PART – 1
CHAPTER II

THE TRADITION OF ḌĀK PREVALENT IN ASSAM AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA AS WELL AS OUTSIDE INDIA

I. The Assamese Tradition:

The Assamese tradition says that Ḍāk, to whom goes the credit of composing the maxims of Ḍāk, was born at the village Lehidangara near Barpeta now in the district of Barpeta. According to various printed editions of Ḍāk- vacanas, Ḍāk belonged to a potter family although it appears difficult to ascertain by the manuscripts. Belief has it that Varahmihira alias Mihirmuni, the celebrated astronomer who flourished in the Gupta age, is associated with Ḍāk as his father. The outline of the legend is given below:

The famous astronomer Mihirmuni once on his way of pilgrimage to Assam getting night, decided to take shelter at a family of the potter community in the village Lehidangara. All the seven brothers of the family (all of whom got married long before) went out to watch their crops in the field. The mother told Mihirmuni about her inconveniences to entertain him as a guest since no male member of

   Barman, H. (ed) : Sampūrṇa Ḍākar Vacan, P.1
2. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.147
   Barman, H. : Op-cit, P.5
the family was present in the house. Then Mihirmuni told that he would not require anything but only a bed just to spend the night. The old lady being moved with the high sense of hospitality agreed to and asked the youngest daughter-in-law to look after the guest since she was free from motherly troubles for having no child. Moreover, the mother-in-law advised her to conceive a progeny entertaining the guest since her husband was impotent. The daughter-in-law obeyed the order accordingly. Being satisfied, Mihirmuni blessed her (the daughter-in-law) to have a son like him and left in the next morning. After ten months she delivered a male child. Immediately after birth unlike other babies he began to talk and that is why he was known as ḍāk. The word ḍāk in Assamese is still used to mean 'to call', 'to converse', 'to shout' etc.

All the seven brothers (i.e., ḍāk's father and paternal uncles) were out of the house for watching crops in the field. Hearing the news of a son's birth all of them returned home mirthfully and hearing the unprecedented events about the baby, the eldest of them ordered to throw it into a thatching grass field enclosing him in an earthen cooking pot. The others did accordingly. After three days all the brothers went to reap thatch to the field where the baby ḍāk had been thrown off. But the brothers were in trouble in bunching the reaped thatches as they did not know how to make uniform size of the bunches. Then the three day old baby ḍāk from within the earthen pot instructed the solution by airing his voice thus: reap three handful of thatches and then get the standard size of the bunch. Following the instruction they could solve their problem and got interested to see who was the man

4. According to the Assamese folk calculation ten months and ten days is the gestation period for human birth.
instructing them. They saw the baby there where they had left him three days ago and took him home endearingly7.

After few years Mihirmuni came to Assam to visit Kamakhya temple8. He met his son at Lehidangara. At that time Ḍāk was playing with his friends. On being asked, Ḍāk unhesitatingly introduced himself as his (Mihirmuni’s) son9. Mihirmuni then expressed his desire to take Ḍāk with him. But Ḍāk convincingly established that in the given situation he should have lived with his mother9(a). Being compelled by the arguments of Ḍāk Mihirmuni had to leave him to live alongwith his (Dak’s) mother.

One day Ḍāk alongwith his friends went to collect molān (the soft white part of the root of a lotus). He dipped down in deep water and got tangled his two and half hands long hair with the stems of lotus. He floundered hard to come over the water but could not succeed and thus laid down his life in a watery grave. The way to such an accidental death of Ḍāk was paved by Sri Ramchandra by blunting his (Ḏāk’s) intelligence, for, the people used to eulogise Ḍāk in stead of Sri Rama which the latter could not tolerate10.

According to another legend Ḍāk had to lose his life in the Brahmaputra falling victim to a conspiracy. One day while Ḍāk was playing ghilā (a folk game) with his friends, a messanger sent by the king came to him and asked for the appropriate day for shaving. Ḍāk, busy in playing replied very briefly that shaving should be done before and after the Tuesday. The messanger recited the reply and the king unable to divulge the meaning, ordered the messenger again to call the

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9. Ibid. P.19
Barman, H. : Op-cit, P.3
9(a) Ibid : P.5-6
Pundit Brahmins and the astrologers. The pundits divulged the meaning that Monday and Wednesday are the auspicious days for shaving. The pundits became very apprehensive that ķāk's survival would jeopardise their profession. They called all the boys to bathe planning a conspiracy against ķăk. On the bank of the Brahmaputra all the boys including ķăk got engaged in a competition as to who could swim far and then jumped into the water. The other boys vigorously pressed him down the water and then pushed to the middle of the river. Thus ķăk, the omniscient had to die of a conspiracy¹¹.

While according to the first legend narrated above ķăk belonged to a potter family, the second legend puts him in the Brahmin community¹². ķăk's placement in the Brahmin community might be the result of an interpolation in the verse concerned either perhaps with intention to lend him respectability as the Brahmin community used to enjoy a high order in the social hierarchy or just by mere mistake of a copyist. We are led to believe in both the probabilities, because another similar verse only differentiating the community puts ķăk in the potter community¹³. Both the verses may be compared: uttam brāhmaṃ ghare janam dharilā and uttam kumar kule janam labhilā. Also it is noteworthy that the second legend gives no separate identities of ķăk's Brahmin parents or at least of the mother. Of course S. Rajguru has not mentioned the source wherefrom he cited the verse. But as the verse quoted is concurrent to the more forcible belief laid down in the first legend it should not be deprived of the due weightage it deserves simply owing to the want of its source. The second legend again presents an absurdity regarding ķăk's lifespan and his performance that he deliberated all his sayings in only one and a half day which suggests that he survived for only one and a half day¹⁴.

11. Dutta, D : Op-cit, P145-146
12. Sarma, N.C : Op-cit, P.96
Dutta, D : Op-cit, P.146
14. Sarma, : Loc-cit
Dutta : Loc-cit
According to another belief डङक was born in the milkman community. Lakshminath Bezbarua says that डङक belonged to the milkman community\textsuperscript{15}. But nothing is mentioned regarding his birth and death except the place of his birth i.e., Lehidangara. According to Shivanath Bhattacharyya also डङक belonged to the milkman community\textsuperscript{15(a)}.

From the facts widely believed regarding डङक we are led to contemplate something anew. D. Dutta has located the village Lehidangara, known to be the birth place of डङक seven miles far southward of Barpeta which is now-a-days known as लोहहागाओन\textsuperscript{16}. डङक has been determined as belonging to the potter community. The word लोह्या in Sanskrit means iron which gets transformed to लोहा or लो in Assamese although the word लोह्या is also well comprehensive. Then, the name (of the village, in modern times) indicates the abundance of iron in that village or, iron claims some significance in naming the village. On the other hand the potter community is called कुमार in Assamese and pottery is called कुमार शिल्प. But pottery apparently has no relation with iron. Rather blacksmithry has an inseparable relation with iron. Blacksmithry is called कामार शिल्प and the blacksmith community is called कामार. Between the two words कुमार and कामार while pronouncing, the difference appears to be very minute, i.e., only of the sound 'U' in the first alphabet 'K'. May be, because of ignoring this minute difference in pronunciation, the community might be wrongly determined as कुमार instead of कामार. We are led to lay some importance in this contemplation because of the fact that the text of the maxims bear a considerable amount of references to blacksmithry. As for example:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} डङकर पुष्प : \textit{Bahi}, Vol. II no.1 अघोन, 1832 शक, compiled in बेंगली ग्रंथावली, Vol. 2. 1970, P.1764
  \item \textsuperscript{15(a)} Bhattacharyya, S (ed) : \textit{डङक चरित बा डङक भानिता}, P.14
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Dutta, D : Op-cit (Introduction) P.15
\end{itemize}
(1) *cital khaṇḍe gasdhība kuṭhār*[^17].

—An axe should be made in the structure of a piece of a *cital* fish.—

(2) *anālowe kāmār sāl pāte*[^18] /

—Setting the blacksmithy, i.e., one, who sets the blacksmithy without iron is liable to punishment (alongwith two others.)—

(3) *kamāre nājāne dukhiyār lo*[^19] /

—Blacksmiths do not care even if the iron belongs to a poor owner.—

(4) *behā karibā lo kapās*[^21] /

—Business on iron and cotton is advisable.—

But no maxim is found in the text preaching pottery. Of course one maxim is found with reference to pottery, but this also is not of a preaching nature. The text of the said maxim is given below:

*bārisā kumārar nikinibā caru*[^22] /

—Do not purchase a *caru* (an earthen pot) made in the rainy season—

In view of the above analysis it is not unreasonable to speculate that the community which *Dāk* belonged to, if at all to be determined, could be *kamār* (blacksmith) instead of *kumār* (potter).

The next confusion is about the birth place of *Dāk*. One author holds that the name of the village *Dāk* born in is Lehidingara as

[^18]: Ibid.: P.18
[^19]: Ibid.: P.20
[^21]: Ibid.: P.23
[^22]: Ibid.: P.25
said

lehidingara ḍākar gāon
tiniśa ṣāṭhūṭā pukhurīr nāo²¹.

— Lehidingara is the village of ḍāk where three hundred sixty ponds are full of boats.—

But in other versions :—

Lehidangara ḍākar gāon
tiniśa ṣāṭhī pukhurīr nāo²⁴.

and,

lehidangarā ḍākar gāon
sāṭśā satoṭā pukhurīr nāo²⁵.

— Lehidangara is the village of ḍāk where there are three hundred and sixty/seven hundred and seven ponds and all are full of boats.—

Here, difference in respect of name of the village is evident. We are hesitant to think that a mere printing mistake is the cause here. The Assamese word lāhi suggests the meaning of 'smooth', 'fine', 'slender' etc. The word may change to lehi in folk-speech. Again the word ḍiṅgarā means a kind of drum-shaped fish-trap and also boat, while ḍaṅgarā means nothing. Then the two words together forming the compound word lehidinīgarā might mean 'a village where fine boats or fish-traps are made'. From the aforesaid description we may say that the whole area was a low-land and most probably was under water in most of the time of the year if not throughout the whole year, as such boat was essential as a means of conveyance. That particular village perhaps could specialise in making fine boats. Hence the village

²³. Rajguru, S : Op-cit (Introduction) P.8
might be named as Lehîdinigarâ. Considering from the other angle, in such an area fishing generally happens to be one of the important sources of livelihood. Therefore, accepting the meaning of the word \textit{dîngarâ} as a kind of fish-trap it may be argued that the village folk there earned the reputation of making the most effective \textit{dîngarâs} (fish-traps) for fishing. But the logic does not stand solidly tenable as because out of so many devices of fishing there is no comprehensive reason to emphasise only one so much to the extent of naming the village. Moreover in the text of the maxims neither fishing nor fish-trap (\textit{dîngarâ}) has been talked about. Therefore, the meaning of the word \textit{dîngarâ} may be accepted in the sense of 'boat' only and not as 'fish-trap'. The description \textit{tiniṣṭa ṣaṭhiṭa}---- \textit{or sāṭa sāṭoṭā pukhurīr nāo} may also suggest the meaning. If that meaning is accepted, the name of the village in which \textit{Dāk} was born would be \textit{Lehîdinigarâ} instead of \textit{Lehiḍangarâ}.

Some people however, believe otherwise about the origin of the name of the village \textit{Lehîḍangarâ}. The present-day name of the village is \textit{Lāidâṅga}. Similarly, it is also known as \textit{Lehidîṅgâ}. The village is now inhabited by muslim population, but originally it was inhabited by the fisherman and the yogi (Nath) communities. There is a river called \textit{Kucrā} or \textit{Kajrā}. The name of the village headman was \textit{Lehi}. He had a herd of cattle and it was necessary everyday to take the herd for grazing across the river. The little calves could not cross the river themselves and the owner \textit{Lehi} took them lifting and crossed the river. In Assamese language the word \textit{dāṅgā} means 'to lift'. The calves were lifted by \textit{Lehi}, so the village came to be known as \textit{Lehidâṅgâ} and then \textit{Lāidâṅga}. It is also believed that this \textit{Lehidîṅgâ} was \textit{Lehidangarâ}\textsuperscript{26}.

\textsuperscript{26} Infomant : Rajani Kanta Talukdar, Headmaster, Kanimaia M.E. School, P.O. Kanimaia, Dist. Barpeta. Data Collected on 11.11.89.
The story seems to be concocted one and lacks credibility. Because, firstly, the information about the inhabitants in regard to their cast or community is not confirmed by the written tradition. Secondly, only the village headman having a herd of cattle and he only having to take them across the river for grazing is somewhat too exclusive a matter to believe. Thirdly, it would have been more logical if the river would have been named \textit{Lehidāngā} instead of the village, since the act of lifting the calves was related to the river and not to the village. Fourthly, the transformation of the name of the village \textit{Lehidāngā} to \textit{Lehīḍāṃgarā} or vice-versa, does not seem linguistically sound. This legend, therefore, can infact give no credible information about \textit{Lehīḍāṃgarā}.

It has been tried above to give a brief account of the legends regarding the birth and death of \textit{Qāk} current in Assam. From the aforesaid discussion it can easily be assumed that the various legends regarding the birth place of \textit{Qāk} seem to have been irrelevant and inconsistent. Furthermore, these are not incorporated in any old manuscript of \textit{Qāk-pravacan} \textsuperscript{27}. Most probably the description about \textit{Qāk}'s birth and death is not based on any manuscript. D.N. Bezbarua in his \textit{Asamīyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Buraṇjī} has narrated the legends associated with \textit{Qāk}'s birth and death, but that was a mere facsimile of an article entitled \textit{Jīnāṇī Qāk} (wise \textit{Qāk}) written by Sonaram choudhury in the Assamese journal \textit{Jonākī} what had been reported in another article later on entitled \textit{Qāk-puruṣar Jīvanī Āru Racaṇāvalī} (life and works of \textit{Qāk Puruṣ}) written by himself \textsuperscript{28}. But Sri Choudhury has not referred to his source wherefrom he collected the legends \textsuperscript{29}.

In the \textit{Qākar Vacaṇ} edited by D.Dutta, the portion of the legend regarding Varahmihihira's arrival and the hospitality accorded to him by

\textsuperscript{27} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit. P.151
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.: P. 152
the potter-woman of Lehidangara and Ḍāk’s birth to her due to the blessing of Mihirmuni are not found as a part of the maxims of Ḍāk. But he has incorporated the same in the introduction of the book entitled *Asamīyā Bhāṣār Prāncīnataṃ Sampad Ḍākar Vacan*. On the other hand a segment of the legend containing the part of Ḍāk’s death has been incorporated in the D.Datta’s edition of the book which is not substantiated by the editor with authentic source. In the *Ḍāk-Carit bā Ḍāk Bhaṇītā* edited by Shivanath Bhattacharyya, only the portion about Ḍāk’s death is found, but nothing about his birth. In the *Sampūrṇa Ḍākar Vacan* edited by Hemrath Barman the description regarding Ḍāk’s birth and death is found but he has also failed to mention anything about the source. It can, therefore, be held that the legends about the birth and death of Ḍāk are current in oral tradition only, and most probably the legends are added to the sayings of Ḍāk later on. Therefore, it appears that the maxims of Ḍāk in fact have no direct relation with the legends of birth and death of Ḍāk.

