Chapter III

ASSAMESE POETRY, INTERTEXTUALITY AND FOLKLORE
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An attempt is made in this chapter to examine how folklore has been an integral inspiration for some Assamese poets. Meanwhile the chapter examines intertextuality in certain texts of Assamese poetry and thereby seeks its connection with folklore. The study, however, will not deal with a thorough reading of Assamese poetry over the years. In fact it is not easy to discuss all the poets since the pre-Sankardeva era in a single chapter. That is why the discussion will be confined only to those poetic texts where folklore and intertextuality have been really instrumental. The observations in this chapter highlight the scopes to read Nilmani Phukan as an inheritor of a poetic tradition which comprises folklore and intertextuality.
Rabindra Nath Tagore regarded folk-literature as the root of a tree and modern literature as its fruits, branches or leaves. (Neog, D 14). Likewise, ‘old’ Assamese literature was basically oral and folklore (pastoral song, ballad, myth) was the key foundation of that literature. (Neog, D 24). Dimbeswar Neog opines that proverb and riddles in Assamese may have originated from the pre-Vaishnavite age. (Neog, D 27). In this context Neog further cites Jules Bloch’s view that folk-literature has no age as such. (Neog, D 27). Maheswar Neog offers similar views in case of Assamese folk songs. He points out the complicacy in tracing the origin of *biya nam* (wedding song) which generally expresses stories of *Sri Krishna- Rukmini, Hara- Gauri* and other myths. (Neog, M 17). Having such estimations, it is tricky to trace those Assamese texts where folklore made its initial appearance. It seems that Assamese literature has been embracing folklore from time immemorial.

Assamese poetry had a long and glorious heritage. The evidence of poetic exercises can be found in some works produced during the pre-Sankardeva era in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Maheswar Neog, the poetry of pre-Sankardeva era was quite affluent. (Neog, M 47). Madhob Kandoli, Haribar Bipra and Hema Saravswati, among others, were renowned poets to take note of in the milieu. The
beginning of Assamese poetry is marked with the adaptations Sanskrit *puranas* as the poets chiefly treated the issues of Hindu mythology and the *puranas* in their poetry. Sanskrit literature inspired these medieval poets and supplied themes to them. Hema Saravswati’s *Prahlad-Charita*, for example, was adapted from *Vamana Purana*. It is noteworthy that Assamese poetry was of devotional type in the beginning. Gradually the adaptations got divided into two types-religious and secular.

III. 1

**Ancient Assamese Poetry and Intertextuality:**

Sankardeva (1449-1568), the initiator of the Bhakti movement, wrote poetry as a part of his course to propagate the new-Vaishnavite religion. He was perhaps one of the most significant writers of the Vaishnavite revivalism. Sankardeva translated and adapted different books and episodes of *The Bhagavat Purana*, the most significant text among all the *puranas*. His *Kirtan* and *Rukmini Haran Kabya* are two major poetic achievements. Most of the works by the great saint are intertextual in nature. Sankardeva wrote *Haricandra Upakhyan*, *Bhakti-Pradip* and *Rukmini Haran Kabya* using materials from *Markendeya*
Purana, Garur Purana and Haribansa respectively. (Neog, M 80). Other poetic pieces such as ‘Ajamil Upakhyan’ of Kirtan, and Gunamala and so on were based on The Bhagavat. His ‘Haramohan’ is also an adaptation from the Bhagavat Purana. Madhobdeva’s Nam-Ghoshā is a significant text of poetry where the term ‘ghosha’ (a type of religious song) was employed instead of calling poetry (kavya) in the title. Stressing the major features of New-Vaishnavite religion in Assam, the book expresses the devotion of the poet to the supreme God, formless and omniscient, with several names such as Narayana, Bishnu, Krishna, and Basudeva and so on. Nam-Ghoshā too has adherence to Bhagavat Purana as far as its philosophical perception is concerned. (Neog, M 98)

Apart from Sankardeva and Madhabdeva, there were some other poets known as pacali poets. Mankar, Durgabar Kayastho and Pitambor Kobi were those poets who had a shift from their contemporary poets in terms of their treatment of subject matters. In contrast to Sankardeva and Madhabdeva who had a sacred orientation in their poetry, they tried to accomplish contentment through poetic endeavour. (Neog, M 102). Maheswar Neog remarks that their poetry had similarity with folksongs such as Baramahi Git. (Neog, M 103). Poets like Ananto Kondoli, Ram Saravswati, Ratnakor Kondoli, and Sridhor Kondoli and so on followed the ideals of New-Vaishnavite literature, however. They did not use
folklore largely in their poetic exercises. On the contrary, intertextuality has been a major characteristic in their texts as they took elements from the *puranas* and from the two epics- *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata*. In addition, the process of formation of a standard Assamese vernacular started in the hands of the poets of the time.

