅg, 207
Prahlād Carit
 — of Ūdojī Aḍīṅg, 115
 — of Parśurāmdevjī, 121
Prahlād Caritra—of Jangopal Rāhorī, 125
Prahlād Cirat—of Kesodās Godārā, 97, 98
Prahlād Purāṇ, 99
Prakāś Bhāskar, 143
Prakāś Parimal, 232
Prākṛit Paiṅgalam, 196
Prāñī Sādh, 127, 130
Prāṇ Paccīsī, 104
Prāṇ Parcai ko Aṅg, 143

- Pranvir Pratāp*, 239
Prapañc Paccīsī, 213
 Prasād, 231
 Pratāp (Mahārāṇā of Mewār), 62, 67, 68, 83
Pratāp Patākā, 222
 Pratāpsinha (Kachvāhā), 48
Pratāp Yaś Cañdroday, 213
Pratīti Bodh, 134
Pratyay Payodhar, 179, 210
Preliminary report on the operation in search of MSS. of bardic chronicles, 7
 Prem Bhūrā, 109
 Premdās, 108, 109, 138
 Premjī 'Prem', 220, 227, 230, 236
Prem Nām, 119
Prem Padārath, 119
 Prempaṭhā, (f.n.) 109
Prem Patrikā, 157
Prem Pradīp, 226
Pretātmā rī Prīt, 236
Prīt Piḍ rī Pāl, 231
Prthvīcañdra Caritra (Vāgvilās), 37, 180, 183
 Prthvīnāth, 9, 104, 135
 Prthvirāj-III, 16, 17
 Prthvirāj (of Dūṅgarpur), 48
Prthvirāj Rāsau, 8, 17, 68, 159, 168
 Prthvirāj (Rāthore), 42, 77, 78, 80, 90, 202
 Puhpāi (Lālān), 18
Pūjyavāhaṇ Gīt, 154
Pūli Bāi, 153
Pūnya Chattīsī, 160
Pūrab Des Varṇan, 161
 Pūraṇdās – Nirañjanī, 119
 – Disciple of Dariyāvji, 139
 – Disciple of Dayāludāsji, 145
 Pūraṇ Mālawjī, 109
Purātan Prabañdh, 39
 Purohit Āskaraṇ, 72
 Purohit Brajnārāyaṇ, 238, 241
 Purohit Mohanlāl, 241
 Purohit Sobhācañd, 72
 Puṣpadañt, 4
Pūrv Janma, 145
Rādhā, 218
Rādhā Kṛṣṇajī rā Dūhā, 71
Rādhikā Śarīropamā, 206
Ragat ek Minakh ro, 240
Rāg Govind, 150
 Rāghavdās, 118, 125, 126
Raghunāth Carit, 121
Raghunāth Carit Nav Ras Veli, 67, 86
 Raghunāthdās—Nirañjanī, 120
 —Rām Snehī, Sīnthal, 143
 Raghunāthjī, 23
Roghunāth Rūpak Gītān ro, 3, 74, 154, 177, 178
Raghuvañś Carit, 213
Raghuwar Jas Prakās, 154, 178
Rāg Ratnākar, 105
Rāg Sorath, 150
Rāhab-Sāhob, 183, 185
 Raidās, 135, 148
Raidāsji kī Paracī, 126
 Raidhū, 4
Rājā Bhīm rī Vāt, 184
Rājā Bhoj ar Khāprai Cor rī Vāt, 184
Rājā Bhoj rī Pañdarviñ Vidyā rī Bāt, 183
Rājā Jaysingh ke Chappay, 67
Rājā Narsingh rī Vāt, 184
Rājā Risālū rī Vārtā, 183
Rājasthān, 243
Rājasthān Bhāraṇi, 6, 243
Rājasthānī, 6, 243
Rājasthānī Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya, 244
Rājasthānī Bhāṣā Aur Sāhitya (V.S. 1500-1650), 244
Rājasthānī-Ek, 243
Rājasthānī Ekāñkī, 239
Rājasthānī Gūñj, 214
Rājasthānī Lok Gāthā, 191