From the above discussion it does not only remain uncertain whether Ḍāk belonged to the Brahmin community or potter community or milkman community; or whether he died by an accident in water or he lost his life in a conspiracy; or whether he lived to a considerable length of time worth believing to utter the deliberations current in his name (i.e., at least to his boyhood) or survived only for one and a half day (*edin ek dupar*); but gives rise to still a bigger question as to whether Ḍāk is a historical personage or a tradition. The varied beliefs about Ḍāk’s community, about his life-span, about the incidents leading to his death, non-availability of the name of the king who sent a messenger to Ḍāk to know the appropriate days for shaving (in a legend

telling about $\text{Dāk}$'s death), Varahmihira's paternity in relation to him and the relative modernity of the language of the maxims, reckless repetitions and sometimes contradictions of the maxims, the various literal meanings of the word $\text{dūk}$ in Assamese language are enough of impediments to establish $\text{Dāk}$ as a historical entity. Rather they help on the other hand to establish $\text{Dāk}$ as a tradition. This will be discussed at length in a subsequent chapter 32(a).

II. The Bengali Tradition:

The tradition of $\text{Dāk}$ is also prevalent in Bengal analogous to the Assamese tradition. What appears is that $\text{Dāk}$ and $\text{Khanā}$ have become almost identical in the Bengali tradition. Still it is but to admit that apparently the tradition in Bengal has been split into two different traditions (or sub traditions) attributing them to $\text{Dāk}$ and $\text{Khanā}$ respectively at least in their names. Generally, the sayings on agriculture and the sayings on astrology are called the sayings of $\text{Khanā}$ and the sayings of $\text{Dāk}$ respectively. Of course astrological sayings are also not totally absent in the sayings of $\text{Khanā}$. Rather a printed book $\text{Khanār Vacan}$ compiled by pandit Ramapada Bhattacharyya has been alternatively titled as $\text{Saral Jyotiṣa Vacan}$ (i.e simple astrological sayings) 33 wherein besides the agricultural sayings quite a good number of astrological sayings have also been incorporated. Moreover, prior to the contents of the sayings, the compiler has appended a brief life history of $\text{Khanā}$ wherein he (the compiler) commented that although the scholarly reputation of $\text{Khanā}$'s husband and father-in-law was protected by severing off her own tongue, a great amount of knowledge on astrology remained unknown. Still those essential

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32 (a) Infra : Chapter III (Search for Historicity of $\text{Dāk}$)
astrological deliberations uttered by herself before this tragic incident which got currency in oral tradition have come to be known as khanār vacan (sayings of Khanā) till today. Here it is evident that Khanā has been tried to establish as an erudite scholar on astrology rather than a scholar on agricultural lore. Even then it can be understood from what is generally seen that the agricultural sayings are current in the name of Khanā and the astrological ones are in the name of Ḍāk. It is to be noted that despite the sayings being divided into two categories according to their themes and contents after the names of two so called oracles Khanā and Ḍāk respectively, the legend current in folk tradition supports only Khanā. No legend is found regarding the emergence of Ḍāk and the composition of the sayings by him in the tradition of Bengal.

(i) Khanā:

The legend about Khanā goes thus:

Khanā was the daughter of a demon king called Moydānava. According to another tradition she was the daughter of a human (not a demon) king. The demon king of Lanikā attacked the kingdom of Khanā’s father and killed him. But the invaders did not kill Khanā, rather took her to their kingdom i.e., Lanikā. Khanā was a very intelligent girl. The demons taught her the science of astrology and she became an expert there in this discipline.

Contemporaneously Varāha, who was one of the nine gems in the royal court of the king Vikramaditya at Ujjain, begot a son. He was

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34. Ibid. : P2
named Mihir. Varāha was a famous astronomer. But while calculating the birth chart of the son for preparing a horoscope, he committed a mistake and therefore erroneously calculated the life-span of the son as ten years instead of one hundred years. The grief-stricken Varāha put the child in a copper pot and floated out in the sea to avoid the agony of the death of his affectionate son ten years later. The copper pot with the child in its womb went on floating and reached the shore of Lāṅkā. One of the demons lifted the pot to the shore and finding Mihir within, took him home and began to bring him up. Mihir also became a scholar in astrology. Khanā was married to Mihir.

The newly married couple was looking for an opportunity to escape from the kingdom of demons. One day in a māhendrakṣaṇa (astrologically a very auspicious moment) took a move towards the sea. Knowing their purpose a demon informed the king about the event. The king knew it very well that it would be useless to prevent the couple as they began their move in a māhendrakṣaṇa. The king therefore, ordered one of his servants to help them across the sea and further ordered to ask Mihir a question after crossing the sea. If Mihir could answer the question correctly he would be given three śāstras on Bhūtattva (knowledge of the earth), Khatattva (knowledge of the sky) and Pātāl-tattva (knowledge of the nether world) respectively. Otherwise, only the first two śāstras would be given.

The servant landed on the northern shore of the sea alongwith Khanā and Mihir accordingly. Then the demon pointing to a cow in labour asked Mihir about whether white or black would be the colour of the new-born calf. Mihir, by the help of his astrological calculation replied that the colour would be white. The cow delivered a calf and its colour looked black. The demon in accordance with the order of the king gave Mihir two śāstras on Bhūtattva and Khatattva. Mihir
being ashamed of the incorrect result of his calculation, threw away the two śāstras into the sea. By that time Khana was not by the side of Mihir. When she came to know of the incident from Mihir, she corrected him that in fact the colour of the calf was white, but because of the whole body being covered with reddish slime it looked black. Thereafter, even following the instruction of Khana, Mihir could not recover the two śāstras completely. He succeeded in recovering only a few folios of the śāstras.

Mihir and Khana overcoming many obstacles ultimately arrived at Ujjain. Varāha became immensely happy to see his son coming back home with his wife who once had been pushed to the jaws of death. He could realize that even he also had committed mistake in astrological calculation. Within a very short time Khana became highly reputed as an astrologer as she could easily solve all kinds of astrological problems which her father-in-law Varāha and husband Mihir could not do. Khana had to meet an adverse consequence of her incomparable talent. The king Vikramaditya appointed her a scholar in his royal court. But there arose the dilemma. It was considered that sending a house-wife from within the four walls of the house to a royal court was synonymous to defamation of the family. Varāha therefore, discussing with his son Mihir decided to sever the tongue of Khana to cause her the loss of speech. Khana also with the help of her astrological calculation could very well be sure of her imminent death due to the severing of her tongue. Next day Mihir severed her tongue. Thus Khana left her worldly life.

36. Das P.K. (ed.) : Khaṇār Vacaṇ, Preface PP. 3-6
Reproduced in Pāṭḥ-Pravacaṇ by N.C. Sarma PP.154-156
Ramapada Bhattacharyya also narrated the same legend very briefly and with little variation. According to him the reason behind severing the tongue of Khanā is not her appointment in the royal court as a scholar causing threat to their family prestige, but a jealousy on the part of her father-in-law and the husband because of a gradual erosion in their reputation due to her gradually increasing reputation as a scholar in astrology. Moreover, Mihir did not sever the tongue of Khanā but she did it by herself. Again in this legend there is no clear indication that Khanā died of severing the tongue. It can easily be guessed that she might have remained a dumb.

From the aforesaid legend, it can easily be held that there is not even the least amount of historical authenticity in the life-history of Khanā. Because Moydānava, king Vikramaditya, Mihir and the demon king of Lanikā etc. can not claim even the least amount of historicity. It is traditionally believed that Vikramaditya, the great king of Ujjain had patronised the famous astronomer Varahmihira who was one of the nine gems in his royal court. This is now treated as a mere fiction although, the historical fact remains that the celebrated astronomer Varahmihira flourished in the Ujjain region in west Malwa during the sixth century A.D.

The patronage episode of Varahmihira has been treated as mere fiction, for "king Vikrama of Indian tradition being unknown to genuine history." The historical personality of the famous astronomer Varahmihira, in the folkmind (of Bengal) gave rise to the creation of

37. Bhattacharya, R : Op-cit. P.2
D.Dutta, P.162
Dandekar : Loc-cit.
different imaginary entities of Mihir, the son of Varāha\textsuperscript{41} who despite being an astrologer by himself had been surpassed along with his illustrious father by his wife Khanā in the domain of astrology. Sri Sircar has rightly observed and established too, that such fabrications are also known from other parts of India\textsuperscript{42}. According to the legend we do not find the astronomer Varāha, or his legendary son Mihir, or historically established Pṛthuyāsas, the son of Varahmihira\textsuperscript{43} deliberating anything upon astrology as had been done by Khanā. Moreover, " It has to be noted that nothing can be more absurd than the conception of the daughter-in-law of a sixth century astronomer of Malwa composing aphorisms in the Bengali language\textsuperscript{44}. Therefore, it can be held that 'Mihir, the son of Varāha', an imaginary personality had only been created (in the legend) to highlight another imaginary personality, that is of Khanā as the daughter-in-law of the famous astronomer Varāha (i.e., Varahmihira) and the motive behind Khanā making to surpass both of them in astrological expertise seems only to land credence to the sayings labelled in her name, which are in fact the sayings of the people only, derived from day-to-day experiences of life and by long observations. Because, people generally do not believe the sayings of ordinary people as something beyond question. But the kind of things stated in the sayings (of Khanā) were worthholding for the agrarian society of the time in want of scientific devices to know the important tips of agriculture and meteorology. Hence, the legend of Khanā was prefixed to the sayings.

Here we may note some similarities between the Assamese legend of Ḍāk and the Bengali legend of Khanā. Ḍāk was never in care of his

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41}Ibid : PP.162-163
\item \textsuperscript{42}Ibid : P.163
\item \textsuperscript{43}Dandekar, R.N. : Op cit, P.148
\item \textsuperscript{44}Sircar : Loc-cit
\end{itemize}
father from his very birth and Khanā was also parted from her father in a very tender age. Ḍāk defeated his astrologer father Mihirmuni (Varahmihiira) in arguments and Khanā also eclipsed the reputation of her illustrious astrologer father-in-law (also the husband Mihir) by her own merit. Both the legends end with a tragic catastrophe in each. While Ḍāk died in an accident in his boyhood, Khanā was virtually killed. None of them could flourish with maturity. Ḍāk was killed in a conspiracy originated from professional rivalry. On the other hand Khanā also met her ill-fate for the same reason. This kind of treatment generally makes people to wonder with sympathy and veneration to the scholarship of the personalities thus victimised resulting in increasing the credibility of the sayings labelled with their names beyond any hesitation.

This hypothesis can be tested from another angle. The word Khanā might be a dialectal form of the word khonā, because in Bangladesh the nominative word Khonā is also used as equivalent to Khanā. The literal meaning of the word khonā (therefore, of the word khanā too, perhaps) is a 'stammerer' which has been extended, practically speaking, to 'a dumb' in the legend, at least so to believe. According to the legend, Khanā, the lady, should have become 'khanā' (dumb) only after her tongue was severed and therefore, she might be known as Khanā with the new identity, although unfortunate. But the legend does not speak anything about her original name which must have been something different from Khanā, rather tells her name as Khanā from her very infancy. Moreover, if she did not survive after severing her tongue, there infact stands no reason to rename her as

45. Barman, H. : Op-cit, PP.5-6
46. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.191
Khana. Therefore, it appears that the lady had been known as Khanā by name before she turned a khamā (dumb) and when became "khanā" she did not survive to be adorned with that imposed name. Hence the name of the lady and the legend behind that are not consistent. Therefore, it may be maintained that the name itself with the conjectured legend behind seemed more important to attain enormous popularity than the logical consideration on its way of coming into being.

D.C. sircar has viewed the name of Khanā and the way of its coming into being from different angles which seem to be more logical. According to the traditional belief which has been reflected in the legend, Khanā is a female astrologer. Sircar opines that khanā derived from the sanskrit word kṣāṇāda>prakrit khana, meaning an astrologer⁴⁷. Therefore khanā instead of being a personal name and of a female astrologer could well have been a community name or professional identity of a people. Therefore, the existence of a female astrologer in the traditional belief Khanā by name most probably was the result of an etymological error on the word khanā ending with the accent³⁷ more familiar to the name of a female. As for example, Ramā, Umā, Annadā, Jñānadā, Baradā, Caṇḍikā, Dūrgā etc. are some of the most common and popular feminine names in the Bengali society, for these are the names of different Hindu goddesses widely worshipped. Since Ṣāk is said to have been an astrologer, and Khanā also means the same, the two words therefore can not be held as nominative words i.e., personal names any more⁴⁸.

Apart from the meaning of the two words i.e., Ṣāk and Khanā, the sayings current after their names also present striking similarities

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⁴⁸. Kindly see chapter III, Col. (III)
from the view points of text, texture, context and structure despite being current in two lingually different societies. N.C. Sarma in his book has shown through comparison of twenty maxims belonging to Assamese دليل and خنانа traditions respectively that they bear spectacular similarities⁴⁹. Although further more comparisons may be shown, for the interest of brevity we will mention only three as specimens.

1. دليل (As) : janma lagna yatra joțā/

   varāhmihire nāpāle orā/

   خنانا : maraṇ dharan pāṇi/

   varāh bole tin nahi jāni/

2. دليل : nagarar upare kuākui dekhi/

   narar muṇḍa gaṇḍa gaṇḍi lekhi//

   خنانا : caite kuyā, bhādare bān/

   narer muṇḍa gaṇḍa gaṇḍi jān//

3. دليل : əsādhar navami șuklapașat /

   yadi barise bhūmi talat //

   hāl tul beci cintiyo deva /

   rāj grhat kariyo seva //

   خنانا : ki kara śvașur lekhā jokā/

   əsādhe navanî sukal pakhā//

   yadi varṣe mușal dhāre/

   mājh samudre hagā care// etc

⁴⁹. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, PP.162-165
From the comparison shown above it can easily be held that the source of the traditions of Dak and Khanā respectively is all the same. Had they been the compositions of two different authors there could not have been so much of similarities between the two sets of maxims from the view point of text, texture, context and structure. Therefore, it must be agreed upon that the reason behind this similarity in the maxims is the uniformities in the social and economic conditions of two different societies. These are impersonal creations and the basis of them is agriculture and the agrarian society. N.C. Sarma further maintains that since in Bengal and in western Assam no water-tight compartmentalisation is possible between the maxims of Dak and Khanā, such similarities between the two sets of maxims are quite natural. We are compelled to think that these maxims apparently known to be of two different traditions (i.e., Dak and Khanā) originated in one place in the name of Dak and after being spreaded to different places acquired different names and local lingual characteristics also crept into their expression. If this hypothesis is agreed upon then it can be held that the emergence of the name of Khanā is later to Dak. But not being too quick to hold that it will be proper to proceed through some careful analysis. In acquiring different names as we put it, a thematic division of the maxims although loose in nature, played an important role. That is why although it is maintained that the agricultural sayings belong to Khanā vacan and the astrological ones are Dakēr vacan, still this is not water tight compartmentalisation. That means that, originally all these maxims being of a single stock (i.e., of a single tradition) which thematically divided into two traditions, some of them remained beyond the line either way. That is why despite

50. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.165
51. Ibid : P.162
Khana (agreeing to the derivation presented by D.C Sircar) etymologically meaning 'an astrologer', contains mostly the agricultural sayings in its vacanas. That means that the differentiation appeared more important than the consistency of their thematic division to the folkmind. Sircar pointed out:

Many of the Bengali sayings of Khana are however in their Assamese and Maithil forms, attributed to Dak in Assam and North Bihar. Even in Bengal, Durgagati Mukhopadhyay attributed the majority of Khana aphorisms to Dak in his Dak puruser katha. In S.K. Dey's Bangla Pravad also, two of the popular proverbs (nos 6122 & 1981) are represented to both Dak and Khana.

Moreover, the tradition of Khana's sayings is limited to Bengal and Orissa only. Although in some parts of western Assam the tradition of Khana is faintly prevalent, it is due to the influence of the tradition strongly prevalent in Bengal because of the territorial vicinity, cultural closeness and linguistic affinity. In Assam, no Assamese manuscript of Khanā vacan written in Sāncipāt has been discovered so far. So it can easily be assumed that only the Ṭāk vacanas (maxims of Ṭāk) are widely current in Assam. On the other hand the tradition of Khana is not so much popular here. In view of all these, the remaining part of the statement made by Sircar can not but be supported that —

In Bengal also the sayings were originally assigned to a single astrologer; but that were divided between two of them only after the development of distinct legends regarding the latter (i.e., Khana).