Though Assamese poetry had a splendid tradition, the pour had been gradually sluggish and faded in the succeeding centuries. Various socio-political factors such as Mowamariya Revolution, ending of the Ahom reign, Burmese attack in a row and subsequent rule by the Burmese produced almost a sterile condition for the growth of art and literature in the region. At the same time, East- India Company, and thus the British started to rule Assam from 1826 as per the treaty of Yandabo generating a new landmark in the history of Assam. With the advent of the British, various western institutions like school, court etc. appeared in Assam. Bengali language concurrently took the place of Assamese from the schools and courts as the British had thought that the standard of Assamese language was too low to be the official language in the state. (Neog, M 218). Amidst such crisis, in 1846, *Orunodoi*, a monthly paper devoted to religion, science and general intelligence, published by the Baptist Missionaries at Sivsagar greatly contributed to establish the originality and uniqueness of Assamese language. The modern age of
Assamese literature and language in a way began with *Orunodoi.* But still there were some lacks to say it a standard modern language. (Deka 12). In fact there was no stiff difference between the language of prose and poetry which published in *Orunodoi.* (Phukan, K 24). The poetic sensibility was too straightforward. Though there were some symptoms of a modern Assamese language in the poetry of Bholanath Das (1858-1929) which got published in *Assam Bandhu,* were too, not up to the mark. (Deka 12)

Notably, Bholanath Das’s *Sitaharan Kavya* (1878-88) was a representative example to talk about intertextuality. We see such efforts in English literature when Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* in seventeenth century taking the story of the *Bible* as the model. *Sitaharan Kavy* also drew material from the great epic, *the Ramayana.* Mention may also be made of Ramakanta Choudhury’s (1846-1889) *Abhimanyu Badh* (1875) as an intertextual outcome of *The Mahabharata.* Its language was colloquial with a few styles and grammatical patterns of old Assamese. (Phukan, K 89). Assamese, however, regained its official status as a standard language in 1873 and took a more ‘modern’ shape from the time of *Jonaki,* an Assamese magazine published from Calcutta.
III. 2

Assamese Poetry of the Modern Time, Intertextuality and Folklore

The history of Assamese poetry witnessed almost a paradigm shift in the late nineteenth century in the hands of some important writers and achieved new vitality altogether. A crucial phase in Assamese literature as well as in Assamese poetry began with the publication of *Jonaki* from Calcutta in 1889. Lakshminath Bezbaroa (1864-1934), Chandrakumar Agarwala (1867-1938), and Hemchandra Goswami (1872-1928), among others, were the major litterateurs who started writing poetry with some influences of English romanticism upon them. Although poets such as Bholanath Das, Boldev Mahanta or Kamalakanta Bhattacharya, one way or other, were still writing poetry, it was basically *Jonaki* which paved the magnificent path of Assamese poetry. Through *Jonaki*, however, Assamese poetry became a search for humanism breaking the earlier confinements of religion and religious matters. (Phukan, N 0.07). Assamese poetry gained a fresh outline through this magazine as it played a vital role in shaping 'modern' Assamese language and literature. There might be dispute regarding the use of the term 'modern' in case of poetry of this time as 'modernism' emerged in Assamese poetry, in true sense,
only in the last two decades of the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore as Harekrishna Deka says, the poetry of the time of *Jonaki* can be considered as Assamese poetry of modern time. (Deka 9). The poetry of this period is primarily romantic in nature. But such romantic poetry has own features which are mostly rooted in folk-life, so in folklore. The simplicity and attractiveness of the folksongs that mainly prevailed in the rural places of Assam, to a great extent, had shaped the poetry of the age. Kabin Phukan in *Asamiya Kabitar Prabah (Current of the Assamese Poetry)* opines that Assamese poetry in the nineteenth century was greatly fashioned by the flow of folk-poetry which had been continuing from the middle periods. He further says that the source of oxymoron in contemporary Assamese poetry in fact lies in the folk-poetry of the past 1. (Phukan, K 12).