Rājasthānī Ratnākar, 243
Rājasthānī Sabad Kos, 244

- Rājasthānī Vyākaraṇ*, 244
Rājasthān ke Kavi, Part-II, 229
 Rājāwat Kalyāṇsiṅha, 224, 228-231
Rāj Bahār, 213
Rāj Cetāwanī, 151
 Rājyā, 90
Rājyai rā Dohā (or Sorathā), 49, 90
 Rajjab, 103, 120, 124, 127
 Rājmati, 16
Rājñiti, 207
 Rājpal, 19
Rāj Prakāś, 67, 68
 Rājpurohit Devkiśan, 191, 230
 Rājpurohit Nṛsiṅha, 236-238
Rājrupak, 2, 70, 201
 Rājśekhara Sūri, 31, 32, 113
 Rājsiṅha (Mahārāṇā of Mewār), 68, 158
 Rājśrī 'Sādhanā', 214
Rājtarāṅgiṇī, 201
Rājvilās, 8
 Rājyapāl, 15
Rājyog, 106
Rakta-dīp, 229
 Ralha (Rājsiṅha), 29
 Rāmānaṅd, 99, 106, 109, 141, 148
Ramaṇiyai rā Sorathā, 214
 Rāmāyaṇ — of Vālmīki, 63, 99
 — of Mehojī, 11, 85, 95, 103
 — of Jinarāj Sūri, 156
 — of Tulasidās, 135, 201
 Rāmcaṅdra (Cāraṇ), 39
 Rāmdāsji — of Khedāpā, 101, 108, 109, 144, 145
 — disciple of Rajjab, 124
Rāmdās Paccisī, 213
Rāmdev Carit, 207
 Rāmdevji (Taṅwar), 147, 187, 219
Rāmdev Tuṅwar rī Vāt, 184
Rāmdūt, 216
 Rāmjanjī, 133, 134
Rām Kathā — of 'Vimaleś', 217
 — in prose, 185
Rām Līlā of Cūṅḍojī, 78
 — Līlā, 192
Rām Milāi Joḍī, 240
Rām Paddhati, 134
 Rāmpratāp, 133, 136
Rām Rañjāt, 197
Rām Rās, 107
Rām Rāsau
 — of Mādhodās, 40, 81, 82
 — of Surjanjī, 84, 85, 103, 113
Rām Ratna Mālā, 207
 Rām Rūpjī, 132
 Rāmsiṅha (Taṅwar), 188, 201
Rām Sītā Rās (Rāmāyaṇ), 154
 Rāmswarūp 'Pareś', 232
 Rām Vallabh, 138
Rān Vilās, 105
Rāṇai Unmedsingh rā Chaṅd, 207
Rāṇā Jagatsingh rī Velī, 66
Rāṇā Rājsiṅgh kā Guṇ Rūpak, 67
Rāṇā Rās, 8
 Raṇbāzkhān Mewātī, 71
Raṇdhawal rī Vāt, 39
 Raṇdhīr, 52
Raṅgīlo Mārwaḍī (Rāmū Cānaṇā), 239
Raṅg meṅ Bhaṅg, 240
Raṇ Jaṅg, 83
Rāṅkā Bāṅkā kī Paracī, 126
Raṇmall Chaṅd, 16, 41, 42, 80
 Raṇmall Rāṭhore — of Idar, 41
 — of Mārwar, 18, 19, 51-53, 56
Raṇ Piṅgal, 179
Rās Caṅdrikā, 105
Ras Dhārā, 223
Rāsdhārī Līlā, 192
 Rasīd Ahmad 'Pahāḍī', 224, 229
Rās Līlā — of Sānyā Jhūlā, 83
 — of Carāṇḍāsji, 132
 — Līlā, 192
Rasotpatti, 206
Ros Ratnākar, 205
Rāṣṭroday, 201
Ras-Vilās, 3
 Ratan (Rāv of Būndī), 66
Ratanā Hamīr rī Vārtā, 105

- Ratan Bodh*, 134
Ratan Rāsau, 8, 69
 Ratansī (Rāv, Rāṭhore), 149
 Ratansinḥa
 — Mahārājā of Bikaner, 74, 145
 — of Mewār, 18
 — of Ratlām, 68, 71
 — of Jaitāraṇ, 64
 Ratanū Akṣaysinḥa, 214, 221
 Ratanū Hammīrdān, 72, 177
 Ratanū Vīrbhāṇ, 2, 69, 70, 201
Ratan Vilās, 74