52. Published in 1904
53. Sircar, D.C : Op-cit, P,161
53. (a) Sircar : Loc-cit.
(ii) Dāk:

Like the tradition of the sayings of Khana in Bengal, the sayings of Dāk is also holding an important position in the domain of folk literature. Although the sayings primarily meant for agriculturist householders, still many of them are of general interest. The aphorisms generally relate to astrology and meteorology. It has been discussed above that the sayings of Dāk and the sayings of Khana although apparently seem to be two different traditions, they are in fact two thematic divisions, loose in nature to some extent, of the same and the single tradition. Folk astrology being the only reliable means for nature study to acquire the premonition of weather of whatever accuracy that may be, was and still is closely connected to agriculture like other regions, in the folk society of Bengal also. Hence it is quit natural that both the kinds of the sayings i.e., the astrological and agricultural ones originated from the same source, i.e., the agrarian folk society. The astrological sayings are, however, known as the sayings of Dāk although it is not always so exclusive in respect of the division. Some sayings about folk medicine which are in fact some very simple tips for maintaining health, and hence can be called 'health sayings' are also current as the sayings of Dāk. But these are not capable to respond to any serious disease and therefore are of a very superficial nature. Moreover, some sayings very critical in nature about the vices of women, are also current as Dāk-vacanas.

55. Bhattacharya, A. : Supra, P. 25 (Foot Note No. 35)
56. Ibid : P. 75.
   Infra; P. 38 (Kindly see the comparison of the Assamese and the Bengali maxims.)
\(\text{Dāk}\) is believed to have been a celebrity in astrology, but so far the history is concerned, he is a non-entity at all. According to the tradition current in Bengal, \(\text{Dāk}\) belonged to the milkman community\(^{58}\). \(\text{Dāk}\) is told to have belonged to the milkman community in other regions of Eastern India also viz. Assam\(^{59}\), North Bihar (Mithila)\(^{60}\) and even in Bihar (Bhojpuri region)\(^{61}\). However in Assam, North Bihar (Mithila) and Bihar, it is believed that \(\text{Dāk}\) was the son of the famous astronomer Varahmihira. But in Bengal the filial relationship between Varahmihira and \(\text{Dāk}\) is not explicitly advocated even though the concept of \(\text{Dāk}\), the son of a milkman, like the other three regions may faintly hint at that. According to A. Bhattacharyya, \(\text{Dāk}\) was a name applied to a class of tantric Buddhist teachers. But it is difficult to accept on the ground that \(\text{Dāk}'s\) sayings are popular even in areas where tantric Buddhist influence never spreaded\(^{62}\). The sanskrit book, \(\text{Dākārṇava}\) discovered by Pandit Haraprasad Sastri from the royal library of Nepal has no apparent connection with the \(\text{Dāk vacanas}\) deliberating mainly upon agriculture, meteorology and health. Because these are of very mundane interest, but \(\text{Dākārṇava}\) speaks something of spiritual interest\(^{63}\). The word \(\text{dāk}\) in Bengali \textit{inter alia} means a proclamation (from its common meanings 'a shout', 'cry' or 'call') and \(\text{dākpurus}\) 'an announcer of proclamation'. Therefore quite reasonably it may be believed that like \(\text{Khānā, Dāk}\) is also not a personal name\(^{64}\). On the other hand, in Sanskrit the word \textit{da:} means 'sound'. Therefore one who makes the

\(^{58}\) Sarma, N. C. : Op-cit, P.154
\(^{59}\) Kindly see the foot notes no. 15 & 15(a) of this chapter.
\(^{60}\) Thakur, J : \textit{Majthil Dāk}, P.6
\(^{61}\) Tripathi, R.N : \textit{Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍarī}, P.26
\(^{62}\) Sircar, D.C : Op-cit, P. 162
\(^{63}\) Kindly see the meaning of few slokas of \(\text{Dākārṇava}\) presented in the Nepali tradition, P. 97
\(^{64}\) Sircar : Loc-cit
sound, or proclaims is *dāk*. The omniscient who can predict the future is *dāk puruṣa*. Hence the use of the compound work *dāk-puruṣa* is in currency as an adjective, and not as a noun. The same resolution is applicable to the word *dāk-vacan* also. Therefore from the viewpoint of literal meaning it may be said that the word *dāk* had been used in the sense of *dāk-vacan* (*dāk-pravacan, dāker vacan* etc.) and in *Dākāṛṇava* also in the same sense although their themes vary in a great way because of their different interests. *Dāk-vacan* literally means 'the proclaimed sayings' (of the wise/wises) and *Dākāṛṇava* means 'an ocean of the proclaimed (i.e., wise) sayings', for, the word 'arṇava' in Sanskrit means 'an ocean'. There is no absolute reason to obstinately believe that the *slokas* of the *Dākāṛṇava* had been composed by only a single omniscient person of the Sahajayan cult of Buddhism like there having no reason to believe the same thing in the case of the maxims of *Dāk*. Hence the contention of D.C. Sircar is admissible that *Dāk* could not have been a personal name. Therefore, the belief about *Dāk* being an individual person and belonging singularly to the milkman community is nothing but a fiction.

In view of the above discussion, it may be held that *Dāk* is more convincing as a tradition current in the agrarian folk society. There are spectacular similarities between the Assamese maxims and the Bengali maxims of *Dāk* in respect of theme and structure. N.C. Sarma has compared as good as twenty eight maxims in his book. We prefer to present only few of them for the interest of brevity.

66. Kindly see the contention of the foot note no. 63
67. *Dāk-Pravacan* : PP. 158-162
Maxims of Dak:

1. Assamese: jito prabhāte nidrā jāi / 
   bāhi sajyāt sūrye pāi //
   Bengali: prabhāt kāle nidrā yāy /
   bāsi sāyyā sūryye nā pāy //

2. Assamese: kandal suni bāhire jāi /
   nāc git suni satvare dhāi //
   sei strī same ji kare bās /
   tāhār kene jibane āś //
   Bengali: kandanā suniyā bāhir hay/
   nāte gīte dhāiya yāy//
   enārite yāhar bās/
   tāhār kon jibaner āś//

3. Assamese: alap khāi pelāi pracur /
   dāke bole tāik nikāl dūr //
   Bengali: felāy khāy cāy pracur /
   bale dāk nikālaha dūr // etc.

The lingual, thematic and structural similarities between the maxims of Dak current in Bengal and Assam shown above can testify our hypothesis that the maxims attributed to Dak of both Bengal and Assam have been emanated from the same source, i.e., the agrarian society.

III. The Oriya Tradition:

The sayings attributed to Dak or Khanā are also current among the masses of Orissa. It has been claimed by some author(s)
that these sayings are also attached to the name of an individual Ḍāk by name whose mother was a maid of an untouchable community. But some others do not even recognise Ḍāk as an individual. In Oriya language, the meaning of the word ḍāk is a 'foreteller'. Thus any foreteller is a ḍāk and his or her sayings are ḍak-vacanas. Observes K. Das:

Every village has to its credit, a number of intelligent men and women. Proverb or Dakbachan is their creation---- Ordinary day labourer who never thinks, accepted it as a saying of the oracle, used it to strengthen his opinion on a certain subject.

As the maxims are prevalent today in the folk society of Orissa they are more popularly known as Khanā-vacan although the name Ḍākruṣi-vacan also exists as an alternative. If it is to believe as claimed by some author(s) that Khanā and Ḍāk were two different individuals being a female and a male respectively, the names of the two books that we consulted, themselves suggesting Khanā as Ḍāk appear as a misnomer each. Because both the books bearing the name Khanā-vacan on the blocks have an extension of the name in the second pages as *Bruhat Khanā Vacan Ḍā Ḍākruṣi Vacan* (The great sayings of Khanā or Ḍāk, the saint.) This extended name suggests Ḍāk as synonym of Khanā, offering no scope to believe Ḍāk and Khanā as different entities.

Although apparently the nominative word Ḍāk is running

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69. Das, K. : A study of orissan Folklore, (Santiniketan, 1953), P.28
70. *Khanā Vacan :* Bani Bhandar, Berhampur, Ganjam, (undated)
    *Khanā Vacan :* Sarada Press, Cuttack (undated)
71. Sarma, N.C : Op-cit. P.166
72. Kindly see under F.N. No. 70 above.
concurrently with Khanā in respect of the maxims, still no distinct legend is available regarding him. On the contrary, there is a distinct legend about Khanā and the composition of the maxims by her.

The motifs of the legend as available in a book are as followed\textsuperscript{72(a)}.

Varahmihira, the famous astronomer was one of the nine gems in the royal court of Vikramaditya. During that period Lilāvatī was born in a different royal clan. Some demons inhabiting certain nearby island invaded Lilāvatī's father's kingdom and killed the king along with all his clansmen. But seeing the tender aged Lilāvatī and extremely delighted at her wonderous beauty, they shun the feelings of violence and took her with them completely unharmed. There at their own island kingdom, despite their daughters, they reared her with love and affection as their own. She was taught the sciences of stars and heavens, as a result of which she came to be known in the world as the most eminent scholar in the field.

Meanwhile in Ujjain, a beautiful male child was born to Varahmihira. While calculating the boy's horoscope he derived the baby's life span to be merely ten years instead of one hundred years. Therefore, he thought that the occasion of his son's death at ten, would be unbearable and so he floated the newborn in a wooden box down the river. The box at last reached the island where Lilāvatī was being reared. One of the demons came across the box and was extremely delighted to see the handsome Mihir therein. The demon took Mihir away and kept him beside Lilāvatī. Both were brought up together and educated in astronomy as well as astrology.

Being reared up together both of them attained youth and got into love with each other. But having to pass the days like encaged birds being guarded by the cruel demons they always longed for their
However one day both the lovers counting on the auspicious moment stepped out without knowing their destination.

A guard passed the information immediately to the gang leader. But the leader knew that since they started out on an auspicious moment, they would surely succeed anyway. Therefore instead of putting any hindrance to the young couple he ordered a demon to take them on his shoulders and ferry them off across the sea. Moreover he ordered the demon to give them three books of knowledge (science) as on the sky, the earth, and the nether world, and to ask a question to them. The question not being answered the book on the nether world be taken back from the couple. The servant served the master as he was ordered. On the other shore the demon pointed out to a cow in labour and asked Mihir, what colour the new-born calf would be. Mihir answered that it would be white coloured. After sometime while the cow gave birth to a young one, the colour of the newborn looked slightly reddish and therefore the demon took back the certain book and departed. Mihir got annoyed with himself and out of self-disgust tore the other two books into pieces and threw them into the sea. But soon afterwards he regretted his action seeing the colour of the calf as white and promptly acted to recover the lost books, a portion of which he managed to collect only after an exhaustive search. Then he reached Ujjain alongwith Līlavatī. Varahmihira while receiving his disowned son, could realise by astrological calculation the happenings and accosted home the son and the daughter-in-law and lived together happily.

Gradually the king and the members of his court came to know about Līlavatī's scholarship and offered her a place with royal recognition. Varahmihira felt offended in this, because his fame waned
day by day; his revenge waxed on each passing day. One day he called his son and said that unless the tongue of Lilavati was cut, their respect could not be saved. The young Mihir was greatly puzzled, because he was not in a position to disobey his father's command. Therefore, under compulsion, he took a sharp knife and proceeded towards Lilavati. Lilavati could understand the motive of her husband and hence she said that he need not delay in executing the command of his father. But before executing the dreaded task she advised Mihir to keep some subjects written from her. Then she gave her core discourses on subjects like calculation of time; knowledge of grains, science of cultivation, astrology and the like. After this, Mihir executed his father's command. From that day onwards she (Lilavati) is regarded as Khanã and the words of Khanã are known as Khanã-vacan i.e., maxims of Khanã.

The legend is current in the folk tradition of Bengal almost with the same motifs with slight variations here and there what has been narrated before. However, according to the Oriya legend the original name of Khanã was Lilavati and the word khanã means a dumb or a stammerer. So Lilavati became a khanã after the conspiracy hatched out by her father-in-law materialised to the utmost detriment and the adjective khanã turned to be a proper noun.

There is however a different version of the legend. The motifs are narrated below.

Khanã was the daughter of the famous astronomer Varahmihira. One day while Varahmihira was doing some astrological calculation, the seven year old little Khanã was sitting by his side. At a time when his calculation was finished, Khanã negated that of her own.

73. Supra : The text indicated by the Foot Note No. 36
Varahmihira was amazed but had to be convinced of the error committed when *Khantë* pointed out. Varahmihira in stead of being happy became suspicious that his professional reputation would be slurred by his daughter's scholarship. So he played an evil trick, Flattering her to bless him with a boon when the simple hearted *Khantë* agreed to, asked her to cut her tongue. Bound by her own words, *Khantë* was compelled to cut her tongue. Thus she became a stammerer (although she should have become a dumb). What did she deliberate before this tragic accident is known as *Khantë-vacan*\(^{74}\).

The word *ḍāk* is also prevalent in Orissa. The Oriya tradition also believes that *Ḍāk* is a historical being and is associated with Varahmihira and *Khantë*\(^{75}\). But it is also correct that the word *ḍāk* does not mean any legendary character. It means some time-tested foretellings rather fore-warnings\(^{76}\) might have been uttered by any knowledgeable person. But it is difficult to agree to such an interpretation of the word in toto. While the later part may be accepted, the first part of the explanation seems to have been crippled with some reservations. Because the alternative name of the two collections of *Khantë-vacan* i.e., *Bruhat Khantë vacan bā Ḍākruṣi vacan* does not anyway vindicate the point. Neither they are wholly of the nature of warning nor they seem being uttered by any knowledgeable person. Rather the very name impresses *Ḍāk* to be the name of a saint although this too is not acceptable since the legend recognises none *Ḍāk* by name other than *Khantë*. Again, the word *ḍāk* is found in some maxims itself. We are here to examine two different maxims:

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\(^{74}\) Informant : Prof N. Malla, Deptt. of Philosophy, N.E.H.U., Shillong, Data collected on 15.3.87.

\(^{75}\) Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.166

\(^{76}\) Informant : Prof N. Malla, Deptt. of Philosophy, N.E.H.U., Shillong,
Although the first maxim sounds like a fore-warning the second one clearly offers an advice. The application of the word ċāka in these two maxims viz. ċāka dei kahe and ċāka chhāḍri kahe clearly means ċāka to be a proclamation. Therefore, the specific meaning of the word ċāka cannot be derived as fore-warnings, rather the wider meaning fore-tellings should be accepted. Almost a similar meaning is accepted when it is said that the meaning of the word ċāka in oriya language is a foreteller. Hence, it can be concluded that the word ċāk means a foreteller and ċāk-vacan means a foretelling without denoting a specific person. N.C. sarma has mentioned depending on his redoubtable informant that although ĉāk has been projected as the son of Varahmihira, in fact he is not a historical entity, rather a tradition. The relationship between ĉāk and Varahmihira is not based on factual reasonings since Varahmihira is a historical entity and ĉāk is a legendary

77. Khuna Vacan (Pub.-Bani Bhandar) : Maxim no 32 (Ch.11) PP. 32-33
78. Ibid : Maxim no. 34 (Ch. 1), P.10
80. Acharya, B.C. : Professor & Head of the Deptt. of Oriya, Sambalpur University, Orissa, Quoted in ĉāk-Pravacan, P. 166.
Dāk could emerge as the son of Varahmihira only as the consequence of the conjecturing tendency of the folk psyche. From this information it becomes clear that at least a section of the folk society believes Dāk to be the son of Varahmihira which is a spectacular similarity with the tradition current in other regions of India.