Lakshminath Bezbaroa did not write poetry seriously as he himself stated the matter in the preface to *Kadam Kali* (1913). Yet some of his poems reflect his radiant merit as a poet. Folk-life and folklore are two major areas which have greatly influenced Lakshminath while writing poetry. In the poems such as ‘Basantap’ (Spring), ‘Sakhi He, Ki Kam Dukhar Katha’ (Dear, What would I Tell the Sad Story) ‘Priyatamma’ (Beloved), there are different elements integrated to Assamese folk life.
Different trees-flowers pronounced by Bezbaroa such as karabi (oleander), bakul, (medlar) padum (lotus), keteki (screpine), golap (rose) etc. were inseparable from various folk-customs, from men’s day-today life in a naturally rich Assam of the late nineteenth century. The poet articulates his feelings amidst such beautiful rustic scenes, which also show a social life in the rural areas of Assam although almost all the places of Assam were rural in that pre-independent time. His ‘Bin-Boragi’ is very rich in terms of use of folk-elements. ‘Bin’ is a traditional folk-musical instrument and the people who sing (like the bards in Europe) songs playing the bin are called baragi. The baragi with a tokari (musical instrument) or a bin in his hand was a familiar feature of Assamese folk-life during the time of Bezbaroa. Bezbaroa in ‘Bin-Baragi’ through such a baragi mourns for the lost glory of Assam under colonial rule. He employs the narrative design of baragi and brings in references from various myths, ballads and history: Sita, Nal-Damayanti, Droupadi, Beula, Chand Sadagar, Jaymati and so on. Again, the poet used references of Sankardeva, Bhaskar Barma, Rudra Singha, Cilaray, Naranarayan, Badan Bar Phukan and so on from the history of Assam.

Though Bezbaroa was influenced by English Romanticism, his treatment and representation of the thoughts in his poetry is purely ‘Assamese’ in essence. The folk heritage of Assam and the rustic life that
he reflects in his poetry show that Bezbaroa adds a local color to the general tendencies of romanticism. His use of words and images in his poems bears a colloquial style of Assamese language. Though to some extent he differs from William Wordsworth’s concept of poetic diction and sensibility, Bezbaroa’s premeditated use of the ordinary and simple words direct our attention to an extra facet. Bezbaroa, along with his contemporaries at Calcutta, tried hard to restore the splendor of Assamese language. As a part of this mission, he employed many words in his poetry that were generally used orally during the time. His sense of a heritage that is essentially Assamese has been a moving force behind his poetic exercises. As mentioned above, ‘Bin Baragi’ is a fine example to be cited in this context. He knew that in a colonial province like Assam, a feeling of ‘nationalism’, one way or another, could be instrumental to make the people aware of the past glory and present slavery; although Bezbaroa never directly spoke against the British in his writings. He brings in various elements from certain myths and history and creates his own text. But the depression of the poetic persona in this poem undoubtedly represents a sort of collective grief of the land and its people. It shows that a kind of folkloristic intertextuality is present in some poems of Bezbaroa.
Chandrakumar Agarwala also produced a poem of similar title: ‘Bin-Baragi’, but with dissimilar connotations. According to Harekrishna Deka, if Bezbaroa’s poem is nationalistic, Chandrakumar’s poem is humanistic one. (Deka 96). Apart from the title, there is no major element of folklore in Chandrakumar’s. But his poem ‘Tejimala’ is an outstanding model to see the use of folk-text. The intertextual feature is apparent in the poem as its key reference is taken from a popular folk-tale called ‘Tejimala’. The tale was initially included in *Burhi Aair Sadhu* (1911), a collection of folk-tales by Lakshminath Bezbaroa. In the story, the step-mother kills Tejimala inflicting extreme torture to her while her merchant father goes out for trading. Adopting this frame of the tale, the poet expresses human nature and men’s cruelty leading to suffering. The text of ‘Tejimala’ gets a new essence in the poem in the depiction of nature. Apart from the intertext of ‘Tejimala’, references of a borgeer² by Madhabdeva (‘tezore kamalapoti porobhate nindo’) and of his own poem ‘Bin-Boragee’ can be found in the poem. (Deka 138)