Rāṭhaud Raṭansinḥ rī Veli, 64
Rāṭhoḍān rī Vanśāwalī—Sīhaijī sūn Kalyāṇmaljī tān, 182
Ratnacūḍ Maṇicūḍ Caupaī, 156
Ratnasār, 207
Ratnasār Caupaī, 149
 Ratnasen Sūri, 29
Rāt Vāso, 236
Rāv Amarsinḥ Nāgaur kā Sākā, 66
Rāv Amarsinḥ rā Dūhā, 65
 Rāv Bakhtāwar, 206
Rāv Bikai Bikāner Basāyo Tai Samai rī Vāt, 183
Rāv Caṇdrasen ro Rūpak, 58
 Rāv Ḍūngarsī, 8
Rāv Jaitasī Chaṇḍ (Rāv Jaitasī ro Pāghaḍī Chaṇḍ), 56, 69
Rāv Jodhai rai Beṭān rī Vāt, 184
 Rāv Kalyāṇdās (Bhāṭ), 85
 Rāv Kisordās (Bhāṭ), 67, 68
 Rāv Mānkumārī, 214, 221
Rāv Raṇmal ro Rūpak, 51
Rāv Ratan rī Veli, 66
Rāwal Jām rā Dūhā, 58
Rāwal Mālā ro Guṇ, 56, 58
Rāwal Mallināth Paṇṭh meṇ Āyau Tai rī Vāt, 184
 Rāwal Nareṇdrasinḥa, 213
Rāwaloṇ kī Rammat, 192
 Rāwal Premcaṇḍ, 228
Rāwat Pratapsinḥ Mhokamsinḥ Harisinḥot rī Vāt, 183
 Rāymalot Kallā, 60
 Rāysinḥa—Rājā of Bikaner, 61, 62
 — Rāv of Nāgore, 69
 — Dewaḍā, 74
 Rohaḍiyā Cāraṇ Raghurām, 190
 Rohaḍiyō Harsūr, 41
Rohiḍai rā Phūl, 242
Rugh Rāsau, 86
Rukamaṇī M-ṅgaḷ (Harajī ro Vyānwalo or Krisanjī ro Vyānwalo), 7, 11, 94, 95
Rukhmaṇī Haraṇ—of Viṭhal Dās, 86
Rukmaṇī Haraṇ—of Sānyā Jhūlā, 83
 Rūpānde, 186
 Rūpdāsji, 120
 Rūpdevī, 107
Rūpdīp Piṅgal, 179
Rūpsinḥ Rūpak, 210
 Rustamjī, 99
Sabad (of Devoji), 116
Sabadī (of Pṛthīnāth), 104
Sabaḍkā, 240
Sabad Vāṇī, 111
Śabda Prakāś, 144
Śabdabhed Nīsāṇī, 140
Sabhā Śṛṅgār, 180
Sac-Akhurī Vigatāwalī, 111
Sacca Uriya Mahāvīr Utsāh, 5
Sacitra Bālbodh, 201
Ṣaḍāvaśyak Bālvbodh, 180
 Sadayvatsa-Sāvliṅgā, 35
Sadayvatsa Vīr Prabaṇḍh, 35, 36, 165-66
Ṣaḍ Cakra Varṇan, 105
Sādhārṇopadeś, 205
 Sādhārū, 29
Sādh Parikhyā, 104
Sādh Pārkhya, 136
 Sādhū Bhāwan Dās, 214
 Sadmal Dūdāwat, 65
Ṣaḍṛtu Varṇan, 105
Sadukti Karṇāmṛta, 34
Sādūl Parmār rā Chaṇḍ, 64
Scgatī Sujas, 198

- Sagat Rāsau*, 67
 Sagrām, 13
Saguṇā Satrasāl rī Bāt, 183
 Sahajo Bāi, 131, 132
Sahaj-Prakāś, 132
 Sahaj Suṅdar, 149
 Sahal K.L., 192, 238
 Śāh Dev Karaṇ, 72
 Śāh Kulikhān, 64
Sāhūkār rī Vāt, 184
Saināṇī, 215, 221, 225
Saināṇī rī Jāgī jot, 225
Sajjan Citra Candrikā Sañcārṇava,
 206
Sajjan Yaś Prakāś, 206
Sajivan Bodh, 145
 Sākariyā Badarīprasād, 237
Sāket Satak, 198
Sākhī Aṅg Cetan, 113
 Śaktāwat Ṭhākur Raṅvīrsiṅha, 222
 Śaktisiṅha (of Mewār), 67
Śākuṅtal, 34
Śākuṅtalā, 219
 Salābat Khān, 63
 Salakhā, 19, 42, 56
Sāl Girah Satak, 210
Śālibhadra Dhannā Caupai, 156