Now then, coming to the conclusion about the analysis of Dāk supported by the data provided by K. Das, N. Malla and B. C. Acharya, it can be resolved that it (Dāk) is not the name of any individual person, rather is a tradition.

K. Das in his book has not mentioned anything about Khanā and Khanā-vacan. He however, in a different article81 written few years later mentioned about the sayings of Khanā which shows that he also recognises the currency of the sayings of Khanā simultaneously to the sayings of Dāk. Khanā is believed to have been a female so far the legends speak and she is known by another name Dhārika in some particular areas82.

In the Oriya legend however, the original name of Khanā is found to be Līlavatī although she is not at all popular by that name. It can be believed to have been another conjecture to achieve credibility to the sayings by implicating the name of Līlavatī. Because Līlavatī is believed to have been the daughter of the famous mathematician Bhaskaracharya of the 12th Century A.D. (1114-1185 A.D.) who wrote a book on arithmetic after her name. The style of writing of this book is also conversational being Līlavatī at one end participating in the conversation83. Although history does not recognise Līlavatī as a

82. Sarma, N. C : Op-cit, P. 166
83. Deka, Bhupati : Gaṇitār Kathō (First Edition) 1968
(Published by Assam Science Society), P. 50
mathematician still somehow she earned the fame in the folk society, may be, simply because of being the daughter of Bhaskaracharyya and her name being used in naming a book (of arithmetic) by the latter. Thus this very name Līlāvatī might have been used for the childhood period of the imaginary character Khanā like she being tried to associate with Varahmihira (6th century A.D.). Even projection of Khanā as a particular female astrologer could very well be the result of an etymological error what had been discussed in respect of the Bengali tradition.

Although D.C. Sircar had forwarded the explanation on Khanā (as an astrologer non-specific) in respect of the Bengali tradition, it may equally be applicable to the Oriya tradition also. Because the origin of the two languages are the same i.e., Sanskrit(O.I.A). The geographical location of the two provinces are also quite adjacent, hence easily open to cultural assimilation between the two. The legends regarding Khanā are also almost identical in the two traditions. Moreover these are the only two traditions where Khanā exists along with Dāk. Nowhere else Khanā exists.

Thus, while Khanā means an astrologer and Dāk means a foreteller, there remains hardly any major difference between the two nominative words so far the meaning is concerned. Then Khanā is none other than Dāk or vice-versa and none of the words denote a specific person. This analysis also aptly helps resolving the mystery in the name of the book "Bruhat Khanā Yacan Ḡā Dākruṣi Yacan" which is otherwise an incongruous name.

In some parts of Orissa, Khanā is also known by another name Dhārika. On the other hand, the Dāk-vacanas are also known by

84. Kindly see the Foot Notes No. 47 & 48 of this chapter.
another name dhaga\textsuperscript{85}. Although these two names definitely do not vindicate anything, still it may be believed that the word dhaga had emerged from the name Dhārika with the meaning "sayings of Dhārika", or 'Dhārika' from dhaga with the meaning 'one who speaks out the dhagas.'

It is therefore worth believing that the sayings of Dāk or of Khanā are only folk sayings like those prevalent in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Uttar pradesh, Rajasthan etc. and not the sayings of any distinct individual. The background of such sayings is the folk society. In later times only, the sayings have been associated with the fictitious characters like Dāk, Khanā or Dhārika\textsuperscript{86}.

According to K. Das the proverbs current in the Oriya folk society may be divided into few classes \textsuperscript{87} as:

(a) Dāk-vacan : Dāk-vacan includes the sayings about agriculture, weather, rain, astrology, folk-medicine etc.

(b) Chaṭā : The subject matter of Chaṭā is co-wives, worthless daughter-in-law, conjugal life, husband, son, etc.

Moreover K. Das has described with examples two other classes, viz. Miscellaneous and Maxims with no rigid distinction of subject-matter which may as well be Dāk-vacanas compared to other traditions, viz, the Assames tradition. The following examples will clarify the contention.

(1) Miscellaneous (Oriya) : coraku aḍuā cādni rāti/

\textit{dārīki aḍuā pua/\textsuperscript{88}}

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85. Sarma, N.C. & : Op-cit, P.166  \\
86. Acharya, B.C & : Quated by N.C. Sarma : Ibid. P. 166  \\
87. Das, K & : A study of Oriissan Folklore, P.29  \\
88. Das, K. & : Op-cit P.38
\end{tabular}
\end{flushleft}
\[\text{Dāk vacan (As):}\] core bhāl nedekhe candrar jyoti/ 
duṣṭā strīr nāi putrat rati\textsuperscript{89}

(2) Miscellaneous (Oriya): bhāngilā juali chhindile jot/ 
jhia male joi kāhire putā?/\textsuperscript{90}

\[\text{Dāk vacan (As):}\] bāi marā bhinihi, kathiyā marā kṛṣi.\textsuperscript{91}

3. Maxim (Oriya): alap ṭenṭā māipa khenṭā mathuā balad jār.\textsuperscript{92}

\[\text{Dāk vacan (As):}\] budhrā garur śūige bhār/ 
gharini nukharā po jujhār/\textsuperscript{91}

Thus the similarity between the Oriya Dāk-vacan (or Khana-vacan) and Assamese Dāk-vacan may be shown through the following comparison, eg.

1. Oriya: bhādrave cāri āśvine cāri 
kalāi ruibā kichhi nabhāri \textsuperscript{94}.

As: bhādrar cāri āhinar cāri/ 
māh bubā jimān pārī/ \textsuperscript{94(a)}

2. Oriya: šōla cāṣe mūlā, tāra ardheka tulā, 
tāra ardheka dhāna , binā cāṣe pānā.\textsuperscript{95}

As: šōlla cāṣe mūlā, tār ādhā tulā/ 
tār ādhā dhān, binā cāṣe pān/\textsuperscript{95(a)}

\textsuperscript{89} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.13 
\textsuperscript{90} Das, K. : Op-cit, P.39 
\textsuperscript{91} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.24 
\textsuperscript{92} Das, K. : Op-cit, P.38 
\textsuperscript{93} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.17 
\textsuperscript{94} Br̦uhat Khana Vacan : Bani Bhandar, Ganjam (hereafter called BKV.). P.16/Max 56 
\textsuperscript{94(a)} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.51 
\textsuperscript{95} B.K.V. : 1\textsuperscript{st}/Max, 5 
\textsuperscript{95(a)} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.234 (Appendix)
3. Oriya: 

ghar пәxe jamі bahuta acchә jәr ne yеte mane icchә/

cihna na cihna caʃә bhәі,nij gәwә garu kin yәі/

na dekhi garuku kinibu nahi,kinile kәndibu nәka fulәі96

As: 
gәor baɭadha nikatara bhui/

ihәk neʃribә jәnantә lәui //96(n)

Although many more such comparison may be shown ,still for
the interest of' brevity it has not been opted, for the above comparison
makes it evident that the maxims of Ḍәk of the Oriya tradition and of
the Assamese tradition are mostly the same in respect of text, texture,
context and theme.

In view of this, it can be concluded as done before in respect of
the Assamese and the Bengali tradition of Ḍәk, that the maxims of
Ḍәk (or of Khanә) in Orissa also emanated as a tradition from the
ever-concerned agrarian folk-society and not from a super intellect of
any individual Ḍәk or Khanә by name. As a tradition, it is not stipulated
to a particular period of time, rather still in force capable of composing
even newer maxims concerning the same society.

IV. The Maithil Tradition:

The maxims of Ḍәk are also very popularly prevalent in
Mithila. Without any difference in the name as in the Assamese tradition
and apparently without any confusion because of more than one entity
of the author unlike the other regional traditions, the stock of the sayings

96. B.K.V. : P.2 / Max. 6
96(a) Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.46
earn high esteem in the Maithil folk society for their utilitarian value containing astrological deliberations along with agricultural and domestic tips.

As in the other regional tradition, it has also been emphatically claimed that Đāk emerged in the Mithila region of Bihar, composed the said maxims in Maithili and earned widespread popularity for them. The height of esteem accorded to the maxims by the Maithil people irrespective of their social strata (i.e., folk and elite) and the apparent evidence of their oldest currency in their culture (that the maxims were found written on Tālpatra in Avahattha language and quoted in the books written around the 15th century) tend to prove that Mithila could be the place of origin of these maxims although they spreaded all over the northern belt of India later on.

Leaving now the question for a while as to who was Đāk or whether he was in fact an individual author, we would focus our attention on the question of his time of emergence. In the North Indian provinces Đāk has so deeply and widely been settled in the domestic life by the popularity of his agricultural and astrological sayings that it presents a very intricate problem in determining his time. There are different views in determining the time of Đāk.

According to Pandit Jivananda Thakur, the language of the Tālpatra manuscripts of Đākar-vacan is Avahattha. The famous book Kīrtilatā by the famous Maithil poet Vidyapati was also written in the same language. Although the Đāk-vacanas after few hundred years underwent a change in its language from Avahattha to Maithili mainly

98. Thakur, J. (ed.): Maithil Đāk (Đāk kā Paricay), Darbhanga, 1357 Sāl, P.4
99. Ibid : PP.4-6
100. Ibid : P.2
101. Ibid : P.8
because of its popularity in oral transmission, the antiquity of the maxims remains unimpaired. Therefore, on the strength of the Talpatra manuscripts it can be held that Dak, the author, of these maxims might have been contemporary to Vidyapati if not of an earlier period. But that assumption does not distinctly suggest the time of Dak rather presents a wide probable range of time spanning few hundred years.

Pandit Jivananda Thakur maintains that Harapatii Thakur, the son of the famous Maithil poet Vidyapati, enormously quoted the maxims of Dak mentioning his name in his book on practical astrology Vyavahāra Pradīpaka. Since the author Harapati Thakur happened to be the son of Vidyapati his time cannot go later than the beginning of the 15th century. Therefore, Dak's time of emergence obviously appears to be prior to the 14th century A.D.

Umesh Mishra decides the 16th century as the approximate time of emergence of Dak. But Thakur contradicts it saying that Mishra could so decide because he did not see the book Vyavahāra Pradīpaka by Harapati Thakur.

Another matter in this regard deserves attention. Pandit Chandeswar, the author of the Saptaratnakara quoted quite a good number of verses in Avahāṭhā language in his book on astrology 'Kṛtyacintāmani' and the names of the source books had been mentioned as Kṣapanaka Jātaka, Mṛga Samhitā, Kāpālika Jātaka etc. But these books, at least now are not available and therefore it is difficult to say firmly that these were in fact written in this (Avahāṭhā) language. Moreover, it is also very difficult to know the number of the

102. Ibid : PP. 4 & 11
103. Ibid : P 11
104. Ibid : P. 11
verses quoted from those books. Because, along with the verses in *Avahāṭṭha*, some Sanskrit ślokas had also been quoted which lead to surmise that these books were not written all through in *Avahāṭṭha*. In this situation the author J. Thakur gives to understand that the books were written in Sanskrit incorporating the quotations of *Avahāṭṭha* verses. So long the *Avahāṭṭha* books do not happen to be available, for the reason the verses not being quoted with mention of their composers, the names of the composers and the persons responsible for this omission must remain unknown. But so far the theme and language are concerned it is evident that the verses are synonymous to the sayings of Dāk. It is not strange that these verses were also sayings of Dāk, but either for their reputation (necessiating no mention) or omission committed by the authors, the name of the composer was dropped. Still it is established beyond doubt that quite a good number of astrological sayings were composed in *Avahāṭṭha* language before the *Krtyacintāmani* was written in the first half of the 13th century and Dāk happened to be one of those *Avahāṭṭha* writers. With this fact accepted, it appears to be authentic that since then (i.e., the 13th century or before) writings useful for day-to-day life of the masses came into wide publicity in the local style and language of Mithila.

Jaykanta Mishra, another Maithil folklorist opines in this respect:

*It is impossible to fix upon any date when he (Dak) flourished; all that can be said is that his aphorisms are quoted in some Maithila Mss. of Jyotīṣa śāstra in the 14th and 17th centuries.*

This opinion however appears in conformity to some extent with the one held by pandit Jivananda Thakur that has been discussed above.

105. Ibid : PP. 13-14
106. Introduction to the Folk Literature of Mithila (Part-I) : (University of Allahabad, 1950) P. 45.
Quoted from : *Dāk-Pravacan* by N.C. Sarma, P. 170
Apart from these literary evidences the popular legend about the birth of दाक current in the Mithila region likewise other regions is a considerable factor in this regard. According to the legend here also the famous astronomer Varahmihira was the father and a woman of the milkman community (who was not married to Varahmihira) was his mother. Therefore, the legend suggests the time of दाक to be in the 6th century. But none of the scholars mentioned above gives much weightage to the legend in determining the time of दाक for want of further convincing evidence, but has not totally discarded either. If the legend (or the tradition) is accepted as an authentic evidence, the time of दाक must have to be placed in the 6th century and then his aphorisms become the literary assets older than the बिंदुधा गृह ओ दोहा and consequently these aphorisms, and these aphorisms only emerge the claimant of the pride of being the oldest poetical composition of the entire northern India. Pandit Jivananda Thakur claims that some old ताल्पत्र manuscripts of दाक-वकनas collected by him reveal that the particular language structure in which the maxims were written is somewhat different from and older than that of किरिलात (by Vidyapati) which is just to have been so. But it is yet to be determined the time of these maxims conducting a comparative linguistic study of the बिंदुधा गृह ओ दोहा and these maxims by any linguist.107

Mentioning that Raibahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen decides the 10th century as the time of दाक, Jivananda Thakur maintains that on the strength of the evidences available with him it is evident that दाक emerged much before the 14th century and on the strength of the legendary evidence दाक can be said to be of the 6th century. But so

107. Thakur, J. : op-cit, P.12
long reasonable historical or literary evidence can not justify the claim it should be maintained that Ḍāk emerged before the 14th century. With this stand quite logically he refutes the decision arrived at by Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi that Ḍāk (Ghāgh) emerged during the reign of the great Mughal emperor Akbar(1542-1605 A.D.).

Thus, the time of Ḍāk being determined tentatively the next important question appears as to who was Ḍāk. According to the legend current in the Mithila region like the other regions of entire Northern India, Ḍāk was the son of the famous astrologer Varahmihira and of a woman of the milkman community. But for lacking historical conformity, the legend cannot prove Ḍāk as the son of Varahmihira and for that matter, quite reasonably none of the scholars discussing about Ḍāk and his sayings accredits the contention although it has formidable popularity in the folk society. Therefore Ḍāk as well as the sayings have not been tried to place in the 6th century A.D. following the time of Varahmihira. It is however interesting to note that pandit Jivananda Thakur found the following two maxims in the name of Ḍāk about plantation (Taru ropama) in a Tilpatra manuscript of the drama Vikramor바시यa written by Kalidasa, the literary genius of the Gupta age.

1. \(\text{\ि\ज\ी\ध\ा\न\ी\व\ं\व\ी\ि\व\ी\र\व\ी\र\्\त\श\र\व\्\स\text{\ँ\व\्\ल\ा\ट\र\े\ं\ा\ं\न}\text{\भ\ी\ल\्\ख\ा}\text{\ट\ा\न\ी\व}\text{\ं\न\ी\र\्\छ\श\र}\text{\न\ी\व}\text{\व\्\ल\text{\भ\ी\ल\्\ख\ा}\text{\ट\ा\न\ी\व}}}\)

\(\text{\ा\न\ी\व\ी\व\ू\न\े\व\text{\ं\न\ी\र\्\छ\श\र}\text{\न\ी\व}\text{\व\्\ल\text{\भ\ी\ल\्\ख\ा}\text{\ट\ा\न\ी\व}}}\)

and----

109. Ibid : P. 11
110. Tripathi R. N : Ghāgh \textit{Aur Bhaḍḍarī}, P. 24
111. Thakur, J. : Op-cit, P.6
Kayọ śriva iṣṭa śaktaśriva. Pratikūl śriva śaktaśriva.