Assamese poetry gradually witnessed many significant poets such as Mafizuddin Ahmed Hazorika (1870-1958), Anondachandra Agarwalla (1874-1939), Raghunath Choudhary (1879-1968), Ambikagiri Raychoudhury (1885-1967), Jatindranath Duwara (1892-1968), Ratnakanta Borkakoty (1897-1963), Nalinibala Devi (1898-1977),
Jyotiprasad Agorwalla (1903-1951), Ganesh Gogoi (1907-1938), Jogyeshwar Sarma (1908-1998), Debokanta Barua (1914-1996) and so on. All these poets more or less expressed a romantic spirit in their poetry. Assamese poetry achieved new dimension through *Jayanti* during 1940s’ and *Ramdhenu* in 1950s’. Features of modernism started to appear in the poetry of the time. Several remarkable names in Assamese poetry such as Hem Barua (1915-1977), Bhabanondo Dutta (1919-1951), Amulya Barua (1922-1946), Birendrakumar Bhattacharya (1924-1997) Mahim Bora (1926), Navakanta Barua (1926-2002), Keshob Mahanta (1926-2006) Ajit Barua (1928), Mahendra Bora (1929-1996), Hari Borkakoti (1929-2006), Homen Borgohain (1931), Bireshwar Barua (1931-), Hiren Bhattacharya (1932-2012), Nirmolprobha Bordoli (1933-2004), Nilmani Phukan (1933), Hirendranath Dutta (1937), Bhaben Barua (1941), Harekrishna Deka (1943), Kabin Phukan (1946-2011) and so on emerged as modern poets and enriched Assamese poetry rendering several new horizons. Though Bhaben Barua says that modern Assamese poetry did not have a distinguished or even an attractive beginning (Barua, B 181), it is seen that it has gradually achieved a notable status. The poets rendered a noteworthy status to poetry not only with altering poetic sensibility, but it occurred with a paradigm shift in the use of
language too. (Borgohain 561). Many of the poets used folklore in their poetry and germs of intertextuality can be traced their poems.

Jogyeswar Sarma uses the myth of lord Krishna in ‘Ajanota Mahimanam’. He employs references from The Ramayana in ‘Natun Ramayana’. There is a reference from the folktale entitled ‘Tejimala’ in the poem ‘Tejimala’. In a poem called ‘Mas’ (Fish) by Mahim Bora, Prabhat Bora finds resonance of Yeats’ ‘Sailing to Byzantium’.(Bora, P 107). Ranjit Kumar Dev Goswami, on the other hand, hears echoes of Hemingway’s The Old man and the Sea in the association of flying fish in the poem. (Dev Goswami 64). But the poet says that the poem has its root only in the Kirton and the Bhagawata Purana. (Dev Goswami 65). Whatever might be the source, intertextuality thus gets manifested in the poem.

Debokanta Barua’s poem ‘Ami Duwar Mukoli Koro’ (‘Let us open the Door’) echoes Keats’ line ‘Much have I travelled’ and Jibonanando’s ‘Anek Ghursi Ami’. Further the poem brings associations from K. K. Handique’s article ‘Prasin Bebelinor Bed’, Rabindranath Tagore’s poems and a painting ‘And We are Opening the Gates’ by Nicholas Roerich.

Hem Barua, a prominent voice in Assamese poetry, extensively employed folk-text in his poetry. He especially used bihu songs and
folksongs. A number of poems in *Balichanda* reflect it well. For example, certain lines of ‘Pohorotkoi Endhar Bhal’ (*Guruto nalage, Gosaito nalage/Thake tol vori xori*) are directly taken from the following bihu song:

\[
\text{keloi phulili rupohi Moder oI} \\
\text{keloi pelali koli} \\
\text{guruto nalage bhokototo nalage} \\
\text{thake tol bhorixori}
\]

(*Why thou did blossom dear Moder, why thou did bud, so though you are plentiful, thou art quite worthless*)

His ‘Rom-Prem’ has an inter-text from a famed bihu song:

\[
\text{Dikhou noi eribo paro moi} \\
\text{Jaji noi eribo paro} \\
\text{tomare oi bhabona eribo nowaro} \\
\text{nekhaye thakibo paro}
\]

(*I can leave river Dikhou
I can go away from Jaji too
But I can’t live without you
I can although live on fast*)
Hem Barua’s another poem ‘Jaror Dinor Xopon’ (The Dream of Wintry Days) again echoes a bihu song. Apart from such use of folk-texts, references from Coleridge’s ‘Ancient Mariner’ find place in Hem Barua. Moreover he wrote ‘Momotar Sithi’ taking inspiration from Ezra Pound’s ‘The River Merchant’s Wife’.

Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya brings the myth of Beula-Lakhindar in to the poem ‘Sownsiriyedi Nami Ahe Aair Hiya’. Association of ‘paneshoi’, a famous folktale, is found in ‘Paneshoi’.

Navakanta Barua expressed a variety of thoughts, quite complex and deep, through his poetry. He has a good number of anthologies such as He Aranya He Mahanagar (O Forest O City) (1951), Samrat (the Emperor) (1961) Ati Duti Agharoti Tora (One Two and Eleven Stars) (1957), and Mor aru Prithibir (Mine and the World’s) (1973). Navakanta Barua brings a new mode into modern Assamese poetry using modern urban facets as a result of the influence by T. S. Eliot and other renowned modern poets upon him. He has profound philosophical visions regarding life and men in the poems which are often puzzling to specify, but one can try to interpret that in different ways. A pioneer of modern Assamese poetry Navakanta Barua seems to use various texts of folklore that can be read as intertexts. Though Barua’s approach to poetry was that of a modernist’s, his area was never attached merely to the city-life. He also
goes to the rustic scenes and attaches his self to such rural conventions and beliefs. Therefore even in his philosophic vision sometimes he could remember ‘Kopili’, his native river that swells up by monsoon rain during summer. (‘Ratir Gos’, ‘The Tree of the Night’). He talks about ‘keteki phul’ (umbrella flower or screw pine flower) in ‘Sawtali Dance’ and Brahmaputra in ‘Kup- Manduk’. But such rural and folk-associations have been generally exercised in a philosophic level.

Navakanta Barua’s ‘Kromosa: Eta Sadhukatha’ (‘A Folk-Tale Continues’) is a representative example of employing folk-tale or myth to the genre of modern poetry. Here the poet critically gazes the present time and scenario recollecting the rich past of his nation with the aid of some myths. The poet uses references from the well-liked folk-tales such as Tejimala, Ciloneer Jiyekor Sadhu (Tale of the Hawk’s Daughter), Saudar Sadhu (Tale of the Merchant) and so on to view the change of the elements of history with the passage of time: land, river, forest and over all, the living condition of people. The poet’s handling of the folk-tales to comprehend history appears as a powerful weapon to convey his message to the readers:

Kamala kuwauri, Kamala Kuwari

Was the dream of jal-kownar false?
Where is water?

Water?

The King missing - so tell us about water?

(Translated from Assamese)

As it is seen that there are a variety of myths about the princes, kings and queens of the Ahom kingdom among the people of Assam, the poet tries to reconcile contemporary reality with such myths at the milieu of history. Each stanza of the poem figures out diverse images of folk-tales. At the same time the poem seems to represent a modern version of the Assamese deh-bichar songs. It shows that there might be different subtexts within the prime body of the poem and hence it approximates to carry the elements of intertextuality at various levels. Such reading of the poem can also be analyzed in the light of following comment by Praphulladatta Goswami:

Folkliterature, which is but folklore-narrowed down, is indeed a means of understanding the folk around us...To illustrate again it is quite possible that an examination of the deh-bichar would explain more the general apathy of the inhabitants of the countryside.

(Goswami 11)

Again in his poem 'Samrat' ('the Emperor') the poet takes elements from the common myths of The Mahabharata. The poet
criticizes the crisis of identity of king Dhritarashtra. The poet also opens out the dilemma of his mind, his morbid psyche and his confession regarding his inefficiency as a ruler. As we know that the stories of *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata* are fairly inseparable from folk-life, the poet effectively uses such narratives to illustrate the dithering (like Eliot’s ‘Prufrock’) in modern men. Similarly, the elements of intertextuality can be well manifested in the use of such mythical text in the poem. His ‘Balmiki’, ‘Rawan’ and ‘Ratnakorr Duswapna’ bring association from *the Ramayana*. Similarly, his ‘Aradhora Bhanoni’, ‘Palestine’, ‘Uma-Tumoni’, ‘Pahora Swargar Swapna’ take texts from ‘Champawotir Sadhu’, ‘Tejimala’, ‘Pogola Parbotir Geet’, and ‘Gosai Opoja Nam’ respectively. All these intertexts are inherently folklore.