 Śālibhadra Sūri (of Pūrṇima
 gaccha), 30
 Śālibhadra Sūri (of Rāj gaccha),
 21, 27, 28
 Śāli Sūri, 31
 Samadā, 127
 Sāmal, 38
Sāmaḷ rā Dūkhā, 79
 Samān Bāi, 206
Samān Battisī, 209
 Sāmaṅtsiṅha (Bālechā), 64
Sāmaṅt Yaś Prakāś, 206
Samarath Badh, 139
Samarā Rās, 30
 Sāmar Devīlāl, 192
 Samarsiṅha—of Mewār, 18, 68
 —Cauhān, 48
 Samas Dīn, 111
 Sāmaur Bhaṅwarsiṅha, 228, 230
 Sāmaur Hem, 66
 Sāmaur Śaṅkardān, 13, 194, 195,
 197, 198, 205, 227
Samaysār Bāwnī, 207
 Samay Suṅdar, 155
 Sambhūtivijay (Ācārya), 30
Sambhū Yaś Prakāś, 206
Sām Dharmā Māji, 240
Samjhaṇī, 121
 Samman, 135
Sammān rā Jhūlaṇā, 207
Sampādak rī Maut, 240
Samay Vāyaro, 232
Sanakādik Lilā, 192
Sanat Kumār Cariu, 4
Sāncaur rai Cahuvāṇān rī Vāt, 183
Sānc Niṣedh Lilā, 121
Sāndeś Rāsak, 35
 Saṅdhāyac Pūnā, 64
 Sāndū Caṅḍidān, 228, 229
 Sāndū Gaṅgādān, 194
 Sāndū Kumbhkaraṇ, 69
 Sāndū Mālā, 9, 43, 61, 63
 Sāndū Padamā, 65
 Sāndū Pṛthvirāj, 71
 Sāndū Rāghaudās, 195
 Sāndū Rāmā Dharamsiyot, 64
 Sāndū Rāysiṅha, 206
 Sāndū Sagatā, 72
 Sāngā (Rāṇā), 48, 54, 150
Sāngh Śakti, 243
 Saṅgrāmdās (Sagrāmdās), 137
 Saṅgrāmsiṅha-II (of Mewār), 72
Sānjh, 223
Sānkaḷ Saṅdhān, 226
*Sānkhālā Dahiyāṇ sūn Jāngalū liyo
 tairo Hāl*, 181
 Sānkhālā Karamsi Ruṅecā, 78
Sānkhya Kārikā, 209
Sānkhya Tattwa, 209
 Sānkṛtya Rāmdatt, 235, 240
Saṅkṣipta Rājasthānī Vyākaraṇ, 244
 Saṅskartā Nānūrām, 91, 217, 220,
 222, 226, 230, 236-238

- Sāntal (of Samiyāṇā), 53
 Saṅtdās Bārah-Hazārī, 125
 Saṅtdāsī (Gūdaḍpaṅthī), 100, 108, 109, 133, 138
 Saṅt Devāyat, 187
 Śānti Jin Stavan, 160
 Śāntināth Dev Rās, 29
 Saṅtoṣ Bāwnī, 76
 Saṅt Sūramā Kā Aṅg, 132
 Sānwat Rāmji, 140
 Saṅyog Līlā, 132
 Sapano, 188
 Saptabhūnikā Gyān Mañjarī, 119
 Saptsatī rā Chaṅḍ, 41, 42, 77
 Sāraṅgdhar Paddhati, 34
 Saras Mādhurī Śaraṅjī, 132-33
 Sāraswat Rāwat, 215, 230, 240, 242
 Sar Bulaṅdkhān, 69, 70, 72
 Sardārsiṅha (Mahārājā of Bikaner), 74
 Śarmā Chaganlāl, 229
 Śarmā Dāmodarprasād, 236
 Śarmā Gaurīsaṅkar, 228
 Śarmā Īswarānaṅd, 224
 Śarmā Kṛṣṇagopāl, 232
 Śarmā Kuñjbihārī, 241
 Śarmā K.K., 190
 Śarmā Madangopāl, 224, 229, 230
 Śarmā Manohar (Dr.), 188, 191, 217, 218, 223, 224, 226, 236-238, 240-242
 Śarmā Manohar 'Mañjul', 214
 Śarmā Nāgrāj, 226, 240, 241 (f.n.)
 Śarmā Rādheśyām, 230
 Śarmā Rāmgopāl 'Nawal', 224, 231
 Śarmā Rāmniraṅjan, 238, 241 (f.n.)