Kalidasa's time has been determined within or around 350-415 A.D. Then the ostensible fact that Dak's sayings were quoted by Kalidasa in his drama should have led to the conclusion that Dak emerged prior to Kalidasa i.e., at least within the 4th century A.D. This assumption also clearly negates the legendary propagation that Dak was the son of the famous astrologer Varahmihira. However, the author (Pandit Jivananda Thakur) did not proceed to the conclusion to put Dak in a time prior to Kalidasa, rather he made no effort to persuade upon this fact which indirectly reflects his conviction that these quotations might be interpolation of a much later time, hence offer no testimony of the time of Dak.

Thus, discarding the proposition of Dak being the son of Varahmihira as propagated in the legend there remains no possibility to find out the personal identity of Dak so far the Maithil tradition is concerned. Finding no acceptable solution to the identity problem of Dak, Jaykanta Mishra calls him an enigmatic person. This much is believed by the leading Maithil scholars like Pir Md. Yusuf, Umesh Mishra, Jivananda Thakur etc, that Dak was a Maithil and according

112. Ibid : P. eight
113. Dandekar, R.N. : The Age of the Guptas and Other Essays, P. 114
114. Ibid : P. 145
115. Sircar, D.C. : Op-cit, Quoted in Dakar Vacan by D. Dutta, P. 162
to the tradition current in Mithila also Ḍāk was a wise man of the region\textsuperscript{117}.

Few vacanas are there incorporating the name of someone Balbira as the orator of them. For Example, in respect of grāmavāsa bicāra:-

\begin{quote}
uttare āgat kahihe thira.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
ḍakśīn kuśal kahae Balbira. \textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}

\vspace{1em}

and----

\begin{quote}
dakśīn so baha mulayanila,

madhya samaya jujhae Balbira. \textsuperscript{119} etc.
\end{quote}

Nothing has been discussed about this Balbira as to who was he. The legend about Ḍāk also does not speak anything about Balbira. Few things can however be speculated about him and these are mentioned below.

Firstly, Balbira could easily be a non-connotative proper name. So he could have been a different aphorist other than Ḍāk like Lalbujhakkad in the Uttar Pradesh tradition\textsuperscript{120}, but the reputation and popularity of Ḍāk had put him almost into oblivion.

Secondly, the word bal in almost all the regional languages apart from Sanskrit means "strength", "vigour", "might" etc. Therefore, he, who possesses much of vigour, strength, may be known as Balbira. We are reminded of a very common saying in Sanskrit: buddhīryasya balam tasya which means that "he who has intelligence, he has might". If instead of physical strength (or might) bal denoted merit, intelligence,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[117] Sarma, N.C: Ḍāk-Pravacan, P. 168.
\item[118] Thakur, J.: Op-cit, P. Seven
\item[119] Ibid: P. Forty one
\item[120] Tripathi, R.N.: Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍarī, PP. 22-23
\end{footnotes}
intelligence, then a wiser person might be known as "Balbir" and thus this nominative word might have been used to denote Ḍāk himself.

Thirdly, if the word Ḍāk meant any 'wise man', Balbir could have been one of such wise men predicting few things like Ḍāk and therefore, those maxims might get currency in his personal name along with the Ḍāk-vacanas.

With these speculations we must however admit that some astrological sayings of Balbira have got incorporated into the sayings of Ḍāk in the Maithil tradition.

Thus the personal identity of Ḍāk being hazy or obliterated against the legendary propagation, the interesting question comes up if Ḍāk was at all an individual author.

It is seen that almost all the notable Maithil scholars of astrology quoted Ḍāk with much reliability in support of their contentions while writing books on astrology of practical importance (i.e., predictive astrology). Harapati Thakur (Vyavahāra Pradipaka), Subhankar Thakur (Tithidbajdha Kirnārya) and the unknown author of Grāmavāsa Ḍivāra' are the authors who wrote books on astrology in the old Maithil script on Tālipatra (collected by Pt. J. Thakur) are the glaring examples of this. This feature of the Maithil astrological literature gives the impression that Ḍāk was the highest acclaimed astrologer scholar who composed verses on the subject and was widely followed by the subsequent authors. But in our analysis that does not necessarily project Ḍāk as an individual author. It is observed that the word Ḍāk in these books was used in the sense of 'wise'. Tentatively it can be accepted looking to the phonological derivation of the word

121. Thakur, J. : Op-cit, PP. 4-5
'Daːk'. In Sanskrit, the word 'daː' means 'sound'. Therefore, 'one' who makes the sound, or 'one who proclaims' is daːk. The oracle(s) who can predict the future is (are) 'daːk-puruṣa'. It can therefore be understood that the compound word 'daːk-puruṣa' was used as an adjective and not as a noun\textsuperscript{122}.

Like Assam, Bengal, Orissa etc. some similar aphorisms are current in Uttar Pradesh in the name of Ghāgh instead of Daːk. Pt. Jivananda Thakur maintains that Ghāgh is not the name of a single person, rather it is a communal name\textsuperscript{123} to denote the milkman community\textsuperscript{124}. But he fails to derive the meaning of the word Daːk in the same vein that Daːk instead of being a personal name could be a communal or class name to denote the astrologers or fortellers.

Again it is interesting to note that while quoting Daːk in their books, the Maithil authors (Harapati Thakur, Subhankar Thakur etc.) as found in "Visuddha Daːka-vacana\textsuperscript{125}" had prefixed the name with some conjunctive words such as atha, atra, iti (meaning 'here', 'now', 'thus' etc) and tatra, tatrāca, tathāca (meaning 'there', 'in that case also," as well as" etc.) which means that the sayings of Daːk were thus fitted there along with the common knowledge hailing the former ones as the verdicts of the wises. Sometimes, the sayings of Daːk, of course, confirms the common knowledge. In "Tithideśadha Nirṇaya" by Subhankar Thakur, Daːk had been quoted under the heading Sukhrātri bicāre daːka – tathāca bhāṣā\textsuperscript{126}, meaning 'Daːk as well as common knowledge in ascertaining the'pleasant night', i.e., the wise sayings and

\textsuperscript{122} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.192
\textsuperscript{123} Thakur, J. : Op-cit, P.3
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid : P.7
\textsuperscript{125} Written on Talpatra and incorporated in the 'Maithil Daːk' by Jivananda Thakur, PP. two, three, four, five, six, etc.
\textsuperscript{126} Thakur, J. : Op-cit, P. seven
the common knowledge are all the same here. Again, in the book on astrology Prakirṇa by name another heading is atha yuddhayojini, yathā bā ṭāk meaning 'Now the portents of war as per the common knowledge. as like the verdict of ṭāk' (i.e., the wise saying and the common knowledge are all the same here also)\textsuperscript{127}. Again in describing athadisā, presentation of a secondary saying under the heading apar gauḍiya prakāra (i.e., the other one, Gauḍiya variety) \textsuperscript{128} and the heading aparāṇca ṭāk (i.e., the other version of ṭāk) in phalaśruti, garbhāpatya jīnāsā etc, reveal that there were more than one person in the name of ṭāk and in more than one region. While the anthology of Maithil ṭāk-vacans recognises the Gauḍiya variety, it becomes evident that the Gauḍiya ṭāk was also a popular astrologer poet and thus there could have been and in fact there were, many more ṭāks in different regions revealing their wisdom in verses for the masses known as ṭāk-pravacan in later period.

The legend about the birth and death of ṭāk in the Maithil tradition is almost the same as that of the Assamese tradition except in one respect that while the Assamese ṭāk had his mother from the potter community, the Maithil ṭāk had her from the milkman community. This dissimilarity also focuses a similarity inasmuch as both the women hailed from so-called low castes in the social hierarchy.

Again like the Assamese ṭāk, the Maithil one also died of drowning at the age of twelve years. At the time of death the Assamese ṭāk said:

\[ \text{ṭāk mare āpon buddhi} \]

\[ \text{apaghāt mṛtyut terātri buddhi}^{129}. \]

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid : P. eight
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid : P.P.five & six
\textsuperscript{129} Sarma, N. C. : Op-cit, P.96
So also the Maithil Ḍāk said:

\[i \text{ janu bujhī ḍāk nirbuddhī}

\[nāśāhi kāl bināśāhi buddhī\].

From the above similarities it can easily be said that like the scholars of Assam, Bengal and Orissa, the Maithil scholars also have attempted to establish ḍāk as a scholar poet of Mithila on similar grounds. However one leading scholar has admitted that most probably the same person had been renowned as ḍāk in Mithila, as Ghāgh in other regions and as ḍaṅk in Rajputana. But he still insists that the names current in other regions do not present any evidence which can prevent ḍāk of being a Maithil nor such data of any kind are yet presented preventing any way ḍāk's Maithil entity.

Here, it will be befitting to present a comparison between few maxims of the Assamese and the Maithil traditions prepared by one scholar which may reveal similarities between the two.

1. As. \[tithi brddhiye suṣyuk īnēse/

\[ṛkṣā brddhiye tīl binōse//\]

Mai.: \[tithi baṅhāe to dhān naṅābae/

\[naṅṣyatra baṅhāe to dhān upaṅābae//\]

2. As. \[dhanar madhyat dhānya sobhan/

\[dhānya nahale mare tekhan//\]

Mai.: \[dhan me dhān āor dhān gāy./

\[kichu kichu sonā āor sab chāy//.\]

130. Thakur, J: Op-cit, P. 17
131. Ibid: P. 3
Furthermore, there are quite a good number of maxims bearing such kind of similarities.

It is pointed out that all the maxims of Dak current in Mithila are based on old Sanskrit literature. Therefore, there remains hardly any place for the claim of originality to Dak as the authors(s) of these maxims. What can be guessed in that case is that the Sanskrit language being unintelligible to the uneducated masses, the stock of learning and knowledge enshrined therein of the nature of practical interest for the domestic life, rolled down to the masses by translation into local, simple and intelligible language(s) by the learned few and extensively diffused through oral transmission before getting into written form few hundred years later. That is why perhaps some all pervading striking similarities in regard to form and content of the maxims and in the motifs of the legend regarding the birth (and also the death) of Dak are found right from Rajasthan to Assam encompassing the entire northern India. Thus, Dak is more worthbelieving as a tradition than a single individual author.

Although there is no entity of Bhadran as an aphorist in the Maithil tradition, still the existence of Bhadri is found as a listener to the sayings of Dak. Many of the sayings are addressed to Bhadri. It

134. Ibid : Pp. thirty eight, thirty nine, forty two, forty three, fifty etc.
seems to be the influence of the traditions current in the neighbouring folk-societies in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh etc, where Bhāḍḍārī himself was an aphorist. It is not known whether like the tradition current in Marwar (Rajasthan), Bhāḍdrī is a female in the Maithil tradition. In the other regions maintaining Bhāḍḍārī as an aphorist, there are legends about him or her. But nothing of the sort in the Maithil tradition. Hence, it is understood that these traditions gradually used to influence the Maithil tradition, as a result of which Bhāḍrī could come into being at least as a listener to Ṛk.

Of course, in few of the maxims, a king without any detail of his identity is also found as a listener to Ṛk. This might be an effort to enhance the credibility of the sayings, for, it can be guessed according to the assessment of a folk-society that what was said to a king was not ordinary matter.

The Style of Deliberation:

The style of deliberation of the maxims in the Maithil tradition in careful observation exhibits a perceptible course of its evolution. There are four kinds of maxims so far the style of deliberation is concerned.

(1) The first kind of the maxims are purely impersonal or unauthoritative i.e., without any mention of the author, e.g.,

\[ rabi maṅgal me nandikā, \]
\[ bhadrā me suṅkra candra/ \]
\[ budh me jayā guru riktā, \]
\[ sani purṇā ati manda/ \]

135. Ibid : P. forty five.
136. Ibid : P. sixteen
(2) The second kind is also almost of the same nature. Although they contain the word ḍāk, it is more suitable as an adjective of the sayings denoting its class (i.e., wise saying) than as the name of the author. In such maxims neither anybody is addressed nor anybody is explicitly deliberating e.g.,—

poyṣ amābas yadi paray sani rabi maṅgal din /

"ḍāk" anna mahāgī howae jalabinu talphay mīn // ¹³⁷

(3) In the third kind, ḍāk the orator, distinctly emerges, sometimes recognised by his community goār i.e., milkman, eg.

	tithi parimāṇaha sāthi daṇḍā /

	se lae karaha bāraha khaṇḍā //

	addā bhuddā kīrtika mūl /

bhānai ḍāk sabetā kare cūr //¹³⁸

Here the expression 'bhānai ḍāk' means 'Ḍāk says'.

4. The fourth kind mentions ḍāk as (he orator addressing a distinct listener Bhāḍri¹³⁹ and sometimes a king, e.g.

māgh dvitiyā candramā barṣā bijuli hoe /

"ḍāk' kahathi sunaha nṛpati annaka mahāgī hoe //¹⁴⁰

It is evident from these different styles of deliberation of the maxims that it (the style itself) underwent a process of evolution causing erroneous development of the concept of ḍāk. The adjective ḍāk got transformed to a proper name. Thus, by the delimited fabrication of the meaning of ḍāk, the illusory personality of ḍāk came into being

¹³⁷. Ibid : P. forty four
¹³⁸. Ibid : P. two
¹³⁹. Ibid : PP. thirty eight, thirty nine etc
¹⁴⁰. Ibid : P. forty five
and got illuminated as an oracle, in support of the legends created by the folkmind. In the process, the historical character like Varahmihira was also involved to achieve credibility which could mislead many to search for historicity of Dāk in vain.

The study of the style of deliberation offers greater conviction to maintain that Dāk instead of being an individual author was a tradition which transmitted the knowledge of the learneds to the masses through an informal process, but later on, of course erroneously named after a legendary personality which somehow managed to earn enormous popularity in the folk society.

V. The Bhojpuri Tradition:

The title of the discussion, unlike other traditions already discussed, has been named after the language the sayings had been composed in, keeping apparently no trace of present day provincial jurisdiction in it. The province of Bihar as it exists today by its name and territorial jurisdiction did not exist in the days till when the antiquity of the maxims of Dāk can be pushed to. The case is same with Uttar Pradesh also. The name of the language in which the folk-sayings are current in the name of Ghāgh, Bhaddar, Bhaddari, Dāk etc. in some parts of present day Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is Bhojpuri. Within Bihar also the Maithil tradition bears a distinction more prominent on the ground of language along with other things. This has therefore separately been discussed before as Maithil tradition. The region now under discussion was once known as the "Bhojpuri region" (Bhojpuri Kṣetra) perhaps after the name of the language current therein. The reason of the language holding as the basis of identification of the region can be
well understood from the contention of S. Tiwari that now it is not possible to authentically ascertain the territorial demarcation of the erstwhile Bhojpuri region. While some believe the Bhojpuri region as the congregation of the ancient cities of Malia, Bajji, Kasi and Karus, some Buddhist literatures describe it as the congregation of the cities of Sakya, Kouliya, Mourya, Buli, Kasi and Magga. The area so specified now is surrounded by Nepal in north, Orissa in south, Mithila in east and Chhattisgarh in the west. History is silent about any single political administration reigning over the entire region at any point of time, but it is the language i.e., the Bhojpuri language getting currency in the entire region. The Bhojpuri language originated from the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa is still current in Camparan, Cahabad, Caran, Raci and Palamu districts of Bihar, in Gajipur, Balia, Baranasi, Mirjapur, Jounpur, Ajamgarh, Gorakhpur and Basti districts of Uttar Pradesh and in Sarguja and most parts of Jaspur of Madhya Pradesh. Goging by this description it can be said beyond doubt that the erstwhile Bhojpuri region embraced the adjacent areas from at least three present day Indian provinces, viz., Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

The Bhojpuri language is considerably rich in folk-sayings, maxims, aphorisms etc. These maxims or aphorisms are generally believed to have been the sayings of Ghāğh, Bhaḍḍar, Bhaḍḍarī and Dāk as these are current in their names. Thus although four names come to the forefront for discussion, after scrutiny, only two of them stand with some distinction while the other two can be presumed only as variations of accent or pronunciation. To be more specific, Bhaḍḍar is the variation of Bhaḍḍarī and Dāk is the variation or simply another name of Ghāğh in Bihar which will be clear towards the end of the discussion.