Keshob Mahanta’s poetry has striking alliances with folktales. He brings reference from ‘Tejimala’ in ‘Eta Kobita Porhi’ (After Reading a Poem) and *Campawoti* in ‘Iyate Ga Dhui lo Champa’ (Take bath here, Champa). Likewise *Chilonir Jiyek* and *Kamala Kuwari* appear in the poems ‘Bipriyo Bihnollora’ and ‘Kamala Kuwarir Jiyek’ respectively.

Ajit Barua wrote a few remarkable poems; folk-life and intertextuality appear hand in hand in some of these. ‘Jengrai 1963’ clearly expresses this tendency and his likeness for folk-life. The line ‘*kino juiye loga soku*’ (how the firing eyes) in ‘Jengrai 1963’ directly
reminds us of a bihu song in *Miri Jiyori* by Rajanikanto Bordoloi. The same line is there in the novel. The line ‘*Bhabi sale Lilimai ei jibonot eko nai*’ (there is nothing in this life if you, Lilimai really think of it) is also taken from a popular folksong. Similarly his poems such as ‘Hothat esat akolsoriya Botah’ and ‘Aji akou Mejankori Enasola’ identify some associations of folk-life and folklore. Moreover, the poet himself talks about his use of inter-texts in *Podyor Pasor Kabyo* (1994). He reveals in the book that he has taken the line ‘Edinakhon eta Dhekura Kukure Mukhot Mongoh loi’ of ‘Monkuwoli Somoy’ from a class book on moral education written by Durgadhor Borkotoky. (Barua, A 7). He took another line ‘Somoy Bondho Hoi Jay’ from the title of Aldous Huxley’s book *Time Must Have a Stop*. (Barua, A 9). Again the poet was greatly influenced by Agehananda Bharati’s *The Tantric Tradition* while he wrote his famous poem ‘Brahmaputra’. (Barua, A 75). Similarly the poet takes several allusions from Ronald David Laing’s *The Divided Self* and some other writer’s life (for example- Baudelaire) in ‘Schizophrenia r Bishoye’. (Barua, A 132)

While writing ‘Samudra Bhiti’ (Sea- Fear), Harekrishna Deka’s vision of the sea came partly from his listening to his father’s reading out of *the Mahabharata* to his mother. (Bora, P 170)
Apart from these poets, several contemporary poets have been using folklore. Moreover, a choice of intertextual features may also be found in them. But we have restricted our discussion to the few poets because we have seen that the history of Assamese poetry has good adherence to folk-texts as well as to intertextuality. So we may read Nilmani Phukan situating him in this context. Bireswar Barua in *Ramdhenu Jug aru Poroborty Kal* (1986) shows features of intertextuality and various influences on Assamese poets by some other contemporary poets though he has not termed the phenomenon as intertextuality. Rather he seems to explain that as a kind of pastiche. For example, he illustrates certain syntactical and thematic resemblances between two poems with similar title called Sap (Snake): one is by Homen Borgohain and the other one is by Mohendra Bora. Though his approach is not beyond question, it may provoke us to read Assamese poetry also from this particular viewpoint. He also takes pain to demonstrate some ‘derivative’ tendencies in Nilmani Phukan. So keeping all such visions in mind, we would like to read the poetry of Nilmani Phukan with the help of elements of intertextuality and folklore in Chapter V.
Works Cited


Notes:

1 May be the poets of pre-Jonaki age have not been assessed well so far, as, when Kabin Phukan has all praise for Ratneshwar Mahanta’s ‘Patni-Bilap’ labeling it one of the best modern poems in Assamese. (Phukan, K 1996: 31) Maheswar Neog hardly mentions Mahanta as a pre-Jonaki poet.

2 Holy songs initially written by Vaisnavite saint Sankardeva and Madhabdeva