 Śarmā Rāmnivās, 235, 236
 Śarmā Trilok, 228
 Śarmā Udayvir, 223, 231
 Śarmā Yadveṅdra 'Caṅdra', 234, 239, 240
 Sār Saṅgrāh
 —of Swāmī Uday Rām, 120
 — of Haridās Lāldāsī, 129
 Sār Sikhāmaṅ Rās, 28
 Sarūpā, 127
 Sarūpā Bāi, 137
 Sarūpān rā Dohā, 105
 Sarvāṅg Bāwnī, 125
 Sarvāṅgī, 120, 124, 127
 Sarva Tīrth Namaskār Stavan, 180
 Sarwāṅg Sār, 120, 135
 Sarwanjī, 99
 Sarwar, 243
 Sarwar paṅī laṅjā Mārū mhe gayā ho rājī, 188
 Sarwoday Śatak, 212
 Satarāṅgiṅī, 239
 Satguru ko Aṅg, 138
 Satī Rāso, 197
 Satī Śatak, 212
 Satī Sujas, 74
 Śat Praśnottarī, 119
 Śaṭ Praśnottarī, 119
 Śatrusāl Rāsau, 8
 Śaṭrut Varnaṅ, 91
 Sāt Sopārī hāth joṣī pūchaṅ dhaṅ gai, 188
 Satyabhāmājī nū Rūsaṅūn, 150
 Satyanārāyaṅ 'Aman', 220, 226, 228, 229, 240
 Satyasiyā Duṣkāl Varnaṅ Chattīsī, 155
 Satyopadeś, 73
 Sawāisiṅha Dhamorā, 221
 Śekhār kā Sorāṭhā, 214
 Śekhāwat Gordhansiṅha, 231, 232
 Śekhāwat Saubhāgyasiṅha, 221, 224, 238
 Śekhāwat Sumersiṅha, 223
 Śekhāwat Surjansiṅha, 221
 Śekhāwatoṅ Rājāwātoṅ kī Vār, 66
 Śeṅī-Vijānaṅd, 162, 171
 Śeṣ Carita, 209
 Seḷhiyā Kanhaiyālāl, 91, 214, 223-225, 228-230, 232, 241
 Setrām (Rāṭhore), 70
 Seū Samman kī Paracī, 126

- Sewādās, 119, 120
Sewādās ki Paracī, 120
 Shāh Jehān, 48, 66, 67, 69
 Shāh Śujā, 67, 69
 Sharmā Dashrath, (f.n.) 182
 Shivājī, 158
 Siddhārth Sūri, 22
Siddh Jasnāthji ro Sirloko, 220
 Siddh Madanmohan, 239
Siddh-Muktāphal, 105
 Siddhrāj Jaysiṅha, 16, 41
Siddhrāv Chattīsī, 75
Siddh Sampradāy Granth, 105
Sihān Jāyo Sāv, 240
Sih Chattīsī, 75
 Sihā, 19
 Sihojī (Rāv of Mārwar), 73
 Sikaṅdar Lodī, 110
Sikh Praśna Soran, 145
Sikh Sambodh Ātmā Paracī, 104
Śikṣā Battīsī, 145
Simbhūdhadā, 115
 Siṅdhāyac Budhā, 195
 Siṅdhāyac Caubhujā, 51, 53
 Siṅdhāyac Dayāldās, 181, 182
 Siṅdhāyac Fateh Rām, 72
 Siṅdhāyac Gaipo 'Tuṅkāro', 65
 Siṅdhāyac Hardān, 179
Sinhal Sut Priyamelak Rās, 155
Sinhāsan Battīsī, 119
Sīp, 241
Sīsdān, 220
 Sīsodiyā Bhīm, 65, 66
Śīsupāl Vadh, 34
Śīṣya Sampradāy, 141
Sītā Caupai, 156
Sītārām Caupai, 155
Sīṭhanā Sudhār Nāṭak, 238
 Śivā, 57
 Sivdās, 111
 Śivkaraṇ, 141
Sīt Purāṇ, 99
Śiv Purāṇ, 135
 Śivsiṅha—Mahārāwal of
 Dūngarpur, 152
 --Rāv of Sikar, 72
 --Rathore of Idar, 73
 Siyāsakhī (Gopāldās), 107
Sneh Līlā, 135
 Sobhan (Sādḥ), 130, 131
 Sobhit, 19
 Sodā Bārhaṭ Jamnājī, 54
Sodhai Anāndsīngḥ rā Marsiyā, 207
Sodhāyaṇ, 207
Śodh Patrikā, 243