141. Tiwari, S : Bhojpuri Lokoktiya. PP. 25-28, 231
Quoted by N. C. Sarma in Dāk-Pravacan, PP. 175-176
(i) Ghāgh :

According to one legend Ghāgh was a Dubey Brahmin. He flourished in the regime of Badshah Akbar and settled a village after his name which (i.e. the name of the village) although later on was obliterated, still the name of Pure-Ghāgh (i.e. the village of Ghāgh: in Sanskrit and some N.I.A. languages like Hindi, Bengali, Assamese also the word pur denoted a small town or village) is available in the old paper documents. It is believed that the people of Ghāgh's dynasty are still inhabiting there in that village. It is also told that Ghāgh's relations are now spreaded throughout the districts of Chapra and Gorakhpur wherein the present Deoriya district was merged with. Most probably somehow Ghāgh used to reside there. There is no detail information available regarding the life history of Ghāgh, but the legend regarding his daughter-in-law is widely known that she was a very intelligent woman and for composing counter-sayings to those of her father-in-law, the relation between the two turned bitter and strained 142. May be for that reason he (Ghāgh) had left his original home and resided somewhere in the district of Chapra or Gorakhpur wherein the people of his dynasty are still inhabiting, as they say. But the claim does not seem very trustworthy apparently, for, according to the legend itself even if Ghāgh had left his original home for Chapra or Gorakhpur he did so alone, and not along with his family members. Nor the legend speaks anything about his marriage there once again. Even the episode of his home leaving appears to be a mere make-belief. This episode and beliefs associated to it are however almost same as current in the tradition of Uttar Pradesh and hence discussed extensively later on in respect of the tradition available in Uttar Pradesh.

According to another legend however, Ṛāk born to a family belonging to the milkman community\footnote{143}. As mentioned above, here the apparent difference between the two names (i.e., Ghāgh and Ṛāk) should not mislead one to the confusion that they could be two different entities. The statement, "there are some other names of Ghāgh also in Bihar, Viz. Ḍāk, Khonā, Bhāḍ etc. Most probably this Bhāḍ is Bhaddarī,\footnote{144} is an important proof to project Ṛāk and Ghāgh as the same entity. Regarding the community of Ghāgh it is also difficult to say whether he was a Brahmin or a milkman. Since the experience encountered in the traditions of other regions like Assam, Mithila etc. are alike, it hardly remains an important question any more to proceed with. It can simply be said that the folk mind in different times and different regions might have attached him to the caste or community it preferred. On the other hand, his caste or community was tried to determine differently by different groups of people in relation to the caste of his father as well as of mother if he was born of an inter caste relation (the relation can not appropriately be called a marriage). In the light of the statement given by R.N. Tripathi\footnote{145}, the data about Bhaddarī give credence to such a possibility.

(i) Bhaddarī:

No definite information is available as to who was Bhaddarī and when and where did he born. The legend simply says that he was the son of a Brahmin father and a milkmaid mother. His name arouses doubt to the fact that he could be a member of a higher caste. He composed many perceptible sayings mostly about rain and monsoon which appeared to be true. Now a community has emerged after the name of Bhaddarī, who on the basis of the sayings of Bhaddarī

\footnotesize
143. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.177  
144. Tripathi, R.N : Ghāgh ayr Bhaddarī, P.26  
145. Kindly see foot note no. 144
predicts about rain and monsoon. Most of the people of this community live in the district of Gorakhpur.\textsuperscript{146} within the present day province of Uttar Pradesh in the close vicinity.

Now comming to the problem posed by the plurality of names (i.e., \textit{Ghāgh}, \textit{Dāk}, \textit{Bhadḍār}, \textit{Bhadḍāri} etc.) it can be said that how much clumsy may it be it is neither unprecedented nor impossible to slove. It has already been seen in the Bengali tradition in the form of co-existence of \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Khanā} and so also will be seen in the Rajasthani tradition the co-existence of \textit{Danīk} and \textit{Bhadḍālī}. While it is broadly thematic divisions in the Bengali tradition categorising the agricultural sayings as the sayings of \textit{Khanā} and the astrological ones as the sayings of \textit{Dāk},\textsuperscript{147} so also in Bihar, mostly the agricultural sayings together with some sayings about morality belong to \textit{Ghāgh} and the sayings about rain (or monsoon) belong to \textit{Bhadḍārī} \textsuperscript{148}. But agriculture and rain (monsoon) being very closely related for the agrarian folk and as matters of prime concern in fact are quite unlikely of being two so widely separated matters attracting two or more different authorities for their treatment or culture. Instead, it was quite likely for a single authority to culture both the matters to achieve the totality of the concern. This speculation appears almost as a reality in the fact that even the sayings of \textit{Bhadḍārī} are also popularly current in the name of \textit{Ghāgh}.\textsuperscript{149} This means that in spite of two separate identities of \textit{Ghāgh} and \textit{Bhadḍārī} the entity was the same and one. Therefore, the same process as in the Bengali tradition, can be understood to have been at work in developing more than one imaginary personalities as the composers of the sayings. All these speculations are however brought

\textsuperscript{146} Upadhyay, K.D : Op-cit, PP. 443-446
\textsuperscript{147} Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, P.25
\textsuperscript{148} Supra: Foot Note No. 35 of this chapter.
\textsuperscript{149} Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, P.10
\textsuperscript{150} Tripathi, R.N. : Loc-cit.
to a finality by the same author holding that this plurality of names does not mean plurality of personages.150

Apart from Ghāgh and Bhaḍḍarī there is however another name Sahadev Joshi, who predicted the consequences of wind blowing from different directions. K.D. Upadhyay has convincingly pointed out the similarity of the sayings of Sahadev Joshi both in respect of nature and content with those of the sayings of Ghāgh 151.

Now coming to the scrutiny of the very name Sahadev Joshi, it can be easily said that he could be a folk astrologer since the title 'Joshi' denotes the astrologer community in Rajasthan 152. Dak or Ghāgh wherever is found, apart from having other expertise he is particularly an astrologer. It is pointed out that the oracle who can predict the future is dāk-puruṣ.153 and the sayings or proclamations of an astrologer are the sayings of Dak 154. Likewise, Ghāgh also means the same thing 155. Therefore, Sahadev Joshi could be one of the dāk-puruṣas.

Apart from the Bhojpuri tradition the name of Sahadev as a dāk-puruṣ proclaiming some aphorisms are found also in the Haryani tradition156 as well as in the Rajasthani tradition,157 of course without the denominative 'Joshi'. It can therefore be understood that side by side of Ghāgh and Bhaḍḍarī, Sahadev was also one of the dāk-puruṣas in the North Indian belt.

A simple reading of some of the folk sayings current in the names of Ghāgh, Bhaḍḍar, Bhaḍḍarī and Dak in the Bhojpuri region
of Bihar would reveal their affinities to the sayings current in other regions. Some sayings of such nature have been presented below.\footnote{158} 

1. ādī na barase ādrā, hastā na barase nidan.

\begin{center}
\textit{kahe ḍāk suni bhillaī, bhaye kīsān pīsān."
\end{center}

2. māgh barase sabāi, phāgun barase gawai

3. kāmkare mausā, bhoj pāre labār.

4. jatanā taḍi otane barası.

5. sāwan śuklā saptamī chipke uge bhān/

\textit{tab tak meghā barase, jab tak dev uthān/}

6. dhan u rājā dhan u deś, jahawā barase aghan ses. etc.

The above sayings current in Bihar (i.e., the Bhojpuri region) present spectacular similarities with the sayings current in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Mithila etc. in respect of theme, structure and spirit. Moreover, according to a legend in the Bhojpuri tradition, ḍāk was also born in a family belonging to the milkman community.\footnote{159} Therefore, it can be concluded that the tradition of ḍāk prevalent in Bihar (i.e., Bhojpuri region) is no way different one from those current in Assam, Bengal, Mithila, Orissa etc.

\section*{VI. The Tradition in Uttar Pradesh:}

In Uttar Pradesh also both in the Bhojpuri region and beyond that too, the sayings of Ghāgh are immensely popular amongst the rural folk, and for that matter, have caught the attention of the learned.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item Also kindly see PP. 70-86; quoted by N.C. Sarma in \textit{Ḍāk-Pravacan}, P176
\item \textbf{159.} Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P. 177
\end{itemize}
scholars to a significant proportion. Although Ghāgh and Ḍāk sound different they mean basically the same thing—"a wise"\textsuperscript{160}

Enough have been investigated about Ghāgh by different individual scholars although the resolutions are neither the same in all the cases nor any of them is acceptable. Ram Naresh Tripathi in his book Ghāgh ayr Bhāḍḍārī has reported quite a good number of such investigations by different scholars along with some stray beliefs current in the folk society apart from his own investigative findings.

1. Siva Singha in his Saroj has written that Ghāgh born in Kāņyakubja (Kanouj) in the Sambatsar year of 1753. He has further written that his (Ghāgh's) dohā, sappay, folk sayings as well as the moral sayings are remarkably upheld in the daily conversations of the rural folk\textsuperscript{161}.

2. Misrabandhu in his Vinod and Rai Bahadur Babu Mukundalal Gupta 'Visharad' in his Keśiratnāvalī have written that Ghāgh was born in 1753 and composed verses in 1780 (Sambatsar year). The profound sayings on morality were revealed there in forceful folk language\textsuperscript{162}. Guptaji however specifies Ghāgh's caste as milkman and birth place somewhere within the Kanpur district.

3. The editor of Hindi Śabda - Sāgar has mentioned that Ghāgh is the name of a very clever (intelligent) and sensible person. Many proverbs (Kahāwate) spoken by him are famous in northern India.

\textsuperscript{160} (i) Ibid : P. 194
(ii) Ibid : PP. 193-194, Quoted from Bhārgav Ādarśa Hindi Śabda Koś.
(iii) Kindly see the analysis of the 2nd style of deliberation of the maxims in the Maithil Tradition, P. 63
(iv) Sirvcar, D.C. : Op-cit, P. 162
\textsuperscript{161} Tripathi, R.N. : Ghāgh ayr Bhāḍḍārī, P. 13
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid : P. 13 & P. 18 respectively.
The unique sayings spoken by him about cultivation, agricultural seasons and auspicious moments had been used to speak (rather applied) by the farmers as well as the common folk 163.

4. It is written in the Bhāratīya Caritāmbudhi that he (Ghāgh) was born in 1696 and used to reside in Kanouj 164.

5. With careful observation on the vocabularies of the sayings of Ḍāk, Pir Mohd. Moonish maintains that it is worthholding that Ḍāk emerged in somewhere among Oureyamath or Bairganiya and Kurwa Sainpur or in some other unspecified border village towards the north of Camparan and Muzaffarpur districts, or he might have born in some nearby village of Camparan or he might have resided in this area for sometime coming from somewhere else.165

6. According to Kapileswar Jha, Ghāgh was Varahmihira's son born to an unacquainted milkmaid resulting from one nights courtship that incidentally took place on his taking shelter for the night with the family on his way to the king's place 166, remarkably resembling the Assamese legend.

But the author comments that this legend is current about the birth of Bhaddarī also167 with slight variation 168 that while once on pilgrimage finding an auspicious moment ahead on astrological calculation that a child then born would become a great scholar in mathematics and predictive astrology,Varahmihira himself wanting to beget such a son, returned for home at Ujjain. But for the distance seeing the impossibility to reach in time, on the way he married a

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163. Ibid : P.13
164. Ibid : P.13
165. Ibid : P.13
166. Ibid : P.18. Quoted from Viśal Bhārat, 1928
167. Tripathi : Loc-cit
milkmaid and begot a son in time Bhaddari or Bhaddali by name who emerged as the teller of all astrological sayings.

7. B.N. Mehta writes in his Yuktaprānta Kṛṣi Sambandhi Kahāwate that there are some derisive sayings on women in the name of Ghāgh.

R.N. Tripathi further says that Raja Sahib of Pedrourna (of Gorakhpur district) as the President of the Reception Committee of the Annual Conference of Hindi Sahitya Sanmelan claimed in his welcome address that Ghāgh was a resident of his kingdom, only to prove futile.170.

Following Sivasingha-Saroj the author once maintained in his Kavitā - Koymudī (part -I) that Ghāgh was born in the Saṃvat year 1753 and was a resident of Kanouj although nothing about his life span nor about the relatives were ascertainable 171.

The opinions mentioned above lead one to hold Ghāgh as a resident of any of the districts of Kanouj, Gonda, Camparan, Gorakhpur and Kanpur. Moreover some varied floating beliefs go that Ghāgh was a resident of Fatehpur, Raibarili and Chapra districts as well. But for being annoyed by the daughter-in-law he left for Kanouj. 172

On investigation in all these places mentioned above the author, as he claims, found a positive information about the linkage of Ghāgh only to Kanouj that he lived there in a village which is known as Choudhury Sarāy. Even he (the author) was given to understand that Ghāgh's descendants have been still inhabiting there who identify themselves as Dubey Barhmins. The belief current there goes like that

169. Ibid : P.18
170. Tripathi : Loc-cit
171. Ibid : P.19
172. Tripathi : Loc-cit
at the beginning Ghāgh was a resident on the bank of the Ganges (Gaṅgāpār). He served the emperors Humayun and Akbar respectively as a member of their royal courts. On satisfaction of his service Akbar, offering him few villages with the designation Choudhury asked him to settle a village after his own name. Thus Ghāgh himself settled the village naming it as Ākbarābād Sarāy Ghāgh which even today is mentioned as Sarāy Ghāgh in Government documents. However for his new found designation Choudhury, his village has also become known as Choudhury Sarāy. The location of the village is one mile southward of the Kanouj city and three furlongs westward of the Kanouj railway station.

The name of this particular village with the legend behind as mentioned above, and apparent identification of the people claiming to be the descendants of Ghāgh although have convinced the author about Ghāgh’s emergence, settlement, life-span and caste (as Dubey Brahmin) making him enthusiastic to advise others to rectify any misconception in this respect whatsoever, are not so credit-worthy since these features are also available in other traditions. For example, the Assamese tradition speaks of Lehideaṅgarā as the village of Ḍāk and people claiming to be Ḍaṅk’s descendants are also available in Rajasthan known as Ḍaṅkot. Likewise, his arguments to establish Ghāgh as a resident of Avadh or Kanouj on the strength of the intense and widespread currency of the sayings there compared to any part of Bihar and Yuktapranta (U.P) has been aptly refuted by Jivananda Thakur pointing out to the publication of all the three parts of Ḍāk

173. Ibid : PP.19-20
175. Tripathi, R. N. : Op-cit: P. 20
176. Thakur, J. (ed.) : Maithil Ḍāk, P.6
*vacanāmrt* compiled by Kapileswar Jha twenty five years ahead of Tripathi’s claim. Tripathi however holds the correct view that the maxims are current in the lips of the farmers and they in each district have moulded them in their own dialects. Therefore, from the language of the maxims it is not possible to determine the birth place of *Ghāgh* 177.