Solah Kalā, 104
Solah Tithi, 104
 Solāṅkī Bastīmal, 230
 Solāṅkī Rāmsiṅha, 221, 222
 Solāṅkī Sūraj, 226
 Solāṅkī Vīramdev, 62
 Somāṇī Vinod 'Haṅs', 228
 Som Mūrti, 29
 Someśwar, 16
 Sonī Jagannāth, 136
 Sonī Sobhojī, 117
Sonal Bhīng, 238, 241
Śram Śatak, 212
Śrāvak Bārah Vrat, 160
Śreṇik Caupai, 157
*Śrī Bhawānī Śaṅkar ro Guṇ Śiv
 Purāṇ*, 87
 Śricāṅd Rāy, 235
Śrī Dādūdayālji kī Vāṇī, 123
Śrī Dādū Vāṇī, 123
 Śridhar, 4
Śrī Guru Granth Sāhibjī, 148
Śrī Jindatt Sūri Stuti, 5
Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carit, 121
Śrī Kṛṣṇopamā, 206
Śrī Lāldāsji Mahārāj kī Paricāwalī,
 130
 Śrīmālī Nārāyaṇ Datt, 224, 238-
 240
 Śrīmālī Rāmeśwar, 221, 228, 232,
 236
Śrī Rām Gopī Gīt Aṣṭak, 207
Śrī Rāṇī Satī, 219
Śrīngār Pad, 105
Śrīngār Śat, 34

- Śṛṅgār Śiromaṇī Nāmvārtā Granth*
 105
Stuti Awtār kī, 112
Subāhukumār ro Bakhāṇ, 160
Subhāṣitāwalī, 34
Śubh Śil, 32
Subodhinī, 207
Sūjā Bālechā rā Kavitt, 64
Sujānsiṅha, 71
Sukhānaṇḍ, 106, 109
Sukhrām, 139
Sukhrāmdās (Luhār), 140
Śuk Saṅvād, 125
Sūkṣmopadeś, 205
Sukumāl Mahāmuni Caupāī, 156
Sumiraṇ Bodh – of Rāmjanjī, 134
 – of Haridevdāsji, 143
Sumirāṇ Dhyān, 139
Sumirān kā Aṅg
 – of Caraṇdāsji, 132
Sumiraṇ ko Aṅg – of Saṅtdāsji, 125
 – of Dariyāvji, 138
Sumiraṇ Sār – of Pūrāṇdās, 145
 – of Murārī Rām, 145
Sumiraṇ Sār Nīrūpāṇ, 136
Suṇdardās (Junior), 124, 126
Suṇdardās, 109
Sūraj, 220
Sūraj Lilā, 116
Sūraj Prakās, 70, 88, 201
Sūraj Stotra, 116
Surātan ko Aṅg, 138
Sūrat Rām, 138
Sūr Chattīsī, 75
Sureṇdra 'Aṅcal', 240
Surjandās (Surjanji Pūniyā), 7, 84,
 85, 98, 103, 112, 113
Sūr Sāgar, 95
Sūrsiṅghjī rī Velī, 66
Sūrsiṅha – Rājā of Jodhpur, 61, 65
 – Rājā of Bikaner, 66
Sur Suṇḍarī Rās, 157
Surtāṇ (Rāv of Sirohī), 60, 62
Surtāṇ Guṇ Varṇan, 72
Suthār Bhaṅwarlāl 'Bhramar', 236
Swāmī Haridāsji kī Paracī, 120
Swāmī Gaṅpati, 188, 229
Swāmī Narottamdās, 188, 192, 201
 235, 238, 242, 244
Swāmī Uday Rām, 120
Swarāj Śatak, 212
Swarūpdās, 8, 205
Swarūp Yaś Prakāś, 206
Swayambhū, 4
Śyāmdās, 118
Śyāmsiṅha, 158
Ṭābarān rī Vātān, 191
Ṭabaquat-i-Akbari, 182
Tagore Rabindranath, 198
Ṭamarak Ṭūn, 240
Ṭāpariyā Rām Lāl, 195
Ṭāraṇ Swāmī, 25
Tark Prabaṇdh, 205
Taruṇ Prabh Sūri, 180
Ṭaskolī, 226
Ṭās ro Ghar, 239
Ṭat Saṅgrām, 104
Ṭattwa Bodh, 207
Ṭattwavettā (Ṭikamdās), 122
Ṭatvettājī kī Vāṇī, 122, 123
Ṭattwavettā rā Savaiyā, 122
Ṭejājī, 189
Ṭejā Lok Kāvya, 189