Apart from this, there is again another legend current in the folk society about the competition between *Ghāgh* and *Lālbujhakkaḍ*. It is said that *Lālbujhakkaḍ* lived in a village quite face to face of the village where in *Ghāgh* lived keeping the Ganges in between. However the residential place of *Lālbujhakkaḍ* has been ascertained with some certainty that he used to reside in the district of Farusabad in Uttar Pradesh178. *Lāl* was his real name and the *Bujhakkaḍ* designation came later to him. *Ghāgh* was highly respected by his villagers for his intelligence, deep senses and ready-wit. *Lālbujhakkaḍ* could not stand the fame and reputation *Ghāgh* used to receive from the villagers. He therefore tried by all out efforts to exaggerate his wisdom pretending that he understood everything what he was approached for by the simpleton villagers everytime seeing a new phenomenon. That was his strategy to earn and maintain his reputation. There are quite a good number of examples but one should suffice to understand the situation. Once one villager saw some foot prints of an elephant on the road and he was surprised thinking what that could be. He went to *Lālbujhakkaḍ* and the latter like an omniscient replied quickly:

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177. Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, Pp. 20-21
178. Tripathi, R.N : *Hamārā Grām Sāhitya*, P.265, Quoted by K.D. Upadhyaya in his *Lok Sāhitya ki Bhūmikā*, P. 199
Thus showing the vanity of his wisdom Lalbujhakkad tried to earn the reputation like Ghagh. But today we see Ghagh as an well-wisher of the farmers giving useful advices and Lalbujhakkad joking with his nonsense snobbery. Lalbujhakkad however, has become immortal competing with Ghagh⁷⁹.

Tripathi’s contention about the time of Ghagh’s emergence within 1542-1605 A.D, on contemporaneity to Emperor Akbar and few years ahead of that as per the claim of Ghagh’s descendants for his being associated with Emperor Humayun also⁸⁰ does not hold good, for :-

(1) Uncertainty of Ghagh’s parental home before settling in Saray-Ghagh, since “Gaṅgāpār” as said, does not indicate any specific place ⁸⁰(a).

(2) The geographical distance between the capital of Akbar (i.e., Delhi) and Ghagh’s new estate in Saray-Ghagh in Kanouj of about 250 KMs. (aerial distance ) ⁸¹ being unconvincing for any one to travel daily to attend the royal court;

¹⁷⁹. Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit. PP. 22-25
¹⁸⁰. Ibid : P. 124
¹⁸⁰(a) Tripathi : Loc-cit.
(3) Absence of Ghāgh's name from the list of the members of Akbar's Dorbar (royal court)\(^{182}\) and the list of persons receiving patronage or at least admiration for literary talent and scholarship from the emperor Akbar\(^{183}\).

(4) Want of any remarkable poetic works as court-poet or royal poet, because the sayings are only oral, scattered and meant for unlearned folk;

(5) Want of admiration of the patron emperor(s) in the text of the sayings;

(6) Want of political metaphor, simile etc. in the sayings as they should have been plenty for his being associated with politics of a royal court;

(7) Want of any mark of religious orthodoxy in the sayings since Ghāgh was known and ultimately had to withdraw from the royal court for that, as his so called descendants claim\(^{184}\); and

(8) Want of any mark of his bitterness with the emperor in the sayings since apart from withdrawal from the royal court, most part of his estate was also confiscated for his religious orthodoxy as they say.\(^{185}\)

Therefore, Ghāgh's association with emperors Akbar and

\(^{182}\) Kathbarua, M.L., Phukan, N., Das, H. & Duttabarua, D : Bhāratar Burañji (Guwahati, 1979) PP. 52-53
\(^{184}\) Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit. P. 20
\(^{185}\) Tripathi : Loc-cit
Humayun is a story concocted with a view to attach credibility to his entity similar to the one associating him with Varahmihira.

Jivananda Thakur argues that Ghagh is instead of a personal name, rather the name of a community. Since Dāk is known to have hailed from the milkman community, the name of the particular village Saray-Ghagh may mean 'a village inhabited by the milkman community,' and not any estate owned by any individual. Further the Hindi word 'saray' means 'an inn' and Ghagh means 'very clever' or 'very cunning.' Therefore, Saray-Ghagh instead of meaning 'an inn owned by a clever man or so, or going by the contention of J. Thakur 'an inn owned by a milkman,' has no scope to mean 'an estate owned by any individual Ghagh by name.' Thus, the episode of Saray-Ghagh and Ghagh's association with the emperor Akbar appears only to be a make-belief.

Above all these observations and arguments a detail comparison between the traditions of Ghagh and Dāk (of Assam) drawn by a learned scholar has convincingly established their spectacular similarity in respect of the legends concerned, theme, text, context and structure of the sayings, of course along with their regional variations in language. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that the same kind of

186. Majthil Dāk : PP. (3) & (7)
187. Hindi Asamiyā Koṣa [Asom Rāṣṭrābhāṣā Pracār Samiti, Guwahati (undated)]
188. (a) Bhārgava Ādāra Hindi Śabda Koṣa:
   Quoted by N.C. Sarma in Dāk-Pravacan, P. 193
   (b) Hindi'Asamiyā Koṣa (A.R.P.S./Guwahati). P.178
sayings are current in Assam, Bengal, Bihar etc. as Dak-pravacan and as Ghagh-pravacan in Uttar Pradesh.\textsuperscript{190}

Comparison of few sayings from both the traditions will justify the contention emphatically. The comparison has been in fact done by N.C. Sarma\textsuperscript{191}.

1. \textit{Dak} (AS)

\begin{verbatim}
 pānir ghāṭak ekale jāi/
cale caṇḍe purusar mukh cāi/
kātikuti kari darasaṅye piṣhi/
bolanta dāke tāir duska drṣṭi/
krṣṇabarna nāri jadi kudātā hoy/
sarbadāy tār pāsaṅda ārṇnay/
\end{verbatim}

\textit{Ghagh :}

\begin{verbatim}
 paramukh dekhi apon mukh gowoi/
curi kankan besari towoi/
ācar tāri ke peṭ dikhawoj/
ab kā chināri ḍaṅkā bajāwe/
\end{verbatim}

2. \textit{Dak} :

\begin{verbatim}
dakhine garje pube barise
pacime diye dhenu/
dāke bole parbbat burāe jāno/
\end{verbatim}

\textit{Ghagh :}

\begin{verbatim}
pūraba dhanuhi pacchim bhān/
ghāgh kahoi barakāh niyarān/
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{190} Ibid
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid
3. Dak : \textit{srāvan māsat rohini ṛksyat yadi nabarise deva/}
\hspace{1cm}\textit{hāl tul beci kar sab lok devi mahādeva seva//}

\textit{Ghāgh} : \textit{sāvan mās bahui purbū/}
\hspace{1cm}\textit{barada bencī liha dhenu gāī/ etc.}

The sayings of \textit{Ghāgh} like the sayings of \textit{Dāk} also can be classified into different thematic divisions such as agricultural, astrological, moral, about house-wife, about rain etc. The sayings of both the traditions are therefore quite plausible to have originated from the same source and in the same background resultantly bearing the uniform features.

VII. The Rajasthani Tradition:

The tradition of \textit{Dāk} is also prevalent in Rajasthan. The Rajasthani \textit{Dāk-vacanas} known in local language as \textit{Kahdwate} particularly concern with rain and agriculture. This tradition also bears the problem of multiple names of author of the sayings. The names thus found are \textit{Ghāgh}, \textit{Bhadārī}, \textit{Bhadālī} (\textit{Bhadīlī}), \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Dāṅk}.

The Rajasthani legend of \textit{Ghāgh} is all the same with the Bhojpuri legend\textsuperscript{192} telling about his association with Mughal emperors Humayan and Akbar and settlement of the village \textit{Sardy-Ghaghin (A)}

The legend about \textit{Bhadārī} also in the Rajasthani tradition mostly resembles the Bhojpuri legend\textsuperscript{193} with minor variations that the

\textsuperscript{192} Supra : Foot Note No. 173
\textsuperscript{192(a)} Sahal, K.L. : \textit{Rājasthāni Kahdwate : Ek Adhyayan} (Delhi, 1958). P. 247

\textsuperscript{193} Supra : Foot Note No. 168
scholar belonged to Kāśī in stead of Ujjain, that he was an unnamed Brahmin instead of Varahmihira, that the family offering him shelter is believed to belong to gadriyā (sheep-keeper) community simultaneously to milkman community and instead of a marriage taking place, the housewife (i.e., already married) volunteered for extra-marital courtship\textsuperscript{194}. However, Swami Narottam Das holds that Bhaddarī was a female and the son of the milkman was not Bhaddarī but Đāk\textsuperscript{195} like one version of the Bhojpuri legend\textsuperscript{196}.

Further another version of the legend with minor variations\textsuperscript{197} in naming the scholar as Varahmihira and his place of residence as Ujjain, his context of being away from home as pilgrimage, mentioning the community of the female character involved as gadriyā and for she being a spinster Varahmihira having to perform a casual marriage, presents the same theme. This version claiming Bhaddarī as the son of Varahmihira resembles mostly another version of the Bhojpuri legend\textsuperscript{198}, while about the Bhojpuri Ghāgh and the Assamese Đāk\textsuperscript{200} also almost the same legend is in currency. But the language of the sayings however does not present a specimen as old as that of the sixth century when Varahmihira flourished\textsuperscript{201}. This legend therefore can not be held as trustworthy\textsuperscript{202}.

\begin{itemize}
\item 194. Sahal, K.L. : Op-cit : P. 247
\item 195. Sahal : Loc-cit
\item 196. Supra : Foot Note No. 166
\item 197. Sahal : Loc-cit
\item 198. B.N. Mehta quoted by R.N. Tripathi in 'Ghāgh Ayr Bhaddarī, PP. 25-26
\item 199. Supra : Foot Note No. 166
\item 200. Supra : Foot Note No. 5
\item 201. Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, P.26
\end{itemize}
The belief about Bhaddalī goes in Rajputana that she was a physically handicapped women and an expert omen-reader. Her husband Đākṛṣi or Đāṅk, a Brahmin by caste, was well learned in astrology. The exchange of knowledge between them concerning both the disciplines are now found in a book called Bhaddalī-Purāṇ203.

Observing the abundant use of Marwari vocabularies in the common peoples language of Bihar and Uttar-Pradesh in the text of the sayings and the gender difference of Bhaddarī in both the traditions, R.N. Tripathi maintains that there were two different Bhaddarīs or one single Bhaddarī had settled in Marwar before composing the sayings going there from Yukta-Prānta (i.e., U.P) 204. Neither of the propositions are tenable since the language of any folk-literature in course of its oral transmission generally grasps the vocabularies from different language of the regions it pervades through. Moreover, had there been two different Bhaddarī(s) or Bhaddalī(s) in two different regions, the sayings would also have been composed in two different languages. But apart from some vocabularies of two or three regional varieties, the language of the sayings are basically one. This is the obvious consequence of oral transmission of the sayings before reduced to writing.

The gender difference of Bhaddarī between the two traditions has been resolved by Swami Narottam Das as the result of a misconception that Bhaddarī (or Bhaddalī), the name of a female in Rajasthan had been misconceived as that of a male in the Yukta-Prānta perhaps for the sayings resembling those of Đāṅk, another male. Further he maintains that the Rajasthani practice in proverbial

203. Ibid : PP. 247-248
204. Ibid : P.248
compositions in general, and in the sayings of Daṅk in particular is that the name of the addressee is mentioned in the text instead of the author, although we have found plenty of exceptions to this practice. According to him however, seeing alone the name of Bhaḍḍārī, the addressee in the sayings, she had been erroneously regarded as the author of the competence and popularity more than justification. Thus the addressee or the listener has been transformed to the author and a female to a male. This resembles reversely the transformation of Khanā to a female astrologer in the Bengali tradition. However, few sayings with the phrase kaha Bhaḍḍārī (i.e., Bhaḍḍārī says) distinctly indicate that Bhaḍḍārī also composed few such sayings being inspired by the company of her learned husband Daṅk. The legend current in Rajasthan says that Bhaḍḍārī by herself was very talented woman to compose the sayings who notwithstanding physically handicapped could impress upon the learned Daṅk to marry her by her talent of weather prediction. The legend goes thus:

While once Daṅk was on austerity, a severe draught occurred. On being repeatedly asked Daṅk could not tell the people about the clouds raining. When Daṅk asked Bhaḍḍālī if she knew anything in this concern, Bhaḍḍālī offered to tell on condition of her marriage to him. Daṅk also agreed on condition of the prediction coming true. She predicted that on the day of

205. Ibid : P.248
206. Supra : Foot Notes no. 47 & 48
207. Sahal : Loc-cit

Daṅk's return from the village, the cloud would rain so torrentially that the water level would reach the branches of the trees. The prediction came true and Daṅk married Bhaḍḍalī accordingly208.

It is noteworthy that slight orthographic difference in respect of the name of Bhaḍḍarī appearing also as Bhaḍḍali, Bhaḍḍī etc. felt insignificant and therefore ignored.

About Daṅk and Daṅk, it is observed that in the sayings the name of the author mostly found is Daṅk and not Daṅk. The name of Daṅk is however still traceable from the following factors.

(1) The beggar community called Daṅkot, inhabiting in Rajasthan and known as petty-astrologers claim themselves as the descendants of Daṅk209. The word 'daṅkot is no doubt a corrupt form of the term daṅk-putra (son of Daṅk) which means the descendants of Daṅk210.

(2) Sanskrit ślokas were also composed in Rajasthan centering Daṅk and not Daṅk in respect of astrology which vindicate the antiquity as well as the popularity of Daṅk. The book Meghamālā written by a Jain scholar contains one of such ślokas which goes thus:

\[
gaganasya chalagṛāhī purā daṅkabhīdho dwija / 
bhaḍḍyā nijbhaṛyyāyā : puro jyotisamabrabī //
\]


Loc-cit. Reffered to by Saslri, N.D. in Rājasthānī Meghamālā granthata Daṅk-Prasasti in Kālpurus (As. magazine) IIlyr. Vol. IX, June, 1983 (Guwahati), P.29
In ancient time a Brahmin astrologer, दाक by name explained astrology to his wife भाद्दली. Various important astrological places were explained to her. One who is brilliant and attains command over these, definitely would earn reputation and prosperity. —

(3) Quite a good number of दाक-भाद्दली sayings have been quoted in the Sanskrit book entitled Jyotisa-Rahasya (Mystery of Astrology) written by Sri Lokahitacarya.

These data may reveal a credible identity of दाक in the Rajasthani folk tradition although the very name is not found in the sayings as such. The reason behind this phenomenon can be ascertained in the time factor. In olden time when the Sanskrit language swayed the verbal expression then the name was दाक, but in later period when the regional language derived from Sanskrit itself came into place, the word दाक got transformed to दानक. Our contention stands in conformity with the opinion of another learned scholar:

There is no doubt that Dank is the same as Dak of East India. It is well known that Hindi and the allied languages generally represent Dakini as Dankini.