Ṭej-Maṅjarī, 105
Ṭejojī (Cāraṇ), 77, 111
Ṭejojī (Jāṭ), 50, 147
Ṭej Satak, 212
Ṭemdāsji, 141
Tennyson, 233
Tessitori, 7, 45, 201, 202, 233
Ṭhāḍā Jamanāprasād 'Rāhī', 224
Ṭhākurdās (Ṭhakuriyā), 130, 131
Ṭhākur Rūpsingh Rāypur rī Jhamāl,
 75
Ṭhaḷwaḷ Battīsī, 75
Ṭhāro ke Lyān hān, 226
Tholambiyā Bālkṛṣṇa, 224-25, 231
Thūlibhadda Phāg, 30, 31
Tiḍā, 19

- Tiḷo Rāv*, 235
Tirasā, 227
Tirasaṅkū, 234
Tithi Paṅdrah, 125
Tiwārī Māṅak 'Baṅdhu', 224, 228
Toḍarmal, 24
Toḍarmal Jītiyo re, 188
Tog Surtānot, 62
Top ro License, 240
Toṣanīwāl Śiṅnārāyaṅ, 235
Touring Report, 202
Tribhuvan Dīpak Prabāṅdh, 31, 113
Tribhuwansī, 19
Trilocanjī kī Parccī, 126
Tuḷi Aṣṭak, 209
Tulasīdās (author of *Rāmcarit-mānos*), 82, 128, 201
 —(Anonymous), 186
Ṭūṅṭiyā-Ṭūṅṭakī, 192
Turasīdās (Niraṅjanī), 118, 119
- Udāi Rājā ro Bakhāṅ*, 160
Udār Gīt, 154
Uday Dharm, 29
Udaysiṅgh rī Veli, 64
Udaysiṅha - Mahārāwal of Dūṅgarpur, 48
 —*Moṭā Rājā*, Jodhpur, 61
 —*Rāṅā of Mewār*, 63, 64
Udyān Varṅan, 105
Udyotan Sūri, 3, 22
Ūjaḷ Fateh Karaṅ, 214
Ūjaḷ Likhamīdān, 194
Ūjaḷ Udayrāj, 211, 221
Ujwal Satak, 212
Ukaḷatā Āṅtarā Siḷā Sāns, 236
Umāde, 57, 58
Umāde Bhaṭiyāṅī rā Kavitt, 58
Ūmar Kāvya, 208
Uṅiyārā, 240
Updeś Battīsī, 160
Updeś Bodh, 134
Updeś Saptati, 32
Updeś Tīsī, 160
Uṣā Purāṅ (Kathā Uṣā Purāṅ), 113
- Uttam Kumār Carit Caupaī*, 160
Uttam Nāth, 106
Uvaesmal Kahāṅay Chappay, 29
- Vacānikā Rāṭhaṅḍ (Rāṭhore) — Ratansiṅghjī Mahesdāsaut rī*, 52, 68, 69, 87, 159, 181, 202
Vacan Vivek Paccīsī, 76
Vāchal, 58
Vādaḷī, 214, 215, 222
Vāgvar, 243
Vaicārikī, 243
Vaidyaksār, 71
Vairāgya Battīsī, 160
Vairāgya Bodh, 134
Vairāgya kā Aṅg, 132
Vairāgya Vṛṅd, 119
Vaisak Vārtā, 75
Vais Vārtā, 75
Vaisākh Mahātām rī Kathā, 185
Vaiṣṅva Sār Bodh, 136
Vaiśyopakārak, 235, 239, 243
Vaitāl Paccīsī, 185
Vaitāl Paṅcviṅṣṭika, 185
Vājīṅd, 9, 126
Vajrasen Sūri, 21, 27
Vakīl Sāhab, 238, 241
Vālmīki, 88
Vālmīki Rāmāyaṅ, 82
Vyaṅgyārth Prakāś, 213
Vāṅī (Lok Saṅskṛti), 243
Vāṅī Bhūṣaṅ, 73
Vaṅik Bahattarī, 213
Vaṅiyāḷ Harjī, 114
Vaṅś Bhāskar, 3, 8, 195
Vaṅsūr Kṛpārām, 183
Vāṅyā (Bāṅiyā) Rāsau, 210
Varādā, 243
Varaṅ Vidyā, 116
Varas Gāṅth, 236
Var Jūḍī ro Top, 191
Varmā Gajānan, 223, 224, 228, 230, 231
Varmā Māṅikyalāl, 214
Varṅak-Samuccoy, 180

- Vorṇa Ratnākar*, 102
Varnārth Mañjarī, 205
Varsālī Hoḷī āvī Prāhuṇī re, 188
Varsalpur Gaḍh Vijay (Sujān Rāsau), 71