212. Ibid : Pp.29 & 36
Therefore, Ḍāṅk and Ḍāk being different forms of the same nominative word bear no significant difference except in pronunciation. That is why Ḍākot community of Rajasthan claim themselves as the descendants of Ḍāṅk as well simultaneous to the descendants of Ḍāk.216

It is already said above that as per the Rajasthani belief Ḍāṅk was a Brahmin saint. Moreover he is believed to have been a talented mathematician and astrologer as well as the husband of Bhaḍḍāḷī alias Savitri, the daughter of the great physician Dhanvantari. Further, he flourished in the age of king Pariksita of the Mahabharata fame. Another belief holds Ḍāṅk as the son of the reputed astrologer Varahmihira most alike the other regional traditions associating Ḍāk and Ghāgh as well as Bhaḍḍārī in the same relationship. All these popular beliefs however have been discarded as absurd since the contemporaneity of king Pariksita, Dhanvantari and Varahmihira does not hold good.218 It can only be believed that simply to attach credible antiquity and sublimity to the Ḍāṅk-Bhaḍḍāḷī tradition, these three names have been associated.219

While the Rajasthani tradition uphold Bhaḍḍāḷī as a female and the wife of Ḍāṅk, there are scholars who do not believe in the said relationship and even in the gender difference either. Rather they say that Ḍāk, Khonā, Bhāḍ etc. are just some other names of Ghāgh with

216. Supra : Foot Notes No. 209 & 210
217. Sircar : Loc-cit
218. Sircar : Loc-cit
Déṅk, Bhāḍḍārī and Bhaḍḍālī etc. being their regional variations 220. Just like Déṅk, Ghāgh and Khonā denoting 'wise', 'clever', 'foreteller' 'astrologer' etc. in different regional lingual traditions, there is reason to believe that Bhaḍḍālī or Bhaḍḍālī also in the Rajasthani tradition denotes 'an astrologer', and for that matter the entire community as a whole, also known by the other terms like Déṅkot, Gurḍe, Thāvāriyā, Śānichariyā, Diśāntari and Joshi (Jyotiśī) as well. The same community is known as Bhāḍurī or Bhaḍḍārī (Bhaḍrī) in Uttar Pradesh. Then the words Khonā and Bhaḍḍālī meaning 'an astrologer' in general, were popularly, rather erroneously conceived as the names of particular female astrologers married to Varaha's son Mihira in Bengal, Déṅk in Rajasthan and Ghāgh in Uttar Pradesh. Hence, all these names as well as the presumed relationship are only fictitious without the least of historicity. 221

Having to accept that Déṅk or Ghāgh denote certain community instead of certain individual, it appears unreasonable to accept as demanded by different scholars that he, the presumed individual, resided in different places like on the bank of the Ganges222 or some-where in Rajasthan223 or elsewhere. These beliefs rather tend to establish Déṅk as a tradition cherished by the folk of these places as their own. Moreover, other than Déṅk, Ghāgh, and Bhaḍḍālī some other names of such aphorist are found in the Rajasthani tradition. They are Bhīm224,


221. Sircar, D.C. : Op-cit, PP.164-165

222. Supra : Foot Note No. 173

223. Supra : Foot Note No. 192

Jadíyā\textsuperscript{225}, Dome\textsuperscript{226}, and Sahadev \textsuperscript{227} etc. In view of this fact it can be said that the Rajasthani folk sayings particularly about rain and agriculture are not the composition of any single author. They are at the most, the compositions of a group of astrologers and foretellers. In the sayings they often indentified themself by their professional identity as Đańk or Ghāgh or Bhađdalī (i.e., an astrologer) and sometimes by their personal names and some of them even evaded identifications. This evasion of identity by some of the authors being a special feature demands a little detail discussion.

Although the general practice of the Rajasthani sayings is to formulate them in the form of an address and to incorporate the name of the addressee\textsuperscript{228} as well as of the author, it is also seen in Rājputāne se Bhađdalī ki Kahāwate\textsuperscript{229} that seventy two out of eighty one sayings are neither in the form of address nor contain any name whatsoever. It can be understood that those authors mostly concerned only for the contents and not for the form and further disinterested in publicising anybody's name therewith, only composed the sayings in impersonal style or in the form of simple statements for the benefit of the society. Specimens of such sayings are given below:

(1) īśāni / bīśānī //

---- If lightning sparks in the northeast direction of the horizon, the harvest will be plenty----

\begin{tabular}{ll}
225. & Ibid : P.239 \\
226. & Ibid : P.239 \\
227. & Ibid : P.224 \\
228. & Ibid : P.248 (Reference taken from Swami Norottam Das. Also mentioned ahead under the Foot Note No.205) \\
229. & Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, PP.121-133
\end{tabular}
(2) *agasta uga / meh pugā //*

— Appearance of the *Agasta* star heralds the end of the rain etc,—

This type of sayings may rightly be called 'impersonal saying's. Taking this feature into account, it can be said that the compositions of the sayings in Rajasthani traditions was the result of a very widespread and longrun tradition from the days of Sanskrit literature enriched by the renown and even unknown astrologers gathering the concerned knowledge either from the old Sanskrit books or from thier own experiences. Availability of many *Ḍāṅk-Bhadḍalī* sayings in Sanskrit and in *Apabhramśa* language indicates the Sanskrit linkage of the tradition to prove its antiquity.

The sayings of *Ḍāṅk* and *Bhadḍalī* current in Rajasthan are in no way exclusive in its kind. The same kind of sayings with strikingly similar legends and beliefs behind them were, and still are in currency in the folk societies of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh etc. Hence they all constitute a tradition in aggregate.

A comparison of few sayings of the Rajasthani tradition and the Assamese tradition may convincingly establish that from the viewpoint of theme, text, texture and context, they all are of the same nature.

The Comparison is shown below:

1. Rajasthani:  
   
   ___āge mānde pāchhaī de/
   ghatayā bandhyā kāgaj sai le// ____

It is further more interesting to see one maxim of Đāk once current in Rajasthan in Apabhraṃśa language getting currency in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in Bhojpuri language as a maxim of Gḥāgh as well as of Bhaḍḍarī also and as of Đāk in Assam. The maxim advises about the days of wearing new garments.

Rajasthani (Apabhraṃśa):

Đāk: \[\text{budh guru sukka bibajjiyarḍa/}
\]
\[\text{jo kappāḍā nahirāi/}\]

231(a) Sarma, N.C.: Op-cit, P.9
& Tripathi, R.N.: Op-cit, P.126
232(a) Sarma, N.C.: Op-cit, P.43
233. Tripathi, R.N.: Op-cit, P.122
233(a) Sarma, N.C.: Op-cit, P.44
iya jānijjai bhadri/

bahuā dukkh sahai//

—one who wears new garments avoiding the days of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, know it Bhaddari, he/she suffers a lot.—

Bhojpuri (in Bihar & U.P):

Ghāgh : kapḍā pahirai tin bār/

buddha bṛhaspati śukrabār //

—wear new garments on three days, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday—

Bhojpuri.

Bhudārī:

kapḍā pahirai tin bār /

buddha bṛhaspati śukrabār//

hāre avare kā itwār/

bhadār kā hai yahi bicār.237

—wear new garments on three days, viz. Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. In case of exigency, one can wear on Sunday also.

It is the advice of Bhaddari—

236. Shastri, : Loc-cit
237. Tripathi, R.N. : Op-cit, P.117
Assamese

\[ \text{\textit{Dāk}: } \text{'sai sani phāte phute/}
\]
\[ \text{deoi maigale āyus ḫute/}^{238} \]

—If new garments are worn on Monday and Saturday it gets torn very soon and if on Sunday and Tuesday, the life span of the wearer gets reduced.—

While the Rajasthani and the Bhojpuri maxims speak of the prescribed days the Assamese maxim speaks of the prohibited days for the purpose. Thus, notwithstanding the difference of style, the theme and the context remaining the same exhibit the uniformity of the regional traditions to prove the oneness amongst them and the \textit{Apabhramśa} language of the Rajasthani maxim indicates its antiquity.

Therefore, it would not be illogical if we say that like the Assamese tradition of \textit{Dāk} (and also like those of the other regions), the Rajasthani sayings of \textit{Dāṅk} and \textit{Bhadāli} is also a folk tradition. Rain, agriculture and the thrust for a prosperous settlement being the primary concern of the sayings, it can undoubtedly be said that the agrarian folk society was its germinating ground.

\[ \text{238. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.236 (Appendix/maxim No.380) } \]
VII. The Tradition of दा०क Current in other than India.

(i) Bangladesh

Bangladesh, the erstwhile East Pakistan which at one time was a part of India till her partition and was constituting a larger Bengal is marked by the close cultural affinity to West Bengal. Hence the discussion about the sayings of दा०क (and also of Khanâ) in respect of West Bengal is certainly applicable to Bangladesh also to a great extent. Still Bangladesh now being a separate sovereign political entity out of India, demands a particular discussion.

The tradition of दा०क and Khanâ is current in Bangladesh also. Generally the sayings of Khanâ include the sayings about agriculture and the sayings of दा०क include the sayings about astrology although it is not a very strict division. Because some astrological sayings are also found as the sayings of Khanâ.

Pointing out to the fact that the sayings of दा०क and Khanâ have become almost synonymous, for, the astrological and the agricultural sayings being mingled in one stock, one scholar opines that still their nature and way of coming into being are different. But the facts remaining the same, there is reason to believe that the assumption would be different, rather opposite. Because, astrology deliberated in the sayings is not, so to say, scientific astrology, rather folk astrology. It

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239. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit, P.190
241. Ibid : P. 75
242. Ibid : P. 74
is based on the experiences of the people gathered through long days' observation of different natural phenomena. Agriculture happened to be the principal avocation of the people. In want of scientific implements and method of weather forecasting like now-a-days, the peasant community had but to rely only on nature to have a premonition of weather. This nature-study for the purpose of weather-forecasting was mostly dependant on mere observation of astrological factors like days, stars, months etc. and consequences of their combinations. Thus for the interest of agriculture, elementary astrology was also cultured and argicultural as well as astrological sayings were composed. Considerable success in this kind of nature-study infusing the confidence of foreseeing the future weather, had perhaps enabled the fatalist folk to widen their area of observation from nature to astrology to foresee the future in general, and of individual human life in particular. Therefore, in folk literature like the sayings of _tDak_ and _Khànà_, sayings about argiculture, weather and astrology go hand in hand. So far the legends are concerned about _tDak_ and _Khànà_, it is all the same in Bangladesh as in West Bengal.

In Bangladesh the use of the word _Khônà_ is also found as an equivalent of the word _Khànà_. The sayings about house construction and about farming of cotton, reddish, paddy, betel-nut etc. are included in the sayings of _Khànà_ or _Khônà_. According to Prof Ali Nawaz, the sayings of _tDak_ and _Khànà_ are not the same. Furthermore, according to the tradition widely believed in Bangladesh _tDak_ was the son of a milk-man.

243. Tripathi, R.N. ; Op-cit, PP. 6-7
244. Sarma, N.C. : Op-cit. P.191 (Quoting the reference from the letter written by Prof. Ali Nawaz of Bangladesh Agricultural University to Dr. P. Goswami, the then Professor & Head, Folklore Research Deptt., G.U. on 21.7.76.
Moreover the most striking feature of the legend about \textit{Dāk} is that there is also a village \textit{Lehidāngarā} by name near Sylhet wherein \textit{Dāk} is believed to have born.\footnote{Ibid} In the Assamese legend also the name of the village where \textit{Dāk} was born (atleast believed so) is \textit{Lehidāngarā} near Barpeta.

It has been seen before through meticulous analysis that the divisions of the sayings after the names of two oracles, viz., \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Khanā} are not very strict. The literal meanings of the very nominative words \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Khanā (Khonā)} also tend to assert that they may be the names of the same source of the sayings, but an erroneous folk etymology is the only factor at the root in bringing up thus two traditions.\footnote{Supra : Foot Note No.47}

From the above discussion it appears clear that there in fact remains no dissimilarity between the traditions of \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Khanā} current in West Bengal and Bangladesh. The similarity of some sayings of \textit{Dāk} and of \textit{Khanā} with their parallels from the Assamese sayings of \textit{Dāk} has already been shown.\footnote{Supra : Foot Notes No. 49 & 67} Moreover, such comparisons have also revealed the similarity between the Assamese and the \textit{Oriya} traditions\footnote{Supra : Foot Notes Nos. 94-97(n)}. Therefore, it can easily be upheld that the traditions of \textit{Dāk} and \textit{Khanā} current in Bangladesh is only a regional variety of the same tradition of \textit{Dāk-vacanas} current in west Bengal, Assam, and Orissa and elsewhere. Ashutosh Bhattacharya rightly observes that this kind of sayings, the English variety of which is called "weather proverbs" are

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246. Ibid
247. Supra : Foot Note No.47
248. Supra : Foot Notes No. 49 & 67
249. Supra : Foot Notes Nos. 94-97(n)
found in all countries. Because of the climate and atmosphere being almost identical in Bangladesh, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa, the similar kind of sayings have evolved there250.

(ii) Nepal

The currency of some folk sayings like the sayings of Ḍāk is seen in Nepal also. These sayings deal with agriculture and astrology. The relation of the Indian culture is very close with the culture of Nepal251. The reasons for this closeness are quite comprehensive. Attachment to the mainland, prominence of Hinduism as religion and agriculture being the backbone of economy helped mainly deepen the closeness of the two cultures. Therefore it is no way unnatural for the tradition of Ḍāk to be transmitted to Nepal as a result of migration of people and cultural assimilation252.

Of course, in this respect the name of the book 'Ḍākāṇṇava' needs mention and discussion thereupon which could be a very confusing matter. According to A. Bhattacharya Ḍāk is a name of the tantric Bhuddist teachers. Mentioning about the two books 'Ḍākāṇṇava tantra' and 'Bajradāka tantra,' he opines that the word "ḍāk" may be the masculine form of the word "ḍākinī" and Ḍāk-ḍākinī may be a particular class of Tantric Buddhists253. It is however refuted by D.C. Sircar on the strength of acceptable argument that the Ḍāk-vacanas became popular in the regions where Tantric Buddhist influence never

252. Sarma, : Loc-cit,
spreaded\textsuperscript{254}. Even if \textit{ḍāk} denoted the male counterpart of \textit{ḍākinī} (masculine form of the word \textit{ḍākinī}) still this \textit{ḍāk} has no connection with the \textit{Ḍāk-vacanas} (the maxims of \textit{Ḍāk}), because, that particular \textit{Ḍāk} in question (the author of the maxims) has no relation with Tantric Buddhism\textsuperscript{255}.

The use of the word \textit{ḍāk} can be seen many a times in different \textit{ślokas} of the \textit{Ḍākārnava}. But instead of indicating any individual author of the maxims, this word \textit{ḍāk} indicates the omniscient persons of the Sahajiya cult of Buddhism. N.C. Sarma has established this contention with the following examples quoting from the book the \textit{Ḍākārnava} edited by Haraprasad Sastri:

(1) \textit{ḍāka : sambhavate tasmāt mahā-maṇḍalayogata}:

—\textit{ḍāk} was born out of the contact of the \textit{mahāmaṇḍala}—

(2) \textit{sarbbadākiṇīmaya : sattvo bajarāṭāka : paramāsukha}.

—the life is full of \textit{ḍākinīs}, but the basis of absolute happiness is the \textit{bajarāṭāka}—

(3) \textit{ityāha bhagawān ṣāka : sarbbayoga : prapūritā}:

—the God \textit{ḍāk} has said thus about \textit{sarbbayoga}, i.e., all kinds of yogas.\textsuperscript{256}

The \textit{Ḍākārnava} is a book directly concerned with religion, but the maxims of \textit{Ḍāk} are secular in nature. The \textit{Ḍākārnava} preaches the ways and means for spiritual attainment while the maxims of \textit{Ḍāk}
profess the ways and means for the prosperity of the mundane life. Thus, it appears clear enough that there is no similarity at all between the Ḍākārṇava and the maxims of Ḍāk (as it is called elsewhere) in respect of theme, purpose, impulse and structure. The maxims or the sayings or the aphorisms of Ḍāk (i.e., the Ḍāk-vacanas) whatever be called may not have the same nomenclature in Nepal, still the literature exists with the same characteristics as current in different parts of India.