 Varsīṇha (Rāthore), 47
Vasaṅt Vilās (Phāgu), 34, 35, 38, 222
 Vastupāl Tejpāl, 29
Vastupāl Tejpāl Rās, 155
Vāt (on Rāskriḍā), 83
Vedānt Paribhāṣā, 119
Veli Krisan Rukmaṇī rī, 42, 78, 80, 90, 202
 Veṇā (Rāv), 72
 Veṇī, 135
Vicār Bāwnī, 214
Vicār Bodh
 — of Rāmjanjī Laddhā, 134
 — of Mukt Rām, 138
 — of Sukhrāmdās, 140
Vicārmāl, 135
Vicār Nīsānī, 140
Vicitra Raṇāyaṇ, 82
Viḍad Singār, 70
Vidur Battīsī, 75
Vidyā Uday, 238
Vidyāvilās Pavāḍau, 37
Vidyāvilās Rās, 157
 Vighrāj II (Cauhān), 16
 Vijay Bhadra, 35
Vijaypāl Rāsau, 8
 Vikā (Ḍābī), 146
 Vikramādityā, 33, 163, 164
Vikrom Carit, 32
 Vilhojī, 111, 112
 Vimal, 29
 Vinaycaṅdra
 — author of *Mallināth Kāvya*, 37
 — A Jain poet, 160
Vinay Mālikā, 132
Vinay Pāth, 213
 Vinay Prabh Upādhyāy, 30
Vinjārā re lok desāurī thāy, 188
Vinjhrai Ahīr rī Vāt, 184
Vipramtīsī, 121
Virah Agani ko Joḍau, 121
Virah ko Aṅg (of Dariyāvji), 138
 Virām (Rāthore), 19, 41-43, 56
Virāt Parva, 31
Vir Caritra Satsai, 213
Virhanī ko Joḍau, 121
Vir Hazārā, 213
Virmāyaṇ, 9, 19, 42, 56, 72, 182
Vir Pūjā Satsai, 213
Vir Śatak, 212
Vir Satsai — of Sūryamall Miśraṇ, 196, 210
 — of Meḍjī Āsiyā, 210
 — of Nāthūsīṇha Mahiyāriyā, 212
Virud Chihattarī, 62
Virud Prakāś, 72
Vir Vinod — of Bānkīdās, 75
 — of Kavirājā Śyāmalās, 178, 200
Viṣāl Bhārat, 243
Visan Astotra, 114
Visan Chattīsī, 111
Viṣṇu Carit, 115
 Viṣṇudās, 187
 Visrāl Dūdo, 64
Viśwambhorā, 243
 Viśwanāth 'Vimaleś', 217, 225-227, 230
 Viṭhū Bāghjī, 57
 Viṭhū Bhomā, 74
 Viṭhū Mehā, 59
 Viṭhū Raṅgrelo 'Virdās Rohaḍiyo', 60
 Viṭhū Sūjo (Nagarājot), 56, 69, 202
 Viṭhū Sūrā, 54
Vivek Gītā, 129
 Vivek Nāth, 106
Vṛddh Vivāh Nātak, 238
Vṛddh Vivāh Vidūṣaṇ, 239
Vṛndāvan Śatak, 208
Vṛtti Bodh, 205
 Vyās Bhāṅḍau, 54
 Vyās Bharat, 239

- Vyās Bhawānidās
 —author of *Āī Āṇod Vilās*, 147
 —author of *Vāt*, 183
 Vyās Caṅdraśekhara, 214
 Vyās Gaṇeśilāl 'Ustād', 214, 224,
 227, 230
 Vyās Jaynārāyaṇ, 214
 Vyās Muralidhar, 192, 235-237,
 240
 Vyās Satyanārāyaṇ Gaṅgādās, 236-
 37, 238
 Vyās Śrīdhar, 16, 41, 45, 77
 Vyās Śrīmaṅt Kumār, 216, 228,
 230, 231, 240
 Vyās Tārācaṅd, 147
 Vyās Ved, 228, 231

Yogya Bakhāṇ, 131
 Yaś Kīrti, 4
Yogāṅk Śatak, 207
Yog Bhānu Prakāśikā, 207
Yog kā Aṅg, 132
Yog Saṅdeh Sāgar Varṇan, 132
Yog Sūtra ki Ṭikā, 209

 Zafar Khān, 16, 41



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